Encyclopædia
of
Religion and Ethics
Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
EDITOR OF 'DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE' AND 'DICTIONARY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS'

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.

AND OTHER SCHOLARS

VOLUME I
A–ART

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PREFACE

There is at the present time an unusual demand for works of reference. It may be due partly to a higher general standard of education, increasing the number of readers, and compelling teachers, whether they are writers or speakers, to 'verify their references.' But it may be due also to the great increase of knowledge in our time. We must possess ourselves of dictionaries and encyclopaedias, because it is not possible otherwise to have at our command the vast stores of learning which have accumulated.

But the enormous increase of knowledge in our time has not only created a demand for general works of reference; it has also made known the necessity for dictionaries or encyclopaedias of a more special character. Musicians have found the need of a Dictionary of Music, painters of Painting, engineers of Engineering, and they have had their wants supplied. The present work is an attempt to meet the necessity for an Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Scope of the Encyclopaedia.

The words 'Religion' and 'Ethics' are both used in their most comprehensive meaning, as the contents of this volume will show. The Encyclopaedia will contain articles on all the Religions of the world and on all the great systems of Ethics. It will aim, further, at containing articles on every religious belief or custom, and on every ethical movement, every philosophical idea, every moral practice. Such persons and places as are famous in the history of religion and morals will be included. The Encyclopaedia will thus embrace the whole range of Theology and Philosophy, together with the relevant portions of Anthropology, Mythology, Folklore, Biology, Psychology, Economics, and Sociology. It is a wide field, but its limits are clearly defined. Only once or twice throughout the course of this volume has the question been raised whether a particular topic should be included or not.

Subjects and Authors.

Very great care has been taken to make the list of subjects complete, and to assign each subject to the right author. If mistakes have been made they will be pointed out by readers and reviewers; and the Editor will welcome every suggestion that is offered towards the improvement of the succeeding volumes.
PREFACE

avoid overlapping, and yet to have every topic treated with sufficient fulness, the method has occasionally been adopted of describing a subject comprehensively in one general article, and then taking one or more particular topics embraced by the general article and dealing with them separately and more fully. Thus there will be a general sketch of the Socialistic Communities of America, out of which the Amana Community has been selected to be separately and fully described. Again, there are articles on Aphrodisia and Apollonia in addition to the general article on Greek Festivals; and in the second volume there will be an article on the Arval Brothers, while the Roman Priesthood will be treated comprehensively afterwards.

It is not necessary to draw attention here to the series of comparative articles on such topics as Adoption, Adultery, Ages of the World, Altar, Ancestor-Worship, Anointing, Architecture, and Art.

The important subject of cross-references is referred to on another page.

Editors and Assistants.

How can due acknowledgment be made to all those who have been counsellors and colleagues, and have assisted so willingly to make the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics an authoritative work of reference throughout the whole of its great and difficult field of study? Professor A. S. Geden, Dr. Louis H. Gray, and Professor D. B. Macdonald have worked over every article from the beginning. Next to them must come Principal Iverach, Canon J. A. MacCulloch, Mr. Crooke, Professor Rhys Davids, Dr. Grierson, and Sir C. J. Lyall. Then follow Professor Wenley, Dr. J. G. Frazer, Mr. Sidney Hartland, Dr. Keane, Mr. W. H. Holmes, Mr. J. Mooney, Mr. E. E. Sikes, Professor Riess, Professor Poussin, Professor Anesaki, Dr. Aston, Mr. Cornaby, Professor Macdonell, Professor Lloyd, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Watson, Mr. Gait, Principal Fairbairn, Professor Jacobi, Professor Takakusu, Professor Bonet-Maury, Colonel Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., Professor Nöldeke, Dr. Moulton, Dr. Macpherson, Baron Friedrich von Hügel, Professor Lawlor, Professor Schaff, Abbot E. C. Butler, Professor Sanday, Professor Hillebrandt, Professor Seth, Professor Sorley, Professor Woodhouse, Principal Stewart, Professor Swete, and Colonel Waddell. These all have suggested authors, read manuscripts, corrected proofs, or in some other way taken a helpful interest in the work. And the list could be doubled without exhausting their number.

Acknowledgment is due also to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India and the Librarian of the India Office; to Sir A. H. L. Fraser, K.C.S.I., LL.D., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; to the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G.C.M.G., Premier of Canada; and to the Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, for the use of valuable books.

After six years' exacting labour this first volume goes forth in the earnest hope that it will be found worthy of a place among the rapidly increasing number of books devoted to the study of Religion and Ethics, and that it will help forward that study along the right lines. The work will consist of about ten volumes.
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

ABRAHAMS (ISRAEL), M.A. (Lond. and Camb.),
Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature
in the University of Cambridge; formerly
Senior Tutor in the Jews' College, London.

ABRAVANEL, ACOSTA, ADULTERY (Jewish),
Architecture (Jewish), Art (Jewish).

ACHIELS (HANS), D.Theol., D.Phil.
Professor der Theologie, Halle (a. Saale).

AGAPETE.

ADLER (E. N.), M.A., M.R.A.S.
Member of the Council of the Jewish Historical
Society; Corresponding Member of the
Royal Academy of History of Spain and of
the Jewish Historical Society of America;
author of Jews in Many Lands.

AGACH.

ALEXANDER (HARTLEY BURR), Ph.D.
Professor of Philosophy in the University of
Nebraska; Member of the American Philo-
sophical Association.

AuBouH.

ANANIKIAN (MARDIROS H.), B.D., S.T.M.
Assistant Librarian and Instructor in Oriental
Languages in Hartford Theological Semi-
nary.

ARMENIA (Zoroastrian).

APACHE (ANTONIO).

Of the Fields Columbian Museum, Chicago.

APACHES.

ARSDALE (FRANK DAWES VAN), Newark, New
Jersey.

Angel Dancers.

ASTON (WILLIAM GEORGE), M.A., D.Lit., C.M.G.
Formerly Japanese Secretary of H.M. Legation,
Tokyo; author of History of Japanese
Literature, Shinto.

ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE (Japanese),
Adoption (Japanese), Altar (Japanese),
Architecture (Shinto), Art (Shinto).

BAILIE (JAMES BLACK), M.A. (Edin. and Camb.),
D.Phil. (Edin.).

Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University
of Aberdeen.

Absolute, Absolutism.

BALDWIN (JAMES MARK), M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.,
LL.D.
Professor of Philosophy and Psychology in
Johns Hopkins University; author of Hand-
book of Psychology, Thought and Things; editor of the Dictionary of Philosophy and
Psychology.

ACCOMMODATION, AFFECTION, ALTER.

BARKER (HENRY), M.A.
Lecturer in Moral Philosophy in the University
of Edinburgh.

ACt, Action.

BARNES (REV. THOMAS), M.A.
Vicar of Hilderstone, Staffordshire.

Abbot of Unreason, Alchemy (European),
All Fool's Day.

BARTON (GEORGE AARON), A.M., Ph.D.
Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic
Languages in Bryn Mawr College; author of
A Sketch of Semitic Origins.

Altar (Semitic).

BATCHelor (REV. JOHN).

Of the Church Missionary College, C.M.S.
Mission, Sapporo, Hokkaido, Japan; author of
The Ainu and their Folklore.

Ainu.

BENNETT (REV. WILLIAM HENRY), M.A. (Lond.),

Sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cam-
bridge; Professor of Old Testament Exegesis,
Hackney College and New College, London;
author of The Post-Exilic Prophets.

Adam.

BERCHEM (MAX VAN), D.Phil.
Correspondant de l'Institut de France.

Architecture (Muhammadan in Syria and
Egypt).

BETHE (ERICH), D.Phil.
Professor of the Klass. Philologie an der Uni-
versität zu Leipzig; Geheimer Hofrat.

Agraulids, Amphiaras.

BEVERIDGE (HENRY), B.C.S. (retired).

Akbar.

BLACKISTON (REV. HERBERT EDWARD DOUGLAS),
D.D.
President of Trinity College, Oxford.

Æschylus.

BONET-MADHY (AMY-GASTON), Knight of Legion
(St. And.).

Professeur honoraire de l'Université de Paris;
Professeur titulaire à la Faculté libre de
Théologie protestante de Paris; Membre
correspondant de l'Institut de France.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Christian).

BOUSSET (WILHELM), D.Theol.
Professor der Neutest. Exegese an der Uni-
versität zu Göttingen; author of Antichrist, Religion des Juden und im NT Zeitalter.
Antichrist.
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

Box (Rev. George Herbert), M.A.
Formerly Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford; sometime Hebrew Master at Merchant Taylors' School, London; Incumbent of Linton; joint author of The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue; Lecturer (1905-1909) in the Faculty of Theology, Oxford. Adoption (Semitic).

Brabook (Sir Edward), C.B.
Of Lincoln's Inn Barrister-at-Law; Vice-President S.A., R.S.L., R.S.S., and R.A.I.; President of the Sociological Society and Child Study Society; Past President of the Economic and Anthropological Sections, British Association; Treasurer of the Royal Asiatic Institute; formerly Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies. Arbitration.

Brown (Gerard Baldwin), M.A. (Oxon.),
Sometime Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford; Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh; author of The Fine Arts. Art (Celtic, Christian).

Burn (Rev. A. E.), M.A., D.D.
Rectory and Rural Dean of Handsworth; Prebendary of Lichfield; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield; author of An Introduction to the Creeds. Adoptianism.

Burnet (John), M.A. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Edin.),
Professor of Greek in the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews; late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Academy.

Caban (Antoine).

Canney (Maurice A.), M.A. (Oxon.),
Formerly Hebrew Master at Merchant Taylors' School, London. Apollonius of Tyana.

Carea de Vaux (Hox Bernard),

Carter (Jesse Benedict), Ph.D. (Halle),
Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Ionian).

Chadwick (Hector Munro), M.A.
Fellow and Librarian of Clare College, Cambridge; author of The Cult of Othin. Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Totentime).

Chamberlain (Alexander Francis), M.A. (Toronto), Ph.D. (Clark).
Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Clark University; Hon. Member of the American Folklore Society; of the American Anthropological Association, etc.; editor of the Journal of American Folklore (1900-1908); author of The Child: A Study in the Evolution of Man. Aleus.

Chapman (Rev. John), O.S.B.
Of Erclington Abbey. Abbot (Christian).

Clark (Archibald Brown), M.A.; F.S.S.
Lecturer on Economics in the University of Edinburgh. Ability, Accumulation.

Clodd (Edward),
Corresponding Member of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, and Vice-President of the Folklore Society. Abiogenesis.

Cobb (Rev. W. F.), D.D.
Rectory of the Church of St. Ethelburga the Virgin, London; E.C. and Abuse and Abusive Language.

Cockrell (Sydney C.),
Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Art in MSS (Christian).

CoE (George Albert), Ph.D.

Cook (Stanley Arthur), M.A.
Ex-Fellow and Lecturer in Hebrew and Syrian in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; author of The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi. Adultery (Semitic).

Cowan (Rev. Henry), M.A., D.D.
Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen; author of Landmarks of Church History, Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom (Baird Lecture for 1895), and John Knox in Putnam's 'Heroes of the Reformation.' Action Sermon.

Crafer (Rev. Thomas Wilfred), B.D.
Chaplain and Lecturer in Classics and Theology in Downing College, Director of Theological Studies at Fitzwilliam Hall, and Vicar of All Saints', Cambridge. Apologetics.

Crawley (Rev. Arthur Ernest), M.A. (Camb.),

Creighton (James Edwin), B.A., Ph.D., LL.D.
Sage Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Cornell University; editor of the Philosophical Review. Abstraction.

Crooke (William), B.A.
Ex-Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin; Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute; Member of the Folklore and Hellenic Societies; late of the Bengal Civil Service. Abor, Abu, Agaria, Aghori, Ahea, Ahir, Ahmadabad, Ajanta, Ajmer, Alankanda, Allahabad, Aramkantak, Amarnath, Amber, Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Introduction, Indian), Arak.

Cumont (Franz), D.Phil., LL.D. (Aber.)
Professeur à l'Université de Gand; Conservateur aux Musées royaux de Bruxelles; Correspondant de l'Académie Royale de Belgique et de l'Académie des Inscriptions de Paris; auteur de Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra. Animaux, Architecture (Mithraic), Art (Mithraic).
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

D'ALVIELLA (COUNT GOBLET), Ph.D., LL.D. (Glas. and Aber.).
Member and Secretary of the Belgian Senate; Professor at the University of Brussels; Commander of the Order of Léopold; author of The Migration of Symbols. Animism.

DAVIDS (T. W. RHYS), LL.D., Ph.D.
Professor of Comparative Religion, Manchester; President of the Pali Text Society; Fellow of the British Academy.
Abhayagiri, Adam's Peak, Adultery (Buddhist), Agama, Ahimsa, Anagata Vamsa, Ananda, Anguttara Nikaya, Anuradhapura, Apadana, Arhat.

DAVIDS (MRS. RHYS), M.A., Manchester.
Abhidhamma.

DAVIDSON (JOHN), M.A., D.Sc.
Formerly Professor of Political Economy in the University of New Brunswick.
Adulteration.

DAVIDSON (WILLIAM LESLIE), M.A., LL.D.
Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen; President of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society; author of The Logic of Definition, Theism as Grounded in Human Nature, The Stole Creed. Anger (Psychological and Ethical), Appetite (Psychological).

DILL (SAMUEL), M.A. (Oxon.), Litt.D. (Dublin), LL.D. (Edin. and St. And.).
Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast; Hon. Fellow and sometime Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; author of Early Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius. Alexander of Abonoteichos.

DOTTIN (GEORGES), Docteur ès Lettres.
Professeur de langue et littérature celtique à l'Université de Rennes. Architecture (Celtic).

DUCKWORTH (W. LAURENCE H.), M.A., M.D., Sc.D.
Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology; Senior Demonstrator of Anatomy. Abnormalities (Biological).

DUKES (Rev. EDWIN J.).

DUTT (ROMESH C.), C.I.E.
Member of the Indian Civil Service (retired); Barrister-at-Law, Middle Temple; Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature for Great Britain and Ireland; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society; late Revenue Minister of Baroda State. Adam's Bridge.

EDWARDS (EDWARD), B.A. (Wales and Cantab.), M.R.A.S.
Assistant in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum. Altar (Persian).

EHRENREICH (PAUL), Dr. Med. and Phil.
Privatdozent an der Kgl. Universität, Berlin. America (South).

FAIRBANKS (Rev. ARTHUR), Ph.D. (Freiburg i. B.).
Professor of Greek Archaeology in the State University of Iowa, 1900-1906; in the University of Michigan, 1906-1907; Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1907. Amenazas.

FICK (DR. RICHARD).
Oberbibliothekar an der königlichen Bibliothek, Berlin. Adultery (Hindu).

FINDLAY (Rev. ADAM FYFE), M.A.
Minister of Erskine United Free Church, Arbrough. Amusemena.

FOAKES-JACKSON (FREDERICK JOHN), D.D.

FOLEY (Rev. WILLIAM MALCOLM), B.D.
Rector of Tralee, Co. Kerry; Canon of St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Limerick; formerly Donnellan Lecturer (1892-93) in the University of Dublin. Adultery (Christian).

FORTESCUE (Rev. ADRIAN), D.D. (Munich), Ph.D. (Vienna).
Roman Catholic Priest at Letchworth. Apollinarism.

FRANKS (Rev. ROBERT SLEIGHTHOLME), M.A., B.Litt.
Theological Lecturer at the Friends' Settlement for Religious and Social Study, Woodbrooke, Birmingham. Acceptation, Adelard.

FULTON (Rev. W. WYCLE), B.D.
Minister of Battlefield Church, Glasgow. Abraham-men.

GARDNER (ERNEST ARTHUR), M.A.
Yates Professor of Archaeology in the University of London; late Director of the British School at Athens. Αἰγίς, Altar (Greek, Roman), Art (Greek and Roman).

GAVRIO (Rev. ALFRED ERNEST), M.A. (Oxon.), D.D. (Glas.).
Principal of New College, London; author of The Ritschelian Theology. Agnosticism.

GASKELL (CATHERINE JULIA).
Cambridge University Classical Tripos, Part I. (Class II.) and Part II. (Class I.). Altar (Teutonic), Art and Architecture (Teutonic).

GEDEN (Rev. ALFRED S.), M.A., (Oxon.), D.D. (Aber.).
Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature and of Comparative Religion at the Wesleyan College, Richmond; Honorary Life Governor of the British and Foreign Bible Society; author of Studies in Comparative Religion, Studies in Eastern Religions. Aiyana, Aranyakas.

GEFFCKEN (DR. Johannes).
Ordentlicher Professor der Klass. Philologie an der Universität zu Rostock. Allegory and Allegorical Interpretation.
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

Giles (Peter), M.A., LL.D. (Aber.).
Fellow and Lecturer of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; University Reader in Comparative Philology; author of A Short Manual of Comparative Philology.
Abandonment and Exposure (General), Agriculture.

Gray (B. Kirkman).
Agitation.

Gray (Louis Herbert), Ph.D.
Sometime Member of the Editorial Staff of the New International Encyclopedia, Orientalische Bibliographie, etc.

Grieson (George Abraham), C.I.E., Ph.D.
(Halle), D.Litt. (Dublin), F.C.S. (retired), Hon. Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of the Niazi Fathurrahim Sahib of Benares, and of the American Oriental Society; Foreign Associate Member of the Société Asiatique de Paris; Corresponding Member of the Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen; Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society; Superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India.
Alakhnamin.

Griffith (Francis Llewellyn), M.A., F.S.A.
Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford; editor of the Archeological Survey and the Archeological Reports of the Egypt Exploration Fund; Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin; Fellow of the Imperial German Archeological Institute; Foreign Associate of the Société Asiatique.
Adultery (Egyptian), Ages of the World (Egyptian), Altar (Egyptian).

De Groot (J. J. M.), D. Phil.
Professor of Chinese Language and Archaeology in the University of Leiden; author of The Religious Systems of China, Adoption (Chinese).

Gurdon (Major P. R. T.), Indian Army.
Officiating Commissioner Assam Valley Districts; Hon. Director of Ethnography, Assam.

University Lecturer in Ethnology, Cambridge and London; President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1892; author of The Evolution in Art. Art (Primitive and Savage).

Hagar (Stansbury), B.A., LL.B.
Counselor at Law; Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Anthropological Association; Director of the Explorers' Club of New York; Executive Officer of the Departments of Ethnology and Astronomy in the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.
Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (American).

Hall (Frederick William), M.A.
Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford.
Adultery (Greek, Roman).

Hall (H. R.), M.A., F.R.G.S.
Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Asyrian Antiquities in the British Museum.
Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Egyptian).

Hartland (Edwin Sidney), F.S.A.
President of the Folklore Society, 1899; President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1896; author of The Legend of Perseus.
Adoption (among lower races).

Held (Rev. J. M.).
Formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Litcham in Norfolk.
Aquininas.

Hibben (John Grier), Ph.D., LL.D.
Stuart Professor of Logic in Princeton University; author of Inductive Logic, The Problems of Philosophy, Accidentalism.

Hirn (Yvain), D. Phil.
Dozent in Ästhetik und neuere Literatur an der Universität Helsingfors, Finland.
Art (Origins).

Hoernle (A. F. Rudolf), C.I.E., Ph.D. (Tübingen), Hon. M.A. (Oxon.), Late of the Indian Educational Service and Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah.
Ajivikas.

Hogarth (David George), M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.
Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy; editor of Authority and Archaeology, Ægean Religion.

Holboën (J. B. Stoughton), M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.G.S.
University Extension Lecturer in Art and Literature to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London.
Architecture (Ægean, Christian, Greek, Roman).

Horn (Edward Traill), D.D., LL.D.
Pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church at Reading, Pennsylvania.
Adiaphorism, Arcani Disciplina.

Hyamsen (Albert Montefiore).
Vice-President of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies; author of A History of the Jews in England.
Anglo-Israelism.

Hyssop (James Hervey), Ph.D., LL.D.
Secretary of the American Society for Psychological Research; formerly Professor of Logic and Ethics in Columbia University.
Affirmation, Antipathy.

Inge (Rev. William Ralph), D.D.
Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; author of Faith and Knowledge.
Alexanderian Theology.

Irions (David), M.A. (St. And.), Ph.D. (Cornell).
Formerly Associate-Professor of Bryn Mawr College; author of The Psychology of Ethics. Admiration.
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

ITO (CHIUTA), Professor in the University of Tokyo, Japan.
Architecture (Chinese).

IVERACH (Rev. JAMES), M.A., D.D.
Principal and Professor of New Testament Language and Literature in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen.
Altruism.

JACKSON (A. V. WILLIAMS), Litt.D., Ph.D., LL.D.
Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, New York.
Afghanistan, Abriman, Amesha Spentas, Architecture (Persian), Art (Persian).

JACKSON (HENRY), Litt.D. (Camb.), Hon. LL.D.
(Aber. and Glas.).
Of the Order of Merit; Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, of Winchester College, and of the British Academy; Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Aristotle.

JACOBI (HELMANN), Ph.D.
Professor der Sanskr. u. vergleich. Wissenschaft, an der Universität zu Bonn; Geheimer Regierungsrat.
Agastya, Ages of the World (Indian).

JASTROW (MORRIS, jun.), Ph.D. (Leipzig).
Professor of Semitic Languages and Librarian of the University of Pennsylvania.
Anointing (Sephitic).

JEREMIAS (LIE. DR. ALFRED).
Pfarrer der Lutherkirche und Privatdozent an der Universität zu Leipzig.
Ages of the World (Babylonian).

JEVONS (FRANK BYRON), M.A., Litt.D., F.R.E.S.
Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, and Sub-Warden of the University of Durham.
Anthropomorphism.

JOLLY (JULIUS), Ph.D. (Munich), Hon. M.D. (Göttingen), Hon. D. Litt. (Oxford).
Hon. Member R.A.S. (London); Corresponding Member of the R. Bavarian Academy of Science, Munich, and of the K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen; Ord. Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology and Director of the Linguistic Seminary in the University of Würzburg; formerly Tagore Professor of Law in the University of Calcutta.
Abandonment and Exposure (Hindu), Adoption (Hindu), Altar (Hindu).

JOYCE (GILBERT CUNNINGHAM), M.A., B.D.
Warden of St. Doniol's Library, Havarden.
Analogy, Annulliation.

JUYNBOLL (TH. W.), Dr. juris. et phil.
Adiutor inter pretis: 'Legati Warneriani,' Leiden.
Adoption (Muhammadan), Adultery (Muh.), Apostasy (Muh.).

KALWEIT (P'AU), Lic. der Theol., D.Phil.
Director des evangelischen Predigergesellschaften in Naumburg a. Quens, und Pfarrer.
A Priori.

KARO (GEORG), D.Phil.
Secretary of the German Archeological Institute, Athens.
Architecture and Art (Etruscan and Early Italian).

KEANE (AUGUSTUS HENRY), I.L.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I.
Late Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute; late Professor of Hindustani in University College, London; Hon. Member of the Paris, Florence, Rouen, and Washington Anthropological Societies; Hon. Member of the Virginia Historic Society, and Poly

KENDRICK (REV. ROBERT HATCH), B.D.
Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge; Canon of Ely; Fellow and Chaplain of Queens' College, Cambridge; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely.
Ark.

KILPATRICK (REV. THOMAS B.), M.A., B.D., D.D.
Anger (Wrath) of God.

KROHN (KAARE LEOPOLD), D.Phil.
Professor der finnischen und vergleichenden Folk-Lore an der Universität zu Helsingfors.
Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Ugro-Finnic).

KROLL (DR. WILHELM), D.Phil.
Professor der Klass. Philologie an der Universität zu Münster.
Apathy.

LEGEND (LOUIS).
Membre de l'Institut de France; Professeur au Collège de France; Professeur honoraire à l'Ecole des langues orientales.
Altar (Slavonic), Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Slavonic), Architecture and Art (Slavonic).

LEHMANN (EDWARD), D.Phil.
Docent i religionshistorie v. Universitetet i Köbenhavn.
Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Iranian).

LÉVI (SYLVAIN).
Professeur au Collège de France; Directeur d'Études à l'Ecole des Hautes Études.
Abhidharma Kosa Vyakhya.

LIDZBAERG (MARK), Ph.D.
Ord. Professor der Semit, Philologie an der Universität zu Greifswald.
Ahiqar.

LINDSAY (THOMAS MARTIN), D.D., LL.D.
Principal of the United Free Church College, Glasgow, and Professor of Church History; author of The History of the Reformation in the 'International Theological Library'; Amyraldism.

LITTIN (ENNO), Ph.D.
Professor der Semit, Philologie an der Universität zu Strassburg.
Abysinien.

MACCULLOCH (JOHN AENOTT),
Rector of St. Columba's, Portree, Isle of Skye; Canon of the Cathedral of the Holy Spirit, Cumbræ; author of Comparative Theology, Religion: its Origin and Forms, The Child

MACROPOULOS (GEORG), D.Phil.
Professor der Griechischen Philologie an der Universität zu Athen.
Architecture and Art (Etruscan and Early Italian).

KEANE (AUGUSTUS HENRY), I.L.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I.
Late Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute; late Professor of Hindustani in University College, London; Hon. Member of the Paris, Florence, Rouen, and Washing
ton Anthropological Societies; Hon. Member of the Virginia Historic Society, and Poly

KENDRICK (REV. ROBERT HATCH), B.D.
Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge; Canon of Ely; Fellow and Chaplain of Queens' College, Cambridge; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely.
Ark.

KILPATRICK (REV. THOMAS B.), M.A., B.D., D.D.
Anger (Wrath) of God.

KROHN (KAARE LEOPOLD), D.Phil.
Professor der finnischen und vergleichenden Folk-Lore an der Universität zu Helsingfors.
Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Ugro-Finnic).

KROLL (DR. WILHELM), D.Phil.
Professor der Klass. Philologie an der Universität zu Münster.
Apathy.

LEGEND (LOUIS).
Membre de l'Institut de France; Professeur au Collège de France; Professeur honoraire à l'Ecole des langues orientales.
Altar (Slavonic), Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Slavonic).

LEHMANN (EDWARD), D.Phil.
Docent i religionshistorie v. Universitetet i Köbenhavn.
Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Iranian).

LÉVI (SYLVAIN).
Professeur au Collège de France; Directeur d'Études à l'Ecole des Hautes Études.
Abhidharma Kosa Vyakhya.

LIDZBAERG (MARK), Ph.D.
Ord. Professor der Semit, Philologie an der Universität zu Greifswald.
Ahiqar.

LINDSAY (THOMAS MARTIN), D.D., LL.D.
Principal of the United Free Church College, Glasgow, and Professor of Church History; author of The History of the Reformation in the 'International Theological Library'; Amyraldism.

LITTIN (ENNO), Ph.D.
Professor der Semit, Philologie an der Universität zu Strassburg.
Abysinien.

MACCULLOCH (JOHN AENOTT),
Rector of St. Columba's, Portree, Isle of Skye; Canon of the Cathedral of the Holy Spirit, Cumbræ; author of Comparative Theology, Religion: its Origin and Forms, The Child
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

MACDONALD (DUNCAN B.), M.A., B.D.
Sometime Scholar and Fellow of the University of Glasgow; Professor of Semitic Languages in Hartford Theological Seminary; Haskell Lecturer on Comparative Religion in the University of Chicago, 1906; Lamson Lecturer on Muhammadanism in Hartford Seminary, 1908-1909.

McGiffert (ARTHUR CUSHMAN), Ph.D., D.D.
Washburn Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York; author of the History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age (I. T. L.).

McGlothlin (WILLIAM JOSEPH), Ph.D., D.D.
Professor of Church History in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville. Anabaptism.

McIntyre (JAMES LEWIS), M.A. (Edin. and Oxon.), D.Sc. (Edin.).
Anderson Lecturer in Comparative Psychology to the University of Aberdeen; formerly Examiner in Philosophy to the University of Edinburgh; author of Giordano Bruno (1903).

Mackichan (REV. D.), M.A., D.D., LL.D.
Principal of Wilson College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay. Advaita.

Mackintosh (Hugh ROSS), M.A., D.Phil., D.D. (Edin.).

MacLAGAN (EDWARD DOUGLAS), M.A.
Of the Indian Civil Service, Simla; Chief Secretary to the Government of the Panjab, India. Amritsar.

MACLEAN (RIGHT REV. ARTHUR JOHN), D.D. (Camb.), Hon. D.D. (Glas.).
Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness. Abrenantio, Agape.

MACLERO (FRÉDÉRIC).
Ancien Attaché à la Bibliothèque Nationale; Laureat de l’Institut; Professeur chargé du cours d’Arménien à l’École des Langues orientales vivantes. Armenia (Christian).

MACPHERSON (JOHN), M.D., F.R.C.P.E.
Commissioner in Lunacy for Scotland. Abnormalities (Psychological).

Margoliouth (REV. GEORGE), M.A. (Cantab.).
Senior Assistant in the Department of Ancient Printed Books and MSS in the British Museum. Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Babylonian, Hebrew, Jewish).

President of the Hakluyt Society. Andeans.

MARSHALL (JOHN TURNER), M.A., D.D.
Principal of Manchester Baptist College; Lecturer in History of Christian Doctrine in Manchester University. Adoration (Biblical).

MILLS (LAWRENCE HEPWORTH), D.D. (N.Y.), Hon. M.A. (Oxon.).
Professor of Zend Philology in the University of Oxford. Ahuna Vairya.

MODI (SHAMS-UL-ULMA JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI), B.A.
Fellow of the University of Bombay; Officier d’Académie (1898); Officier de l’Instruction Publique (1902); Vice-President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Abduty (Parsi).

MORRISON (WILLIAM DOUGLAS), LL.D.

MOSS (REV. RICHARD WADDY), D.D.
Professor of Systematic Theology in Didsbury College, Manchester. Alexander the Great.

MULLINGER (J. BASS), M.A. (Cantab).
University Lecturer in History; formerly Lecturer and Librarian of St. John’s College, Cambridge. Albigenases.

MUNRO (ROBERT), M.A., M.D., LL.D.
Vice-President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; Hon. Vice-President of the Royal Archeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; Hon. Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and of numerous Foreign Societies; author of The Lake-Dwellings in Europe. Anthropology.

MURRAY (JOHN CLARK), LL.D. (Glas.), F.R.S.C.
Emeritus Professor of Philosophy in McGill University, Montreal. Agnoiology, Amliability.

Gladstone Professor of Greek, and Lecturer in Ancient Geography in the University of Liverpool; formerly student of Christ Church, Oxford, and Lecturer in Archeology in the University of Oxford. Archaeology.

NEWMAN (ALBIEET HENNEY), DD., LL.D., Litt.D.
Professor of Church History in Baylor University; author of A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States, A Manual of Church History. Éons.

NICHOLSON (REYNOLDS ALLEYNE), M.A.
Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge; sometime Fellow of Trinity College. Abd ar-Razzaq.

NÖLLDEK (THEODOR), PH.D., LL.D. (Edin.).
Professor emeritus an der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität zu Strassburg. Arabs (African).

OSTERLEY (REV. W. O. E.), D.D. (Cantab.).
Organizing Secretary to the Parochial Missions to the Jews at Home and Abroad; Lecturer to the Palestine Exploration Fund; joint-author of The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue. A and Q, Adoration (Post-Biblical).

Owen (MARY ALICIA).
President of the Missouri Folklore Society; Councillor of the American Folklore Society; admitted to Tribal Membership with the Indians, 1892. Algonquins (Prairie Tribes).
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

PASS (H. LEONARD), M.A.
Formerly Scholar and Hutchinson Student of St. John's College, Cambridge; Tyrwhitt Scholar, 1902; ‘Recognized Lecturer’ in Theology in the University of Cambridge.
Alitar (Christian), Am Ha-Ares.

Paton (Rev. Lewis Bayles), Ph.D., D.D.
Nettleton Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism, and Instructor in Assyrian in the Hartford Theological Seminary; late Director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.
Ammi, Ammonites.

Patrick (Mary Mills), A.M. (Jena), Ph.D. (Berne).
President of the American College for Girls at Constantinople.

Anaxagoras.

Pearson (A. C.), M.A.
Late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.
Acheloüs, Achilles, Α Ether.

Fellow of the Royal Society and of the British Academy; Edwards Professor of Egyptology in the University of London.
Architecture (Egyptian), Art (Egyptian).

Pinches (Theophilus Goldridge), LL.D. (Glas.). M.R.A.S.
Lecturer in Assyrian at University College, London, and at the Institute of Archeology, Liverpool; Hon. Member of the Société Asiatique.
Architecture (Assyro-Babylonian, Pheni- cian), Art (Assyro-Babylonian, Pheni- cian).

Platt (Rev. Frederic), M.A., B.D.
Tutor in Old Testament and Literature, and in Philosophy, in the Wesleyan College, Didsbury, Manchester.
Arminianism.

Poussin (Louis de la Vallée), Docteur en philosophie et lettres (Liège), en langues orientales (Louvain).
Professor de sanscrit à l’université de Gand; Co-directeur du Muséon; Membre de R.A.S. et de la Société Asiatique.
Adbudda, Ages of the World (Buddhist), Agnosticism (Buddhist).

Prince (J. Dyneley), B.A., Ph.D.
Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature, and in Philosophy, in the Wesleyan College, Didsbury, Manchester.

Riess (Ernst), M.A., Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Latin in the University of New York.
Alchemy (Greek and Roman).

Robertson (Charles Donald), M.A.
Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Ambition.

Rose (H. A.), L.C.S.
Superintendent of Ethnography, Panjnad, India.
Abandonment and Exposure (Hindu), Akalis.

Ross (G. R. T.), M.A., D.Phil.
Lecturer in Philosophy and Education in Hartford University College, Southampton; author of Aristoteles De Senectu et De Memoria.
Accidents, Arbitrariness.

Saladin (Henri).
Architecte du Gouvernement, chargé de Missions Archéologiques en Tunisie; Membre de la Commission archéologique de l'Afrique du Nord au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique de France.
Architecture (Muhammadan).

Sayce (Archibald Henry), Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon.), L.L.D. (Dublin), Hon. D.D. (Edin. and Aber.). Fellow of Queen's College and Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford; President of the Society of Biblical Archeology.
Armenia (Early Vannie).

Scott (Ernest Findlay), M.A. (Glas.), B.A. (Oxon.). Professor of Church History in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.
Æons.

Shambaugh (Bertha Maud Horack).
Author of Amana: The Community of True Inspiration.
Amana Society.

Simpson (Sir Alexander Russell), M.D., D.Sc., LL.D.
Emeritus Professor of Midwifery and Diseases of Women and Children, and formerly Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh.
Anesthesia.

Simpson (Andrew Findlater), M.A.
Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Criticism in the Congregational Theological Hall, Edinburgh.
Acceptance, Access.

Simpson (James Gilliland), M.A.
Lecturer in Leeds Parish Church; Principal of the Clergy School; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.
Apostolic Succession.

Smith (Kirby Flower), Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins).
Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University.
Ages of the World (Greek).

Smith (Vincent Arthur), M.A.
Of the Indian Civil Service (retired); author of Asoka in 'Rulers of India.'
Amaravati, Architecture (Hindu), Art (Hindu).

Elève diplômé de l'Ecole des Hautes Études; Ord. Professor of the University of Upsala; Member of the Chapter of Upsala; Pre- bendary of Holy Trinity in Upsala.
Ages of the World (Zoroastri.), Ardashir I.

Srawley (Rev. James Herbert), D.D.
Tutor and Theological Lecturer in Selwyn College, Cambridge; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield.
Antiochene Theology.


STOKES (GEORGE J.), M.A. (T.C.D.). Of Lincoln’s Inn, Barrister-at-Law; Professor of Mental and Social Science in Queen’s College, Cork. Accident, Étiology.

STRACK (HERMANN L.), Ph.D., D.D. Professor der Theologie an der Universität zu Berlin. Anti-Semitism.

STRONG (Very Rev. THOMAS BANKS), D.D. Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; author of A Manual of Theology; Bampton Lecturer in 1886. Absolution.

STRZYGOWSKI (HOFrat DR. JOSEF). Professor der Kunstgeschichte an der Universität zu Graz. Art (Muhammadan).

TASKER (Rev. JOHN G.), D.D. Professor of Theology in the Wesleyan College, Handsworth, Birmingham. Abandonment, Advocate.


TAYLOR (Rev. JOHN), D.Lit., M.A., B.D. Vicar and Rural Dean of Winchcombe, Gloucester. Abyss.

TAYLOR (Rev. ROBERT BRUCE), M.A. Examiner in Economics to the University of Glasgow. Anarchism.

TEMPLE (Lt.-Col. Sir RICHARD), Bart., C.I.E. Hon. Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; late of the Indian Army; Chief Commissioner Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1894. Andaman.

THOMAS (FREDERICK WILLIAM), M.A. Librarian of the India Office; late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

THOMAS (NORTHCOTE WHITRIDGE). Élève diplômé de l’École pratique des Hautes Études; Corresponding Member of the Société d’Anthropologie de Paris; Member of Council of the Folklore Society; author of Thought Transference, Kinship Organization and Group Marriage in Australia. Alcheringa, Animals.

THOMSON (BASIL HOME). Barrister-at-Law; formerly Acting Native Commissioner in Fiji. Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Fijian).


VIDYADHARASANA (SATIS CHANDRA), M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S. Professor of Sanskrit and Pali and Indian Philosophy in the Presidency College, Calcutta; Joint Secretary of the Buddhist Text Society of India. Absolute (Vedanta and Buddhist).


WHISLEY (LEONARD), M.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge; University Lecturer in Ancient History. Amphiptyony.

WHYTE (J. MACKIE), M.A., M.D. (Edin.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.). Physician to the Dundee Royal Infirmary; Lecturer on Clinical Medicine in St. Andrews University. Alcohol.

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

WOODHOUSE (WILLIAM J.), M.A. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, New South Wales. Adoption (Greek, Roman), Amnesty, Aphrodisia, Apollonia.

WOODS (Rev. FRANCIS HENRY), M.A., B.D. Rector of Bainton, Yorkshire; late Fellow and Theological Lecturer of St. John’s College, Oxford. Antediluvians.


DE WULF (MAURICE), Docteur en droit, Docteur en philosophie et lettres. Professeur de Logique, de Critéorologie, d’Histoire de la Philosophie à l’Université de Louvain; Membre de l’Académie royale de Belgique, et du Conseil d’administration de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique; Secrétaire de Réduction de la Revue Néo-Scolastique. Æsthetics.
CROSS-REFERENCES

In addition to the cross-references throughout the volume, to which great attention has been paid, for the subject is one of the utmost importance, the following list should be consulted. It contains topics which have been considered as belonging to the Encyclopedia, but which will be treated more conveniently under other titles. The list does not include the Indian castes or the names of the minor gods.

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SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

I. HEBREW

CONSONANTS

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<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b, bh</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, gh</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, dh</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v, w</td>
<td>p, ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b or ch</td>
<td>q or k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū or ū</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y or j</td>
<td>s, sh</td>
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<tr>
<td>k, kh</td>
<td>t, th</td>
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VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long and Diphthongal</th>
<th>Sh'vās.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā, ē</td>
<td>ō, ō</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ē, ē</td>
<td>ō, ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ō, ō</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ū</td>
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</table>

Composite sh'vās.
(simple sh'vās).

II. ARABIC

CONSONANTS

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<tr>
<td>ُ</td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>gh</td>
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<td>h</td>
<td>f</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḥ</td>
<td>q</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td>dh</td>
<td>l</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
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<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>v, w</td>
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### SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

#### II. ARABIC—continued

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<tr>
<td>i</td>
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<td>an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ū</td>
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</table>

#### III. PERSIAN AND HINDUSTANI

The following in addition to the Arabic transliteration above

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>zh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
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</table>

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

#### IV. SANSKRIT

**CONSONANTS**

- Gutturals—k, kh; g, gh; ā (="ng in finger).  
- Palatals—ch (=ch in church), chh; ğ, jh; ū (=n in onion).  
- Cerebrals—ṭ, ṭh; ḍ, ḍh; ṇ (a sound peculiar to India).  
- Dentals—t, th; d, dh; n (=n in not).  
- Labials—p, ph; b, bh; m.  
- Semi-vowels—y; r; l; v.  
- Sibilants—ś or sh; s or sh; s.  
- Aspirate—h.  
- anusāka (c); anusvāra, ṃ; visarga, ḷ; avagraha (').

**VOWELS**

- Simple: a ā or ā  
  i ī or ī  
  u ū or ū  
  ū  

- Diphthongal: e āi  
  o āu
# Lists of Abbreviations

## I. General

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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## II. Books of the Bible

**Old Testament**

- Gn = Genesis
- Ex = Exodus
- Lv = Leviticus
- Nu = Numbers
- Dt = Deuteronomy
- Js = Joshua
- Jg = Judges
- Rb = Ruth
- Is, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel
- 1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings
- 1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles
- Ezr = Ezra
- Neh = Nehemiah
- Est = Esther
- Job
- Ps = Psalms
- Pr = Proverbs
- Ec = Ecclesiastes

**Apocrypha**

- 1 Es
- 2 Es = 1 and 2
- Tob = Tobit
- Edras.
- Jth = Judith

**New Testament**

- Mt = Matthew
- Mk = Mark
- Lk = Luke
- Jn = John
- Ac = Acts
- Ro = Romans
- 1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2
- Gal = Galatians
- Eph = Ephesians
- Ph = Philippians
- Col = Colossians

Ad. = Additions to

- Sus = Susanna
- Esther
- Wis = Wisdom
- Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus
- Bar = Baruch
- 3 = Song of the Three Maccabees

Bel = Bel and the Dragon

Pr. = Prayer of

- Man = Manasses
- Children

- 1 Th = 1 and 2
- Mk = Mark
- Lk = Luke
- Jn = John
- Ac = Acts
- Ro = Romans
- 1 Co = 1 and 2
- Gal = Galatians
- Eph = Ephesians
- Ph = Philippians
- Col = Colossians

- 1 P = 1 and 2
- Peter
- 1 Jn = 1 John
- 3 Jn = 3 John
- 2 Jn = 2 John
- 3 Jn = 3 John

Jude

Rev = Revelation
III. For the Literature

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

Baalenberg = Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch., 1888.
Benzinger = Heb. Archäologie, 1904.
Brans - Sachau = Syr. - Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert, 1889.
Doughty = Arabia Deserta, 2 vols. 1888.
Grimm = Deutsche Mythologie, 3 vols. 1875-1878.
Hamburger = Realencyclopadie für Bibel u. Talmud, 1, 1870 (=1892), II. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
Holm = Althethischer Sprachschutz, 1891 ff.
Hovitt = Native Tribes of S. E. Australia, 1904.
Jastrow = Die Religion Bab. u. Assyriens, 2 vols. 1903-
Jubinville = Cours de Litt. Celtique, i. - xiii., 1883 ff.
Lagrange = Etudes sur les religions Semitiques, 1904.
Lane = An Arabic English Dictionary, 1863 ff.
Lepsius = Denkmäler aus Ägypten u. Äthiopien, 1849-1860.
Lichtenberger = Exege. des sciences religieuses, 1876.
Liddel = Handbuch der nordischen Epigraphik et Ephylogie, 1898.
Muir = Sanskrit Texts, 1858-1872.
Musil-Arnolt = A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language, 1894 ff.
Pauly-Wissowa = Realeencyc. der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 1894.
Perrot-Chipiez = Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, 1881 ff.
Preller = Römische Mythologie, 1858.
Riémy = Religion des peoples non-civilisés, 1883.
Schwarz = Handwörterbuch d. bild. Altertums, 1893-
Robinson = Biblical Researches in Palestine, 2, 1856.
Schürer = GJ V, 3 vols. 1888-1901 [HJP, 5 vols. 1890 ff.]
Schwally = Leben nach dem Tode, 1892.
Siegfried-Stade = Heb. Worterbuch zum AT, 1893.
Smith (G. A.) = Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 1886.
Smith (W. R.) = Religion of the Semites, 1894.
Spencer (Herbert) = Principles of Sociology, 1885-
Spencer-Gillen = Native Tribes of Central Australia.
Spencer-Gillen b = Northern Tribes of Central Australia, 1904.
Swete = The OT in Greek, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
Tylor (E. B.) = Primitive Culture, 1881.
Weber = Judische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften, 1877.
Wiedemann = Die Religion der alten Ägypter, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, Religious of the Egyptians, 1897].
Wilkinson = Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, 3 vols. 1878.
Zinz = Die gattungstheorischen Vorträge der Juden, 1892.

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

AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
AAOF = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
AG = Abhandlungen d. Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
AG = Archiv f. Geschichte der Philosophie.
AH = American Historical Review.
AHBT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
API = American Journal of Philosopy.
APIJ = American Journal of Psychology.
AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatur.
AJTH = American Journal of Theology.
AG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
APS = American Palestine Exploration Society.
APF = Archiv f. Papyrusforschung.
AR = Anthropological Review.
AW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
ASA = Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
ASOC = L'Année Sociologique.
ASWT = Archaeological Survey of W. India.
AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.

BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (ed. Dollizsch and Haupt). 
BCH = Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique.
BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
BJ = Bellum Judaeicum (Josephus).
BLL = Boston Lectures.
BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
BSA = Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie.
BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
BW = Biblical World.
BZ = Bibliotheca Zeitschrift.
CAIBL = Courtes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
CBTS = Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CF = Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS = Culti of the Greek States (Farnell).
CIA = Corpus Inscrip. Atticorum.
CGF = Corpus Inscrip. Graecorum.
CIL = Corpus Inscrip. Latinarum.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>CIN</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</td>
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<td>COT</td>
<td>Canaanite Inscriptions and the OT [Eng., tr. of KAT; see below]</td>
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<td>CSEL</td>
<td>Corpus Script. Eccles. Latiorum</td>
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<td>DPKP</td>
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<td>FHM</td>
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<td>FL</td>
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<td>GA</td>
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<td>GP</td>
<td>Gesch[]. Bonghi [Franzer]</td>
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<td>GIAP</td>
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<td>HE</td>
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<td>History of Israel</td>
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<td>HF</td>
<td>Hibbert Journal</td>
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<td>HJP</td>
<td>History of the Jewish People</td>
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<td>HN</td>
<td>Historia Naturalia (Pline)</td>
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<td>Handwörterbuch</td>
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<td>Indian Antiquity</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Critical Commentary</td>
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<td>JAS</td>
<td>Journal of Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>JAF</td>
<td>Journal of American Folklore</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Anthropological Institute</td>
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<td>JAO</td>
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<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
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<td>JBS</td>
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<td>JDD</td>
<td>Journal des Débats</td>
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<td>JDTA</td>
<td>Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie</td>
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<td>JF</td>
<td>Jewish Encyclopedia</td>
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<tr>
<td>JGOS</td>
<td>Journal of the German Oriental Society</td>
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<td>JHUC</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University Circulars</td>
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<td>JS</td>
<td>Journal of Hebrew Studies</td>
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<td>JLC</td>
<td>Jener Litteraturzeitung</td>
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<td>Journal of Philology</td>
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<td>JPTA</td>
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<td>JAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>JRAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>JRAISSL</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal branch</td>
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<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., Japan</td>
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<td>JRG</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society</td>
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<td>Journal of Theological Studies</td>
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<td>KAT</td>
<td>Die Keilschriften und das AT (Schrader)</td>
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<td>KAT3</td>
<td>Zimmern-Winkler’s ed. of the preceding [really a totally distinct work]</td>
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<td>LCB</td>
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<td>LOPH</td>
<td>Literaturblatt f. Oriental. Philologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOT</td>
<td>Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver)</td>
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<td>LP</td>
<td>Legend of Perseus (Hartland)</td>
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<td>LSSt</td>
<td>Leipzigser sem. Studien</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Mélemuse</td>
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<td>MABL</td>
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<td>MB</td>
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<td>MGH</td>
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<td>Monatsbericht f. Geschichte u. Wissen- schaft des Judentums</td>
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<td>MNDR</td>
<td>Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</td>
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<td>MJ</td>
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<td>MWJ</td>
<td>Magazine für die Wissenschaft des Judentums</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>Nuovo Bibliotheca Archiologia Cristiana</td>
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<td>NC</td>
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<td>NGW</td>
<td>Neues griechisches Wörterbuch</td>
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<td>NINQ</td>
<td>North Indian Notes and Queries</td>
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<td>OS</td>
<td>Onomastica Sacra</td>
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<td>OTJ</td>
<td>Old Testament in the Jewish Church</td>
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<td>OTP</td>
<td>Oriental Translation Fund Publications</td>
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<td>PAOS</td>
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<td>PASB</td>
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<td>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</td>
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<td>Patrologia Graeca (Migne)</td>
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<td>PJB</td>
<td>Preussische Jahrbücher</td>
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<td>PNQ</td>
<td>Punjab Notes and Queries</td>
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<td>PH</td>
<td>Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke)</td>
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<td>PRE3</td>
<td>Pr. Rendcyclopaedia (Hertzog-Haack)</td>
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<td>PRR</td>
<td>Presbyterian and Reformed Review</td>
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<td>PEB</td>
<td>Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh</td>
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<td>PSBA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</td>
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<td>PST</td>
<td>Psalms Text Society</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>Revue Archéologique</td>
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<td>RA</td>
<td>Revue d’Anthropologie</td>
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<td>RAS</td>
<td>Revue d’Archéologie</td>
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<td>ASSY</td>
<td>Revue d’Assyriologie</td>
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<td>BB</td>
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<td>RBWL</td>
<td>Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washmgton)</td>
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<td>RG</td>
<td>Revue Critique</td>
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<td>Revue Celtique</td>
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<td>RECH</td>
<td>Revue Chretienne</td>
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<td>RDM</td>
<td>Revue des Deux-Mondes</td>
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<td>RE</td>
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<td>REG</td>
<td>Revue Egyptologique</td>
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<td>REJ</td>
<td>Revue des Études Juives</td>
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<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>Revue d’Ethnographie</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHE</td>
<td>Revue d’Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses</td>
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**LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>RHE</td>
<td>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>Revue Numismatique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>Records of the Past.</td>
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<td>RPk</td>
<td>Revue Philosophique.</td>
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<td>RO</td>
<td>Römische Quartalschrift.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire ancienne.</td>
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<td>RSA</td>
<td>Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.</td>
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<td>REI</td>
<td>Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.</td>
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<td>RTA</td>
<td>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTP</td>
<td>Revue des traditions populaires.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTkP</td>
<td>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.</td>
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<td>RTF</td>
<td>Recueil de Travaux.</td>
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<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East.</td>
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<td>SBO</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).</td>
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<td>TRHS</td>
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<td>TS</td>
<td>Texts and Studies.</td>
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<td>TÜ</td>
<td>Texte u. Untersuchungen.</td>
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<td>WAT</td>
<td>Western Asiatic Inscriptions.</td>
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<td>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</td>
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<td>ZATW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.</td>
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<td>ZCK</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.</td>
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<td>ZDA</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.</td>
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<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</td>
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<td>ZDPV</td>
<td>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</td>
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<td>ZKF</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.</td>
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<td>ZKT</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.</td>
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<td>ZM</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.</td>
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<td>ZNTW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft.</td>
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<td>ZPhP</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.</td>
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<td>ZTH</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZVT</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZTVW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZWT</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.</td>
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[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT², LOT⁴, etc.]
A AND Ω.—1. The meaning of this phrase is expressed in Rev 21:20 as "the beginning and the end" (ἡ αρχή καὶ τὸ τέλος). The conception is to be traced to such passages as Is 44:45; 46:9. And it would appear that the thought was taken from the Hebrew rather than from the Septuagint, for in the former each of the three passages expresses finality (יִתְנָה), which is in accordance with Rev 21:18; 22:2; while in the Septuagint the Greek equivalent, though differing in each case, emphasizes the idea of something further (τὸ θερμαίωσις, μετὰ τὰ ὁλόκληρα, εἰς τὸ αἰῶνα). The point, though a small one, is significant, as it affords a piece of subsidiary evidence for a Hebrew original of the Apocalypse (see below).

2. The origin of the phrase is to be sought in pre-Christian times. Among the Jews, the first and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet, א and ט, were used to express totality; thus in Psalm 119:121: "the heavens" (ננהוות יא) are commented upon, it is said that נא, which includes all the letters, implies that all the heavens are meant, their beginning and their end; again, it is said that Adam sinned from א to ט, meaning that he was guilty of every sin; or, once more, Abraham kept the Torah from א to ט, i.e. he kept the whole Law.* There is a well-known Rabbinical saying, 'The seal of God is 'Emeth (논ו = 'truth'); and in Jerus. Sanh. i. 18a, 'Emeth is said to be the name of God, who includes all things: the beginning (א), the middle (ט) is approximately the middle letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and the end (ט), טא might then well correspond to the א שד, ש ה, ק γεύω, 'who is, who was, who is to come,' of Rev 1:8. Logically, indeed, the order should be ש הד, etc.; but to a Hebrew (as the original writer of the book must have been) א שד, as being equivalent to טא (Jahweh), would probably on that account come first. The Hebrew טא, being a well-known formula expressive of entirety, may therefore have been the prototype of Ω. It is, however, necessary to state that the phrase "א and ט" is never (in pre-Christian times) used of God in the way that א and ט is; it is once used of the Shekinah in the Talmud, but as applied to God it occurs first in the Peshitta, which in each case renders א and ט by אל ב אל ק.

3. It is noticeable that wherever the expression occurs in the Apocalypse it is written το Ω and το Ω, i.e. the first letter is written out in full, while the second is represented only by its sign; there must have been some reason for this, and possibly it is to be accounted for in the following way. It is generally held that parts of the Apocalypse were originally written in Hebrew; in this case the form of the expression would be טא טא. Now, the Hebrew characters, as used in the 1st cent., might well have appeared to the Greek translator as representing the Ατωθ written in full, and the Ταυ as the letter Ωεμαγα. Thus, in 1st cent. script: ΤΑΩ; the similarity in both languages of the written 1st letter might have suggested that the second one was intended for an Ωεμαγα. The phrase was thus imitated direct from the Hebrew manner of writing the equivalent expression. This would also account for the fact that in the vast majority of instances (certainly in all the earliest) the symbol was written Αλ, i.e. an uncial Alpha and a cursive Omega.

4. Use of the symbol in the Christian Church.—A great variety of objects have been found with this symbol inscribed upon them; it figures on tombstones, as well as on other monuments, on mosaics, frescoes, and bricks, also on vases, cups, lamps, and on rings; it appears also on coins, its earliest occurrence on these being of the time of Constantine and Constantius, the sons of Constantine the Great.† These all belong to different ages and different countries; in its earliest known form (Rome, A.D. 256) it appears as 'ω et Α', but this is exceptional, and is perhaps of Gnostic origin. The symbol in its usual form is found on objects

* 'Particula τα quota est nomen Schechime, q.d. Ezech. 19:2 Est audivi τα vocem loquentem mecum' (Scheelten, op. cit. p. 1866). It is interesting to note that τα τα ('the last') is, in Midrashic literature, used as a name of the Messiah, and is identified with the 7τατα ('Redeemer') of Jev 1925.
† See Cabrol's DACL, art. 'Αλ.'
‡ See Brey, art. 'Α έν Άλ.'
belonging to the 3rd cent. in Rome and N. Africa; on belonging to the 4th cent. it has been
found in Asia Minor, Sicily, Upper and Lower
Italy, and Gaul; by the beginning of the Middle
Ages it must have become known in most of the
countries of Central Europe.

The combinations in which the symbol is found
are very varied, * the most frequent being the fol-
loving: with a cross, with a cross and the Christ-
monogram (A Ω ω), surrounded by a wreath (symbolic of the victory of love), within a
circle (symbol of eternity), in combination with a
triangle (the symbol of the Trinity). It will be
seen, therefore, that, generally speaking, the
letters are combined with figures which have re-
ference to Christ, not to the other Persons of the
Trinity (but see below); so that they were clearly
used as inculcating the doctrine of Christ’s Divinity;
for this reason the letters, in this form, were
avoided, as far as our knowledge goes, by the
Arians.

Among the Gnostics the symbol was used for
figure-juglery and for mystical doctrines of
various kinds; * e.g., when written backwards, Ω
and Ω have the numerical value 801, which is
likewise the sum of the letters of the word παναγία
(dove); therefore, they taught, Christ called Him-
self Ω and because the Holy Spirit came down
upon Him at His baptism in the form of a dove.

This is doubtless the reason why Ωω is found in
combination with a dove; not infrequently two
doves figure, one on either side of the letters.
Examples of this are the two little golden boxes,
found in Vatican gravies, which have inscribed on
them the device Ω ω and a dove (5th cent.)*.
The like device is seen on a silver cappaletta,
found at Trèves, belonging to the 4th or 5th cent.;
indeed, this combination would almost appear to
have been the normal form of the symbol in
Trèves, judging by the frequency of its occurrence
there.*

5. There is one other point that is worth alluding
to. In the Apocalypse Ω and Ω is explained as
signifying δ να χ ρ χ και τ ι τ ι ιο ν, the beginning
and the end (219). This is the simplest, and no doubt
the earliest, form of explanation; in 220 the same
form is preceded by a parallel one, ‘the first and the
last’ (ο πρωτος και δ να χ ρ χ και τ ι τ ι ιο ν),
which closely resembles the idea of the one.

The last thing as the first.* Thus, so far from Ω
denoting the ‘last or the ‘end in the usual sense
of the words, it really implies the beginning of
a new era. From this point of view one can well
understand the frequency of the symbol Ω, which
experience had proved that the belief in Christ’s imminent Parousia
was a mistaken one, the hopes of Christians would natural-
ly be transferred to the life beyond the grave.

ABANDONMENT.—In considering the ethical
and religious uses of this word, we have to re-
member that abandonment has an active, a re-
flexive, and a passive meaning. It may signify:
1. Abandoning (1) the action of the Divine
Glory, and its absolute devotion to the
Divine will. In the dialogue
narrated by Doctor Eckhart (Vanghian. Hours with
the Mystics, bk. vi. ch. 1.), a learned man asks a
beggar, ‘Is there last the found God?’ and the
answer is, ‘Where I abandoned all creatures.’ To
the scholar’s greeting, ‘God give thee good morrow,’
the poor man’s response is, ‘I never had an ill
morrow. Whereupon the scholar says, ‘But if I
did not care to cast thee into hell, what would thou
do then?’ The beggar’s reply closes with the words,
‘I would sooner be in hell and have God, than
in heaven and not have Him.’ Doctor Eckhart’s
comment is, ‘Then understood as inner, but
true. Abandonment, or utter Abasement, was the
nearest way to God.’

3. When abandonment means ‘the condition of
being abandoned,’ the reference is usually to the

*S. Gunkel, Schlagung und Chaos in Uetzl and Endzell, p. 309.

1. See the exhaustive list of symbols in Cahol. op. cit. 1. pp
7-22.

2. See the fine plates in F. X. Kraus, Die christlichen Inschr.
der Rheinlande (1845). In one case a horse takes the
place of the dove; is this an instance of syncretism?

3. The later form of explanation (19) was perhaps due to this.
ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE

The biographies of devout believers bear witness, however, to an opposite tendency by some who can reproach themselves neither of cowardice nor of departing from God, nor on account of their doubting His faithfulness. Martens (op. cit. p. 301 ff.) describes this condition as one in which 'the individual is, in a real sense, forsaken by God Almighty and forsaken by His grace.' In the religions life he distinguishes two states of holiness: one in which 'the blessing of the Divine grace is perceptibly revealed,' and another in which 'the grace, as it were, hides itself.' The latter state is one of inward drought and abandonment, and may be the result of bodily indisposition or mental weakness. At such times 'we should hold to God's word, whose truth and grace are independent of our changing moods and feelings; and remain confident that even in states of deepest abandonment God the Lord is with us, although with veiled face.'

A sense of abandonment by the Father was the experience of Christ during the darkness that surrounded Calvary; to this fact witness is borne in the earliest Gospel, for St. Mark records none of the Seven Sayings from the Cross save this: 'My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Ps 22, Mt 27:46). Professor Schmiedel accepts this as one of the five 'absolutely credible passages' in the Gospels concerning Christ (Eii, vol. ii. col. 1881). Bengel (loc. cit.) lays stress on the preterite tense of ἔφεσαν, and renders, 'why didst thou forsake me?' In his view, 'at that very instant the dereliction came to an end... in the deepest moment of dereliction He was silent.' This suggestion of course, is not to be pressed; the cry itself testifies to an actual feeling of abandonment by Him whose spirit never lost its faith in God. The mystery it expresses is unresolved unless He who uttered it was the sinless Saviour, who in His infinite love was bearing 'our sins in his body upon the tree' (P 2:24).

In a lucid exposition of this Word from the Cross, W. L. Walker says: 'Our Lord felt Himself in this supreme moment forsaken, even though He might have been unequivocally forsaken in view of the eternal truth revealed by His life, as "a sacrifice for sin, or "a guilt-offering"' (The Cross and the Kingdom [1932], p. 138 f.). [See art. 'Dereliction' in Hastings's DB].

J. G. Tasker.

ABANDONMENT.

The most helpless of mankind are those who have just begun life, and those who, through old age or infirmity, are about to leave it. Unable to provide for their own needs, they are entirely dependent upon the love or the compassion of others. Individual cases of neglect of infancy and age are not unknown in any country, but in some cases this neglect passes beyond an individual idiosyncrasy and becomes a national custom. This neglect of children takes the form of regarding them from the mother's habituation and leaving them unprotected to perish by starvation, from the elements, or wild beasts, or to be rescued by the chance passer-by, it is called Exposure. The similar treatment of the aged and infirm is called Abandonment.

1. Exposure. — For the exposure of children there are several causes, which require to be treated independently. In different countries different causes occasion the same result.

(1) In most countries the commonest cause of exposure of infants is shame, the child being the offspring either of an unmarried woman or of a union not recognized as regular by the customs of her country. Less frequently, the shame may be occasioned by some malformation of the infant itself, the parents regarding it as a reproach to them to be associated with a monster. In the legends of most countries great heroes are often represented as having been exposed to conceal the shame of their mothers. The exposure may be the act of the mother herself, as in the case of Evadne exposing Iamus (Frontius, Olympian, vol. 44 ff.; cf. the exposure of Ion in Euripides' Ion, 18 ff.), or it may be ordered or executed by the parents of the mother. Acrisius, in the fragment of Simonides, seeing Acrisius and Perseus together at adrift, in Roman legend, Romulus and Remus, the twin children of Rhea Sylvia, are exposed by the orders of the cruel uncle, Amulius (Livy, i. 4). In cases of this kind children are exposed without regard to sex.

(2) Children are exposed from fear that the means of subsistence will not be sufficient to maintain a larger population. Here exposure is often only

* The words 'abandon' and 'abandonment' are not found in the EV, but the essential thought is expressed in such passages as are quoted above.
one of many methods of infanticide. The populations among which it is most common are those which live by hunting or as nomad herdmen. Thus, amongst the native tribes of South-East Australia it is usual to kill infants by starvation, first by depriving them of food in the camp, and, when this does not suffice, removing them to a distance and leaving them to die. The death, however, is assigned to wiyarn (magic) (Howitt, Native Tribes of S. E. Australia, p. 748). In the South Sea Islands the same end is achieved by dropping them into the sea by night. In central India, among the Kalahari tribes (Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States of America, i. p. 81, cf. pp. 131, 566, etc., and see foll. art.). Among the Arabs before Muhammad the same system prevailed, and is referred to frequently in the Qur'an as a practice to be forbidden. Here sons were preserved, but daughters were usually buried alive. They attribute daughters unto God (far be it from Him!); but unto themselves children of the sex which they desire. And when any of them is told of the news of a female, his face becometh black, and he deserts her, and consents not of his own will whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust. Do they not make an ill judgment? (Qur'an, Sur. xvi. 59, 60; cf. Pindar, Olympian, xi. 5.) Professor Ritter, in his Vater und Hochzeit in Early Arabia, ch. iv. and especially note c). In tribes of this kind the carrying about of the weak and helpless causes great difficulty; hence many nomad tribes abandon the old as well as expose the young. When there is no such practice or custom, prevailing, if the religion of the tribe includes ancestor-worship, daughters only will be exposed. In the patriarchal system only a son can properly present the sacrifice to the dead ancestors. On the other hand, where wives are purchased, a large family of daughters is a profitable possession, and naturally they will not be exposed. Hence in Homerian Greece, where girls are described as τραγόδες ἄνεσιόνα, 'maidens that win cattle,' because cattle were, at any rate originally, the bride-price, it was only boys that were exposed. The only exceptions are cases like the Arcadian Alkathina, who was exposed by the orders of her father Iasios, because he was disappointed that she was not a boy. In Sarawak it is considered specially fortunate to have a large family of girls, because the successful suitors for the daughters come to live in their parents' house and work on their sugar plantations, while sons expect their parents to help them with the wedding portion, and leave them in order to work for their father-in-law (H. Ling Roth, Sarawak, p. 165). Exposure in Sarawak, presumably of male children, is practised by hanging them up in a basket on a tree (op. cit. p. 101, note). (3) Exposure for other economic reasons. Amongst those reasons which prevail especially among agricultural populations, perhaps the chief is the serious drain upon family resources in providing dowries for a large number of daughters. In modern India, exposure is one method of infanticide have on this account been widely employed to reduce the number of daughters. Although the British Government has made every effort to suppress this practice as it is, it is entirely succeeded (H. H. Riesey, Census of India, 1901, vol. i. p. 115f.). Exposure of female infants is common in most parts of the East, nowhere more so than in China, where the foundling hospital is a regular institution. The practice is especially prevalent at Rome, where, after the Second Punic War, it was considered unnecessary to have a proennomen for the daughters of the family, as generally only one, or at most two, were reared. Full discretion in this matter lay with the father, who took up (avatulit) the newborn child laid at his feet, if he wished it reared. If he did not, it was exposed. According to Dusmenius of Haliarnassus (ii. 15), a law of Romulus forbade the exposing of sons or of the eldest daughter. If five neighbours gave their consent after viewing the child, any infant might be exposed. Otherwise the dispensation for infanticide was subject to laws, and penalties, including the loss of half his property. In historical times this law had apparently fallen into desuetude. A similar practice prevailed amongst the ancient Germans. If the father did not take up the newborn babe from the floor, it was not reared. When once its lips had been smeared with honey or milk, however, it could not be exposed. By taste of the family food, it became a member of the family. Even so, in Greek legend, Aresius becomes a god by having nectar and ambrosia dropped upon his lips by deities (Pindar, Pythian, ix. 68). The exposure was carried out by placing the child under a tree or beside a stream of water, or on a pasturage, or by exposing it to the archers, or, as the child grew older, to the arrows of exposing female children and of lifting up a son (Zimmer, Althinisches Leben, p. 319 ff.). Amongst the natives of Australia, it is the father that usually decides whether a child is to be reared or not, though he is not infrequently beguiled by the mother (Lunholz, Among Cannibals, p. 272). (4) Superstitious reasons may be of various kinds: an oracle, as in the case of Oedipus, that the child will be dangerous to his sire; a dream, either of the mother, as in the case of Paris, whose mother dreamt that she had been delivered of a firebrand which consumed Troy; or of some other relative, as in the case of Cyrus, founder of the Persian Empire, who was exposed by the orders of his maternal grandfather, Astyages, because Astyages dreamt that his daughter gave birth to a deluge which flooded, and afterwards to a vine which overshadowed, all Asia (Herod. i. 107-108). In modern India, till recently, a child was exposed if it happened to be born on a certain day which the professional astrologer declared to be unlucky (Dubois and de Pradon, Teacher to the Empress, p. 600). In many countries twins are looked upon as illomened. Even where, as in Uganda, the birth of twins is regarded as lucky, it is considered rather a tempting of providence (Sir H. H. Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, p. 878). Even in medieval Scotland it was considered impossible that the mother of twins should have been faithful to her husband, for two children implied two fathers. Exposures sometimes employed in order to avert continuous misfortune. In the Kavirondo country and amongst the Nilotic negroes, a woman who has already lost several children leaves the next child on the grass and does not return, hoping that it is brought up by a friendly neighbour, who is regarded and looked on henceforth as the child's foster-mother (Uganda Protectorate, pp. 748, 793). The exposure of emaciated infants is a stone-age custom still practised, though now only surreptitiously, amongst the Greeks of the island of Melos (Bent, Cyclades, p. 64), is a survival of the ancient ἔξονδες in a temple to be cured by the god. (5) We are only able to give a very slight example of this is the practice of Sparta, where children regarded as physically unfit were exposed.
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posed in a ravine called Apotheke near Mt. Taygetus after they had been examined and rejected by the elders of the tribe (ψαλά) (Pius Tatch, Lycyrrus, c. 10). A similar procedure is represented in Aeschylus' tragedy (461 C. and elsewhere; see Appendix IV. to bk. v. in Adam's edition). In a State like Sparta, where, as Aristotle remarks, all its neighbours were enemies, a primitive custom and where the Spartans proper were only a small governing caste amid a hostile population, the need for such a regulation is obvious. But in a less stringent measure the regulation no doubt existed in other States as well. The Athenians were accustomed to the amphiornphis for his child, it was not reared. No State save Thebes, and this apparently only at a late date, forbade exposure (Aelian, Varia Historia, ii. 7). The child was to be taken to the authorities, who disposed of it to a person willing to undertake to bring it up as a slave, and recoup himself for his outlay by the child's services when it grew up.

(6) Luxury and selfishness. Although luxury is in itself a characteristic feature of the highly civilized, selfishness can be found in all lands. Among the native Australians, where the children are often nursed for several years, it is incorrect to assume that all which are left on her hands. Such a child is either killed immediately after birth or left behind when the camp is changed (Spencer and Gillen, Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1899, p. 51; Howitt, The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, 1904, p. 750). In many countries, ancient and modern, an improvement in the standard of living is accompanied by a disinclination to rear children. From the 4th cent. B.C. onwards, this was conspicuous in Greece, and in Rome it formed a theme of discussion for philosophers and satirists. How common the practice of exposure was, may be gathered from the frequency with which the heroes of the New Comedy, who come before us in the Latin versions of Plautus and Terence, are represented as having been exposed. They are, of course, recognized at the critical moment by the trinkets (crependia) which were attached to the exposed infant. Under the Roman Empire, Maimus Rufus (p. 77, Heine) discusses whether all the children born should be reared; and Pliny (Epp. x. 74 f.) consults the emperor Trajan as to the legal position of the exposed child. There was exposure in Bithynia (p. 590) in the province of Bithynia. As the Roman comedy shows, the persons who thus reared exposed children were not moved by philanthropy; their aim was to make them slaves or courtisans (cf. e.g. Terence, Heautontimoramentos, 649; Plautus, Cistellaria, i. 3. 543-630). Only when a child was exposed for superstitious reasons which made its death desirable, was it exposed where it was not likely to be found. As the Athenians exposed children in a pot (ψαλα, ψαλεται), and as first-fruits were offered to the household gods in pots, it has been suggested that putting a child in a pot was a way of entrusting it to the gods. This is possible, but there is at present no sufficient evidence to prove it.

Besides these categories, exposure may be due, in isolated cases, to other causes, e.g. domestic peculation, which led to the exposure of Haggai and her child from the family of Abraham, and her temporary abandonment of Ishmael (Gen 21:23). Temporary national persecution also may lead to exposure, as in the case of Habbakuk (Ex 21:9). But neither is an example of a practice pursued by a nation in ordinary circumstances.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works referred to in the text, there is an article upon exposure amongst the Indo-Germanic peoples in Schrader's Reihenfus der Spr., Alberts brande (s. a. Gesamtvers.), and a very full article in Daremberg-Saglio's Dict. des Antiquites greco-romaines (s. a. 'Exposition'). For general treatment of the subject see Platz, Gesch. des Verbrechens durch Exposition (Stuttgart, 1920); modern legal procedure, and Lainnung, Hist. des enfants abandon- nes et dehors (Paris, 1859). See also Westermarck, History of Human Marriage (1905), pp. 311-314; Plouc, Idee Kind (1884), vol. ii. pp. 243-275.

2. Abandonment.—Abandonment of the aged seems to arise simply from dread of the food supply running short, and deficiency amongst nomad peoples of carrying about with them those who are no longer able to share in the work of the tribe or to shift for themselves. The practice, however, does not prevail amongst all wandering tribes. Among the native Australians the aged and infirm are treated with special kindness and provided with a share of the food (Spencer and Gillen, Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1899, p. 91). On the other hand, the natives of South Africa in their primitive state abandoned the old. 'I have seen,' says Moffat (Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa, 1842, p. 132), 'a small circle of stakes fastened in the ground, within which were old people who are continually exposed in the beetle on the sun, who had been thus abandoned.' Amongst the American Indians of the Pacific coast the old are generally neglected, and are often left to fend for themselves (Hancock, Native Races of the Pacific States of America, pp. 120, 131, 205, 390, and elsewhere). Among many tribes the duty of looking after the old belongs only to their own descendants. Hence the members of such tribespray for large families, in order that when old they may have some one to support them (H. Ling Roth, Bein, p. 47). In the Qur'an, Muhammad combines the injunction to be kind to parents with a warning not to kill the children (Sur. vi. 150). Amongst the Indo-Germanic peoples, abandonment of the old is mentioned in the Vedas (Rig Veda, viii. 51. 82[1020]; Atharva Veda, xviii. 2. 34; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 327 fr.). In ancient Persia and Armenia, cripples were left to shift for themselves; and Strabo, who is supported by other authorities, tells us that the Bactrians left the old and infirm to be eaten by dogs; and the Avesta itself recognizes the practice of setting a portion of food by such persons and leaving them to die (Strabo, xi. 11. 3; Vendidad, iii. 18 [in this case a person ceremonially impure is thus shut up for life]; Spiegel, Œuvres卤. Ahermä, p. 129). To expose an old man or woman, or those over seventy to die of hunger, and expose their bodies in the desert to wild animals (Strabo, xi. 11. 3). Still more gruesome stories are told by Herodotus (i. 219, iii. 99, iv. 29) of the Massa- getes, of the Padoi (an Indian tribe), and of the Issedones. Even among the Greeks the removal of the old was not unknown. Most remarkable was the law of Ceos, which prevented 'him who was unable to live well from living ill.' By it all over sixty years of age were poisoned with hemlock (Strabo, x. 5-6). Amongst the Romans, sexa- genarians are supposed to have been in early days cast over a bridge (the potamia of the Orite ('Semen, 1885, 1. 1. 314), no doubt because they are supposed to be under
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the infirmity of an evil power, generally a ghost (Cordination, The Molemeneces, p. 194).

ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE (American).—1. The practice of infant-exposure was widespread throughout North America. The usual motive, especially in the North, was the lack of food, and the consequent difficulty of supporting a family. This practice is recorded among the Eskimos of Smith Sound in the extreme north-east of the American continent, where all children above the number of two are either strangled or exposed to die of hunger or cold, without regard to sex. Infanticide, both before and after birth, which is but another form of exposure, is also common, as when the women of the Kutchins, an Athapaskan tribe, kill their female children to save them from the misery which their mothers must endure (ib.). Old women were sometimes abandoned for want of care, and among the Konagas, a tribe of the Pacific coast, boys were highly prized, but girls were often taken to the wilderness, where their months were spent with great care. It was a custom among the Certyncolumbian tribes usually treated both children and the aged with kindness, yet abandoned and even killed them in time of dire need, while exposure was not uncommon among the Yutan tribe of Colombia in New Mexico (Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States, San Francisco, 1883, i. 81, 279, 566). That this practice is by no means modern, is shown by the fact that the Indians of Acacila in the 17th cent. frequently abandoned what were termed the "kinder" of aged parents. No one took care of them, and in Quebec orphans were often exposed. An interesting case is also recorded of a Huron mother who regarded the circumstances associated with her unborn child as uncanny, and therefore procured an abortion. The foetus proved, however, to be viable and later she took it back, although it grew up to be a 'medicine-man.' (Jeant Relations and Allied Documents, i. 256, xvi. 28, xii. 108).

Abandonment of inoffensive and mischievous, sparing neither sex, rank, nor kinship, seems to have been common among the American Indians of all times and localities. In Acacila (New France), those who were outcasts, either the products of the preventions or the frequently killed, this act being deemed, as it doubtless was in many instances, a kindness. Old men were abandoned to die, especially when sick; but if they did not expire within a month or two, they were killed by sucking blood from incisions made in the abdomen, and then dashing quantities of cold water on the navel. During this process and at the first desertion the victims wrapped themselves in their mantles and formally requested the death-begun. Among the Hurons and Iroquois the sick were left to their fate, and in the latter tribe even husband and wife deserted each other in an illness deemed mortal. Old women were very often abandoned among the Hurons, and the Alenhaksa deserted their medicine-men with equal readiness. The custom of abandoning the sick is said to have been especially common among the Algonquins. Not only the old but the young were abandoned in time of serious illness, whether the sick were boys or girls. Such desertions were practised with special frequency in time of sudden alarm or removal, although they were also common for the simple reason that the old and sick were deemed a burden, and the Jeant Relations (63 vols., Cincinnati, 1856-1901) abound in pathetic instances (i. 211, 238, 574, ii. 14, 18, 250, xxxii. 124, iv. 198, v. 102, 140-142, vi. 290, xiv. 72, 152, xv. 354, xvii. 196, xix. 100, xxiv. 42, xxviii. 34, xxx. 134, xxxi. 196, etc.). As late as the 19th cent. the Utes abandoned the old and sick when they became enfeebled, while aged parents were murdered in most cold-blooded fashion among the Californian Gallineros; and in Lower California the aged were never abandoned, or, if they survived their desertion too long (Bancroft, op. cit. i. 83, 390, 437, 508).

2. In South America, in like manner, the exposure of infants is very extensively practiced. Among the Salinas and the Manaos, malformed children are put to death, since their deformity is supposed to be the work of a demon. Guaycuran women under the age of thirty killed the majority of their children, thus seeking to retain the good will of their husbands, who were denied all marital relations during the long period of sucking, and consequently frequently married other wives. The Abipones put to death all but two children in a family, though girls were given preference over boys, since wowers paid large sums for brides, while sons, for this very reason, were a heavy expense to their parents. In Patagonia the parents often adopted an infant with some caste, and if the resolve was adverse, the infant was either strangled or exposed to the dogs. (See Ploss, op. cit. ii. 252-253). The women of the Amazon tribes frequently procure an abortion rather than endure the pangs of childbirth (von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brazilien, Berlin, 1894, pp. 334, 503); and among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco fully half the children born are put to death, especially if they are deformed or posthumous, or if their fathers or mothers die about the time the offspring in question are born; while girls, if born before boys, are invariably killed (W. Fr. Grüber, Among the Indians of Paraguayan Chaco, London, 1904, p. 64). The same tribes abandon the sick or bury them alive, the invalid frequently hastening his own end by refusing food (ib. p. 41). Abandonment probably prevails more generally in South America, however, than the relatively scanty data would seem to imply.

ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE (Hindu).—The ancient Sanskrit literature of India appears to have preserved some remnants of the time when the patria potestas gave the father a right to abandon and expose his children, especially daughters. Thus it is stated in the lawbook of Yajñavalkya, that they were "not to have power to give, to sell, and to abandon their son." More ambiguous is a text in the Yajur Veda, to the effect that 'they put aside a girl immediately after her birth.' It is beyond my intention that this 'putting aside' of a daughter is an equivalent for exposing her, as was supposed by some writers. Others explain the term as referring to the delivery of a girl to her nurse or attendant (see Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 328; Eckelring's art. 'Pflegeten die In der Tötcher auszusetzen,' in JGOS xiv. 494 ff.; also Schrader, Reihentaxis, p. 53). It is true that female infanticide has been common among the tribes of India up to very recent times, and the barbarous custom of widow-burning (satī) would seem to show that sentiment could not have stood in the way if it was thought expedient to do away with female children as soon as born. As regards the desertion of sons, there are, particularly, the law-texts referring to the rights and position of the aapvididda, or son cast off, one of the twelve species of sons who are enumerated and described by Indian legislators. Thus in the Code of Manu (ix. 171), the aapvididda is described as one deserted by his parents or by either of them. The old commentator (Meshātūti) adds that the reason of the desertion may be either extreme distress of the
parents, or the committing of some fault on the part of the boy. If some one else takes pity on the helpless child and brings him up, he is reckoned as his adopted child, though taking a rather low rank in the series of secondary sons even without a just cause. Vayjalavalkya (i. 237) says: 'Whoever, being father and son, sister and brother, husband and wife, preceptor and pupil, abandon each other when not degraded (put out of caste), shall be fined 100 pabbas.' Analogous rules are laid down by Visnu, v. 113, and Manu, viii. 389. The practice of buying or selling children is specially reprobated (see Apanamala, ii. 13. 11). The desertion or repudiation of a wife is frequently referred to in the law books as a punishment for misconduct on her part, but it appears that in most cases she was not to be deprived of a bare maintenance. In a modern text, the repudiation of a wife for any offence short of adultery is characterized as a practice no longer fit for the present (or Kali) age. The higher Hindu castes of the present day do not admit divorce or repudiation as a matter of course at all; but it is common enough among the lower castes, especially those of Dravidian origin, where the marriage tie is very loose. For the supposed abandonment and exposure of old people, Sanskrit literature seems to contain no other evidence than a text of the Atharva Veda (viii. 2. 34), in which the spirits of exposed ancestors are invoked side by side with those barried or burnt. However, the term 'abandoned' (indhlata) is ambiguous, and may refer either to dead bodies exposed on the summits of hills or to those on trees, according to Persian fashion. Exposure of old people, in a certain way, may be found in the barbarous custom, suppressed by the British Government, of taking persons supposed to be dying to the banks of the Ganges and immersing them in water.

There is statistical evidence * in that the Punjab female infant life is still culpably neglected in comparison with male; and that, using the term in a wide sense, female infant life is more prevalent in that part of India on a large scale, chiefly among the Jats, and, despite the prohibition of the Sikh teachers, especially among those of that caste who profess Sikhism.

H. A. Rose.

ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE (Japanese).---There is no evidence of the existence in Japan of the custom of abandoning the aged. Isolated cases of the practice of exposure of infants do occur in Japan, as in other countries, but it has never approached recognition as a general custom. From the myth of the god Hiruko (leech-child), it may be inferred that the abandonment of deformed infants was not uncommon in the earliest times. The Nihongi tells us that when this god had completed his third year he was still unable to walk. His parents therefore placed him in the rock-cavern in the cellar below the shrine and went about their business. We may compare the stories of Moses and Sargon.

W. G. ASTON.

ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE (Persepolis).---The data concerning the exposure of infants in Persia are very scanty. According to the Avesta (Vendidad, ii. 29), all deformities were regarded as

* Punjib Census Reports, 1881, 1901, 1911; also Sanitary Commission Report in the Punjab, 1903 § 22, 1904 § 26, 1901 § 14, 1897 § 20, and earlier Reports.

the work of the Evil One. It is not impossible, therefore, that deformed children and viable monsters were exposed with more or less frequency; and this is expressly stated to have been the case with the child of the shepherd from the mother of his father Sam, because he was born with white hair, which distinctly marked him, in his parent's eyes, as the offspring of Ahriman (Shah-Nama, ed. Vullers-Lambert, pp. 131-133). On the other hand, no reason to suppose that such exposure was the rule. Cyrus the Great, in like manner, according to Herod. i. 1071, was by his grandfather exposed and ordered to be killed because of a dream which prophesied that the infant would be the future lord of Asia. Nor can it be inferred, from the marked preference given in the Avesta to sons rather than daughters (Geiger, Ostiran, Kultur, pp. 234, 235), that the latter were exposed, the entire spirit of Zoroastrianism making such a conclusion most improbable. Even in the case of an illegitimate child, it was regarded as a heinous offence to procure an abortion (Vendidad, xv. 5-16). On the contrary, the prospective mother of an illegitimate child must be carefully protected by the man responsible for her conduct, lest some harm might come to the foetus. This undoubtedly implies that, according to Zoroastrian teaching, the desertion of infants was abhorrent to the noblest minds of Persia. The Pahlavi Shastar to-Shastar, dating perhaps from the 7th cent., states that the father of children by a concubine 'shall accept all those who are male as sons; but those who are female are no advantage' (xii. 14). This does not, however, imply that female bastards were exposed. In the book of Arda-Viraf the failure of a father to acknowledge his illegitimate offspring condemned them to a piteous life in hell, while at the feet of such a parent 'several children fell, and ever screamed; and demons, just like dogs, ever fell upon and tore him.' The punishments of hell also awaited the mother who destroyed her infant and threw away its corpse, or left it crying for cold and hunger; while those who, in their greed for wealth, withheld their milk from their own infants that they might act as wet-nurses to the offspring of others, likewise suffered punishment in the future life (ed. Hang and West, xliii-xlv, lxxvii-xciv).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABASEMENT.—Ablasement in religious experience is closely connected with Adoration and Humility (see these articles). It appears to be essentially relative, and the essence of it to lie in a recognition of the comparative worthlessness of the self in the presence of a superior. In these religions which give great room to prayer and to the sense of God, abasement has always been an important element: its influence is marked in the Hebrew (see, for instance, the penitential psalms), and in all forms of the Christian, e.g., in St. Paul's determination to know nothing but Christ crucified (1 Cor 2), in Luther's conviction that the soul was weak though Christ was strong (Letter to Pope Leo X. concerning Christian liberty), in Thomas à Kempis' warning never to esteem oneself as anything because of any good works (De Incit. Chr. bk. iii. ch. 4), in Wesley's demand that the sinner should first and foremost empty himself of his own righteousness in order to trust only in the blood of the Redeemer (Journal, 5th Sept. 1746).

Extravagances have been common, and in modern times there have been assertions, e.g., that of pantheism, Walt Whitman, preach in different ways the need of man's 'purity in himself.' A strong common-sense expression of this feeling is given by Jowett:

* The abasement of the individual before the Divine Being is really a sort of Pantheism, so far that in the moral world God is
ABBO T

everything and man nothing. But man thus abased before God is no proper or rational worshipper of Him. There is a want of proportion in this sort of religion. God who is everything is not required to abase as if He allowed his created frail agency to exist side by side with Him (Life of Juvett, by Le Blanc, vol. ii. p. 153). But this should not blind us to the fact that prayer and the religions of prayer seem bound up with the belief that man depends on God, and does not merely exist side by side with Him. Now, in the hands of analysis, humility and the abasement that is its intenser form appear as a reflexion in regard and emotion of this belief. The sense that man does no good thing of himself alone, but always as flinging himself on the Eternal Love, is, in especial a leading characteristic of Christianity. The repentant Publican is set above the moral Pharisee precisely because he would not attempt to justify himself (Lk 18).

Even those religious—those systems of aspiration and effort—which do not recognize this kind of dependence, would still find room for some abasement in the recognition of the gap between what the individual is and what he wishes to be. But, from their point of view, why should not a man pride himself on such good as he has already attained? Yet to the religious consciousness of many the presence of this pride would appear to vitiate the whole. If the justice of this for this must lie in the conviction that man does depend for his goodness on something greater than himself. To a certain extent, no doubt, this might be found in the good elements of character that have produced and surrounds the individual. But the Christian hatred of self-complacency seems to go further still, and to imply a belief that in the very assimilation by the individual of these good elements belongs to him himself.

It would be idle to deny the difficulties in this conception, or to pretend that they have ever yet been solved. The paradox of St. Paul—"Work out your own salvation . . . for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to work" (Ph 2:12)—has remained a paradox even for those who maintain it. But conviction of some truth in the paradox is, at bottom, the same as the conviction of Resklin that, if the Greeks were great at Thermopylae, greater still were the Hebrews at the Red Sea, trusting not in the resolution they had taken, but in the hand they held (see Modern Painters, Part III, § 1. ch. 7).

F. M. STAWELL

ABBOT (Christian).—'Abbot,' in Latin abba or abbas (Old Eng. by-form 12th to 17th cent. abbat), from the Syriac [彌], meaning 'father' (cf. Mk 14:2, Ro 8:17, Glk 4), was used in the earliest religious communities for the older or more vener- ated monks (cf. Jerome in Gal. 4:4 and in Matt. 23:8, vol. vii. 451, 185, and the Collections of Cassian, passim). The superior was not called abbot, but prior, επισκοπαρχιας or προφητας, and in the West propostus (Cassian, etc.). The prevailing Byzan-
tine term was προφητας (translit. μυστικής) in Latin, while an archimandrite was often a superior kind of abbot, and this title was also given to various monastic grades (cf. Stupes, J. A. H., 'The history of the Order of Archbishops in Rome,' p. 6. Arch, Chrét, et de Lit. s.v. 'Archimandrite,' 1900). In the East διακός appears as a tr. from the Latin, or as an honorific title, e.g. in the Acts of St. Maximus Conf. in the 7th century. In the West, however, abbob and abbeau, vol. p. 153, and the superior title of the monastic at the 5th cent., since this sense is taken for granted by St. Benedict in the first half of the 6th cent., and from that period this title is attached to the name of St. Benedict himself. If therefore propostus will be understood of the second in command, who was later always called prior, even by Benedicites. The name abba is also applied, it seems, by Gregory of Tours to what we should call a rector with many curates, and it was extended in Merovingian times to chaplains of the king, the army, etc. (abbas curia, palatinus, castrensis, etc.). A layman holding an abbey in commendam in the 9th or 10th cent. was called abbonasenes or abbonaens. The title of abbas of some of smaller communities were called priors. The Cistercian branch of Benedicites called their superior mones, and neither the Carthusians nor any of the orders of friars which arose in the 13th cent., nor any subsequent religious congregation, have ever taken up the title of abbob, though 'abbas was retained in the second order of Franciscaen (Poor Clares). At the present day the Benedicites (black monks), with their branches, the Cistercians, reformed and unrefoned, and the black and white canons regular (canons reg. of the Lateran and Premonstratensians) are governed by abbots.

The first mention of an abbas (abbatiss) is said to be in an inscription set up by an Abbev Serena at St. Agnes extra muros in 514.

In some religious congregations have the title abbob general, archabbob, abbob president. The Abbot of Montecassino has the honorific title of archabbob, and in the Middle Ages, when head of a congregation, and on the death of his, the abbob of Primas, was given in 1853 to the Abbot of St. Anselm, Rome (built by Leo XIII.), as president of the new union of all black Benedicites.

The government of an abbob or an abbas is strictly monarchical. Before St. Benedict (c. 520) the abbob was the living rule, guided, if he chose, by the traditions of the Fathers of the desert, by the rules of Pachomius, or Basil, or Augustine, or by the customs of the Lerins, or by himself active. It is not always supplemented by decrees of popes, and of councils, and by regulations like those in England of Lan-
franc. When branch congregations were formed (as Clunians, Cistercians, Camaldolese, etc.) of many oratories, or congregations of black monks (as those of Bursfeld, St. Justina, etc.), the rule was supplemented by constitutions or commentaries on portions of the Rule, and by the regulations enforced by popes or generals. This, as it is called, the distinguishing feature of the older orders is, as compared with the later friars, clerks regular, brothers, etc.

As it gradually became customary for many monks to be clerks, it also became the rule for abbots to be priests—in the East from the 5th cent., in the West from about the 7th. A council under Eugenius ii. at Rome in 858 made this obligatory (Mansi, Conc. xiv. 1907). It seems that by ordinatio abbatia St. Benedict meant the "appointment," not the "ordination," i.e. "blessing" of an abbot. St. Gregory the Great speaks of a bishop "ordinating" an abbot (Ep. ix. 91), and also of the decision as to the ordination of an abbot being made by the abbob of another monastery (Ep. xi. 45). The latter had changed his mind in respect to the abbot appointed another day in the same month. Gregory orders him to invite a bishop to ordain the monk first designated during the celebration of Mass. St. Theodore of Canterbury orders that an abbob shall be "ordained" by a bishop, who must sing the Mass, in the presence of two or three of the bishop's brethren, et deo et benedictione et petuctae. This is the earliest form of the abdinal blessing. The Pontifical of Echtern of York (1506) has a consacratio Abbatis or a consacration of an abbot. There are now two forms provided in the Roman Pontifical for the blessing of a newly appointed abbot, signifying the benediction for a mitred abbob. The former appears to be no longer used. The latter is largely modelled on the order of consecration of a bishop, and the exalting bishop is assisted by two armed abbots.

The blessing of an abbas is permitted to a priest by Theodore.
The form in the Pontifical is simple, but many abbeys have had, and still have, the privilege of being invested with ring and crozier. When temporary abbots were appointed, the bishop was dispensed with, but Benedict xiv. severely censured the omission to obtain the blessing on the person of the abbot.

At an early date abbots took an important place in ecclesiastical affairs. In the 5th cent. we find 23 abbots signing the condemnation of Etichyes at the council held by Flavian of Constantinople in 388, and these were probably regular members of the patriarchal συνοδός ἄγωγων. In Spain and Gaul they appear at councils to represent absent bishops, but in 639 ten abbots were found voting with the right hand of a council on Toledo, and they sign before the representatives of absent bishops (Mansi, x. 1222). It became the custom throughout the Middle Ages for abbots to attend councils.

At the Vatican Council of 1866 only those abbots who were heads of congregations were invited, naturally without a vote.

Abbots, being the administrators of the temporal goods of their monastery, attained considerable influence. In England they were the envoys of kings and of popes. They sat in Parliaments, ranking in England next after barons. Like barons, the abbots were originally called to Parliament at the good pleasure of the monarch, but by 1276 they had gained the right of sitting. On the last occasion when the abbots as a body sat in Parliament (23rd June 1693), 17 were present. In the first Parliament of Elizabeth, however, there were a Westminster and a court abbots, a senator and a vote, since that abbacy had been restored to all its privileges under Queen Mary.

The worldly grandeur assumed by abbats has been frequently censured, and deservedly so, by St. Bernard. In England their position as great landowners and peers of Parliament necessitated considerable power. The sons of the nobility were sent to be brought up under their care. Monasteries were hotels, and all guests of gentle birth were entertained in the abbots' hall. The Abbot of Glastonbury administered a revenue larger than that of the Archbishops of Canterbury. The Abbot of St. Edmunds had a mint of his own. Yet such a position was not incompatible with personal sanctity, as may be seen in the case of Richard Whiting (Gasquet, The Last Abbot of Glastonbury, 1896, p. 56 f.). This external state of abbots lasted in England into the 19th cent., and to some extent is still to be seen.

Exemption of abbots from episcopal control because the rule of the church is not in their hands, but in the hands of their abbot, was often granted as an exceptional privilege, and early traces of it are found. A council held at Arles, c. 450, exempted Fanois of Lerins from the Bishop of Fréjus, so far as the government of his abbacy was concerned (Mansi, vii. 907; Duchesne, Festes épisc. i. 125). Westminster is said to have received the privilege from John xii. (c. 970). Some of the greatest English monasteries were never exempt, as Glastonbury, and only five Benedictine houses had the privilege at the Reformation, apart from the Cistercians, Cistarensians, etc. Christ Church, Oxford, still retains its papal exemption from the bishop. Grants of Pontificalia, or episcope ornaments, mitre, ring, gloves, sandals, were made by the pope to the principal abbots (e.g. to Westminster in 1257); to the Prior of the Cathedral of Chartres in 1413). These privileges eventually became general, but were limited by the Act of Alexander vi. 1492. Since these further privileges have been granted or confirmed. In some cases a number of parishes are subject to an abbot, who acts as their bishop, as at Montecassino, and once administered by the Abbot of Westminster is still under the abbots' election and is independent of the Bishop of London. In the case of such abbots, who are called Abbates nullius dioeceseos, permission is usually given to administer consistory and ecclesiastical courts. Hence the abbot is ecclesiastically equivalent to the clerical, and the monastic tenure to the clerical tenure. Care has been taken to allow all abbots to be tonsured, and to allow them to wear tonsure and minor orders on their own subjects, and this is still in force. The Second Council of Nicaea (578) permitted the creation of abbatis on the part of the abbot, and the monks were frequently allowed to give the subdeaconate, but this is obsolete. The privilege of the title of abbot for a monastery abbot to confer the diaconate is too much opposed to the theological opinions of the period to be probably antique.

The elections of abbots by their monks were often interfered with by the civil power. St. Benedict permits neighbouring bishops or laymen to interfere if a bad man is elected. Charles Martel gave abbots to his officers; even Charlemaigne dispossessed an abbot at withe long's délit had to be obtained for an election in England. In France and elsewhere abbacoly came to be in the royal gift. The habit of giving abbacies to seculars in commendam in the 5th to 10th cents. unhappily revived in the 15th cent. The men of the community were usually already divided with the abbots, and the latter had a fine house in which to receive guests. When these were in the hands of seculars, the monasteries were greatly impoverished, and suffered much in regularity. The congregation of St. Justina of Padua (afterwards called the Cisassines) introduced abbots elected for a short period in order to avoid the granting away of abbacies. Similar congregations followed. The famous French congregations of St. Maur and of St. Vannes and St. Hilduphe preferred to be governed by priests appointed by the general chapter, and that same reason. When the abbots had become the rule for all ecclesiastics of good family to possess at least one abbey in commendam, it became customary to presume this in all ecclesiastics, and to address them as Monsieur l'abbé. Hence in France and in some other countries, even youths in seminaries, not yet in minor orders or even tonsured, are regularly addressed by this title, which in the Middle Ages had been considered too of Wifred for even the generals of the Cardin- sius or the Friars.

LITERATURE.—See further under MONASTICISM. For Canon Law, Ferrara, Bibliotheca, &c. 'Abbatores,' by M. A. WADDELL, OF BIRMINGHAM, and JOHN CHAPMAN.

ABBOT (Tibetan) — The head of the monastery in Tibet is called 'teacher' or 'Lam-po.' (The literal equivalent of the Sanskrit upadhyāya.) He is superior to the ordinary monastic teacher or professor (lob-pön), and is credited with being endowed, by direct transmission from saints, with the three prerogatives of his monastic order. These are, spiritual power (abang), thorough knowledge of the precepts (lung), and capability of expounding the same (kri, which confer on him the authority to enjoin or prohibit. He is a holy man, and when his life is ended, he is accorded the honors due to monks, scholars, and novices, and is strictly the only one entitled to be called a Lama. The lady superior of a convent bears the corresponding title of 'Lam-mo'; the most celebrated of these is the Thubten Tsewang, or Lama Bedon, residing at Samding on the island of Yambok.


L. A. WADDELL.

ABBOT OF UNREASON. — This title was given in Scotland to one of the mimic dignitaries who presided over the Christmas revels. In England he was the title of Abbot of Lord of Misrule. In France the Abbé de Liedes held the same office. The Abbé de Liedes was the chief of a confraternity established at Lille. He was appointed by the magistrates and the people. He wore a cross of officers of his mimic household. A banner of rich silk was carried before him, and his duty was to preside at the games which were celebrated at Arras and the other drinking cities in the period. Ducas in his Glossarium says he also bore the titles of Rex Stultorum and Factatorum Principis.

It may be noted here that for centuries in Ireland the Abbots had all ecclesiastical power, and were simultaneously the lord of most of the barons and were allowed to give the subdeaconate, but this is obsolete. The old title of Abbot of Unreason, given to abbots to confer the diaconate is too much opposed to the theological opinions of the period to be probably antique.

The elections of abbots by their monks were
At Rouen and Evreux the leader of the frolics was called *Abbes Cowardorum*. Another title was *Abbes Jecuermus*. In certain cathedral chapters in France he was called *l'Abbe des Fois*. He was the non-ascetic representative of the *Boy Bishop*, or *Episcopus Puerorum*, whose office bore the same service of *in die Sanctorum Innocentium* in the *Saron Pro- cessionale* of 1555. In some cathedral churches he was styled *Episcopus* or *Archipresbyter Factorum*. In churches exempt from diocesan jurisdiction he had the exalted title of bishop and abbot. In every case these mimic dignitaries represented the highest authority in the Church. They masqueraded in the vestments of the clergy, and exercised for the time being all the functions of the higher clergy. The clergy themselves gave their sanction to the mimic rites: *Deinde episcopus puerorum conversus ad clericum, i.e. brevich, suum dilem hanc beneficitionem: Crucis signo vos conscigni* (*Saron Process., fol. xiv*). In the *York Inventory* of 1539 a little mitre and a ring are mentioned, evidently for the *Episcopus Puerorum*.

These titles are all closely connected with the *Feast of Fools* of Decembri, in the medieval Church. There is little doubt that their privileges go back to much earlier times. The standard authority for the whole subject is the *treatise Mémoires de la vie du CHRIST au temps du Fête des Fous* by M. du Tillot, published at Lausanne and Geneva, 1741. Du Tillot, with good reason, traces them back to the Saturnalia, the *Libertas Decus der* of which Horace (Sat. ii. vii. 5 f.) speaks when he bids his slave Davus exercise his annual privilege of masquerading as master:

> *Agis, libertate Decembi,*
> *Que tuae maiorem vocant, uterque, super, mare.*

Du Tillot says:

> *Car comme dans les Saturnales, les Valets falsifient les fonctions de leurs Maîtres, de même dans le Fête des Fous les jeunes Clercs s'infiltrent dans les rôles célestes, avec le jeûne, le banquet, le délaissement du monde, la distraction du clergé, et semblablement le riant masque.*

The policy of the early Church was to divert the people from their pagan customs by consecrating them, as far as possible, to Christian use. The month of December was dedicated to Saturn. The Saturnalia were originally held on Dec. 17, Augustinian clerics were to observe them on Dec. 17-19. Martian, in the 2nd cent., says it lasted a week, and that mimic kings were chosen. Duchesne (Ordonnance, ii. 11) says that the first festival of *Notialis Incen*, on Dec. 25, may have had some influence in fixing the date of Christmas in the Western Church. He hesitates as to the Saturnalia, the Christianization of the Saturnalia were probably slowly transferred to the Christmas season by the appointment of the Advent fast. A relic of this still lingers on in North Staffordshire, where the farm-servants' annual holiday extends from Christmas to New Year. The *Boy Bishop* (*Episcopus Puerorum*) was elected on St. Nicholas Day, Dec. 6, and his authority lasted till Christmas, or Holy Innocents' Day, Edward I., in 1290, provided higher vestments for the royal presence in the *Processionale*. The *Santa Claus* of to-day still keeps alive the tradition of the *Boy Bishop* and the *Abbot of Unreason*.

The concessions of the early Church did not succeed in disturbing the rites which had been associated with the Saturnalia. The *Liberty of December* extended to New Year and Epiphany, covering the whole of the Christmas festival. The *Liberty of Christmas* continued to the close of the 16th cent. *Pseudo-Aegius*, Aug. (*Saron, 265*) condemns the dances, which afterwards became a recognized feature of the Feast of Fools: *Istum cinnem infulos et miseri homines, qui balatone et saltatione ante ipsas basilicas Sanctorum exercere nec mutum nec errubescere, esse Christiani ad Ecclesiam venerint, Paganie de Ecclesiae revertuntur.* The sermon has been ascribed to Cæsuriano of Arles (*ob. 517*). The description of the Feast of Fools at Antioch in 1644, quoted by du Tillot from a contemporary letter to Gassendi, shows that the feast was still held in the same district to yield to the censures of the Church. The excesses connected with the Calendis Brumalia and other festivals were condemned in Can. 133 of the Council in Trullo in 692. The mimic pageant of the *Boy Bishop* and abbot was finally censured in *Sessio xx* of the Council of Basel in 1435:

> *Turgor etiam illam absurdam in quibusdam frequentatione ecclesiæ quo certis anni celebrabilibus nonnulli examinantur, id est, absurdam personificationem more episcoporum beneficentiam. Alii ut reges ac deos imitent, quod festum Saturonis vel Innocentius vel puerorum in quibusdam regionibus nuncupat, ubi hilaritatem seu theatralum festum.*

Tillot also mentions the condemnations of these abuses by the Council of Rouen in 1435, Soissons in 1455, Sens in 1455, Paris in 1528, and Cologne in 1536. In England they were abolished by proclamation of Henry VIII., July 22, 1542, though restored by Elizabeth.

In Scotland the annual burlesque presided over by the *Abbot of Unreason* was suppressed in 1555. The guisers, who in Scotland play the part of the mummers and *Kouen*, are *Marchants*, *M. Foux*, and generally wear mitre-shaped caps of brown paper, which are derived either from the *Boy Bishops* or from the *Abbots of Unreason*. In fiction, Sir Walter Scott has left a vivid picture of the *right reverend Abbot of Unreason* in the *Abbot*.


**THOMAS BARNES.**

**'ABD AL-QADIR AL-JILANI.**

**Life.**

Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, one of the greatest religious personalities of Islam, ascetic, wonder-worker, teacher, and founder of a brotherhood, was born in 1075 A.H. (1528 A.D.). The Musulmans make him a *sharif* of the blood of the Prophet and a descendant of 'Ali; but this claim has little likelihood, for he was probably of Persian origin. His complete name reads *Mahdi al-Din 'Abd al-Qadir*, son of Al-Mubarak, son of Jenki-Dost or al-Mubarak, son of Jenki-Dost or Jilani. Jenki-Dost is a Persian name. Historians, such as Abu-l-Mahasin (ed. Juybobi, p. 698), tell us that his national name (*Jilani, *the Jilâni*) cannot be found in literature before 1075. However, his son *Jenki-Dost* is found under the name *Jilani*. Between 1080 and 1092, he lived in Baghdad, where he preached, and preached, but from Jil, a locality near Baghdad, Various legends, however, call him *the Qura*, i.e. the Persian. He came to Baghdad in 488 to study *Hanbelite* law. He learnt the *Quara* from *Abu Sa'id al-Mubarak* al-Mubarrani, and polite literature from *Abu Zakarya Yahya of Tabrizz*. His master in asceticism was *Hammam ad-Dabbas*; he spent long years in the deserts and among the ruins around Baghdad, leading a hermit's life. In 521 he felt himself called back into the world, and returned to Baghdad, where the *Qadi, Abu Sa'id al-Mubarrani*, gave him charge of the school which he had been directing in *Bab el-Aluj* (Le Strange, *Baghdad, May viii.*, No. 29, and p. 296 ff.). His teaching met with very great success; the school had to be enlarged time after time; it was finally completed in 528, and took the name of *Sidi Jilani*. He spoke three times a week—twice in the school, on law, and once in his oratory, on mysticism. He drew many hearers from all parts of Mesopotamia, Persia, and even Egypt. It is *al-Mubarak* who condemned the *Jilani*. He gave legal decisions, which became authoritative among both the *Hanbalites* and the *Shafiites.* Among his hearers might be mentioned the jurisconsult *Muwallad al-Din Ibn Qadama al-Maqdis* and the famous mystic *Shihab al-Din al-Suhra.*
ward. He married and had many children—thirteen, according to a tradition reported by Depont and Copolliani (p. 298); forty-nine, of whom twenty-seven were sons, according to another tradition, which seems to be the more correct, as they were very young when he died, and during his lifetime, to preach his doctrine in Egypt, Arabia, Turkestan, and India. He died at Baghdad on the 8th of the month of Rabī‘ il-‘Awwal (1066 A.D.).

Among the numerous traditions which have been preserved concerning 'Abd al-Qādir are for the most part a legendary character. They deal with his mysteries, his visions, and some of the things that are related concerning him:

1. His mother bore him when she was sixty years old. As a nursing he declined to take the breast in the month of Ramadan. When he came to Baghdad to study, the prophet Ḥāḍir appeared to him and prevented him from entering the city; he remained seven years before the walls, practising asceticism and living on herbs. When he withdrew into the deserts around Baghdad, he was visited by the same prophet Ḥāḍir, and his feed and fed twenty-four hours in his Wolūt, his cell of forty hours, and water from the heavens, on his pilgrimage to Mecca. In the desert he was tormented by Satan, who appeared to him under various forms. From the heavens he sent down a certain mirror, which he handed to Alwān Kīsīrī, the famous palace of Chosroes (Lo Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 34). One tradition makes him spend eleven years in a tower which ever since bears the name of Burūj al-'Ajwīni, the 'Tower of the Persian.' One day Satan tried to seduce him by a false vision. While he stood on the seashore with a great thirst, a cloud sailed towards him from which fell a kind of dew. He quenched his thirst with this dew, and then a great light appeared, and a form, and he heard a voice saying to him, 'I allow thee that which is forbidden.' 'May God preserve us from Satan, the accursed one,' replied the ascetic. At once the light gave place to darkness, and the form because smoke. He was asked later how he had recognized the deceitfulness of this vision. He answered: 'By the fact that God does not advise to do shameful things.' While he taught, he often seen lifted up from the ground; he would walk a few paces through the air and then return to his pulpit. Once, as he was speaking in the Nizāmiy school, a Jinnī appeared in the form of a snake, which drew near a certain woman, and spoke to her a few words with him. One year the river Tigris rose high, and the inhabitants of Baghdad, fearing their city would be flooded, came to implore the protection of the wonder-worker. Al-Jālānī advaned to the bank of the river, planted his stick in the ground, saying, 'Thus far.' From that moment the waters decreased. Many of these legends have a close resemblance to those of Christian hagiography.

Works.—Many works, mystical treatises, collections of prayers and sermons, are ascribed to him. Brockelmann (Arab. Litt. i. 453 f.) mentions twenty-four titles of his books still existing in Mecca in the libraries of Europe. The two most important are:—Majalis Ḥāḍir (Arabic ed. of al-Shārī, p. 100-105) and from the tradition of his order. It is that of orthodox Muslim mysticism. One cannot fail to recognize a certain Christian influence in it, especially in the virtues of charity, humility, meekness, in his precept of obedience to the spiritual director, and in the aim held before an ascetic, which is spiritual death and the entire self-surrender of the soul to God. Al-Jālānī's respect for Jesus was very great, and the tradition of this respect is still kept in his order.

2. The love of poverty recalls that of St. Francis of Assisi. In all parts of the Muslim world the poor submitted themselves under his protection, and ask for alms in his name. His mystical teaching is expounded in his book, Futūḥ al-ghubār. Among the titles of its 78 chapters, the following are characteristic:—Spiritual death; unconsciousness of created things; the heavenly breath; the descent from the heart; drawing near unto God; unveiling and vision; the soul and its states; self-surrender to God; love and hope; how to reach God through the medium of a spiritual director; poverty. The book contains expressions that are altogether Christian. Commending the excellence of becoming dead to created things and to one's own will, the author says, 'The sign that you have died to your lusts is that you are like a child in the arms of its mother; the sign that you have died to your own will is that you wish nothing but the will of God.' Exhorting the soul to search after God, he hits upon an expression of St. Augustine: 'Rise and hasten to fly unto Him.' A little further on, he appropriates the famous comparison of the corpse: 'Be in the hands of God like a dead body in the hands of the washer.'

The effect of this self-surrender of the soul is spiritual clear-mindedness and joy.

It is a custom in Muslim mysticism to ascribe the essence of the teaching of the founder of an order to some anterior personages, by means of a chain of intermediaries who go far back to Muhammad. Among the predecessors, thus cited, of al-Jālānī should be named the famous ascetic Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Junayd (died A.H. 268).

Certain traditions attribute to this mystic, especially while on his deathbed, some very profound words which contrast with what we have just said about his feelings and his doctrine. They are thus reported by al-Būqāi (Goldziher, Minh. Stud. ii. p. 289): 'The sun greets me before he rises; the year greets me before it begins, and it unveils to me all things that shall happen in its course. . . . I plunge into the sea of God's knowledge, and I have seen Him with my eyes; I live in the presence of God's existence. . . .' Similar sayings are ascribed to many of the great mystics of Islam. It is probable that they are the work of enthusiastic disciples, and that they express only the close union of the mystic with God in a symbolic fashion.

Order.—The order, or brotherhood, founded by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jālānī bears the name al-Qadiriya. It has great importance in Iran. After the death of the founder, it is led by his sons and then by their descendants. The majority of his sons became disciples of their father, ascetics, missionaries, and men of learning like him. The eldest was Abū al-Raqqāz (A.H. 326-606), the youngest Yahya (550-600), it was Abū al-Raqqāz

ABD AL-QADIR AL-JILANI
who succeeded his father in the leadership of the order, and who built over the tomb of the founder the mosque with seven gilt domes, once celebrated by historians and poets, but to-day lying in ruins (Le Strange, Bagdad, p. 348 f.). Along with the order, the library of the children have spread all over the Muslim world. Branches of this family can be found especially in Baghdad, Cairo, Hamah, and Yâln in the district of Aleppo. A Western tradition claims that one son of al-Jâlî (d. 492/1099) was sent to Persia, but this is contradicted by another tradition (Qâladî al-jâwâhir, p. 54), according to which 'Abd al-Âzîz emigrated only to the province of Jîhâl. Baghdad has remained the moral centre of the order. But the jurisdiction of the mother-house does not extend beyond Mesopotamia, Syria, and Turkey. In the other Muslim countries the brotherhood went through a process of disintegration, and the congregations have ceased to be subordinate to the mother-house. The monastery (zâwiyya) of Baghdad was destroyed by Shah Isma'il, and restored by Sultan Sultân. 

The brotherhood reach out as far as the Farther East, into the Dutch East Indies and Chinese Yunnan. In India there are many kinds of Qâdirîyya. The Qâdirîyya Akbariyya, the best-known, founded at the end of the 11th century by the Shaykh al-Muhîl al-Âzîz ibn al-Ârabî al-Kâttîmi, forms a distinct order; the Bâl Nâtâr are begging fâqîras, recruited from the inferior castes of Muslims, and connected with the Qâdirîyya. In Arabia the brotherhood is powerful. It possesses important zâwiyya in Jîhâl and Medina, and has thirty muqaddims (prefects of congregations) in Mecca. In Constantinople it owns forty houses (tâkýyas). It is widespread in Egypt and North Africa, and in the Sudan, where the foundations of the order (Râmi) are to be found (Rinn). The brotherhood makes great efforts to convert the Berbers to Islam.

The diwâr of the order is nothing but the Muslim confession of faith: fa 'âlîk illa-l-lah. There is no God but God, and he is alone in his greatness; probably instituted by al-Jâlî himself, these words are not always pronounced entirely. During the prayer in common, which is accompanied by motions of the head and of the body, and in which the dervishes endeavour to attain a state of ecstatic excitement, after having already pronounced the whole formula, they say only Allâh, Allâh! and finally, when the rhythm becomes more rapid, they pronounce nothing but bâ, bâ, bâ, the sound being sustained until loss of breath. Many orders or brotherhoods have separated themselves from the Qâdirî order. The most famous, and the also most important of them is the Qâdirîyya of India, are the Râfiqâ'îyya, commonly called the "Howling Dervishes," founded by Ahmad ar-Rifî'n (died a.H. 570), a nephew of al-Jâlî; the Bâdawîyya, an Egyptian order, and the Sakâ'îyya. The other orders are those of the Bâkkâ'iy, Jîshiy, Bâyiyya, Dâshâ'-iy, Maulânîyya, Ârâsiyya-Salâmilâ, Bâ-'Alîyya, Amânirâyya (cf. MURHÂJÂDÂN, § vii.).

LITERATURE.—(1) GOTTLOB, BOHRIC, al-asr, by 'Ali b. Yusuf al-Shâtrîfi (A.D. 517-713), Cairo, 1940. (2) Qâladî al- jâwâhir k.f.manâghaš-Shârîf 'Abd al-Qâdir, by Muhammad al-Âzarî, Cairo, 1923. (3) Qâ'ârî, al-Maâjî al-Mu'âmînîn, ib. p. 135, also British Museum MSS add. No. 26,716, fol. 331 vo. and No. 25,341, fol. 364 vo.). This letter, with the answer of Râmî al-Âzîz, is extant in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, by E. H. Palmer, p. 116). Consequently there can be little doubt that this is the original of 'Abd al-Râzîq, who was in the reign of Abû Sa'id, and he may well have died, according to the earlier date mentioned by Hajî Jalâ'î, in A.H. 739 = A.D. 1332-30.

Concerning the outward events of his life we
possess scarcely any information. 'Abd states (Nafahat, p. 557) that he was a disciple of shaykh Nār ad-Dīn 'Abd as-Samad of Ṭanāz, through whom, as appears from the articles on that shaykh and his teacher, shaykh Nuṣair ad-Dīn (Nafahat, p. 546 f.), he traced his spiritual descent to the illustrious sūfī Shihāb ad-Dīn 'Umar as-Swārāwī and Muhyī ad-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī. It is related by Yāqīn (Bend ar-rayhānā, 1901 and 3rd ed. Tel-Aviv, 1951) that one day, while 'Abd ar-Razzāq was discoursing in the mosque at Medina, a dervish among his audience withdrew into a corner and gave himself up to meditation. On being asked why he did not listen like the rest, he answered: 'They are hearing the servant (wālī) of the Provider (ar-Razzāq), but I am hearing the Provider, not his servant.'

2. Writings.—The most famous work of 'Abd ar-Razzāq is his dictionary of the technical terms of the sūfīs, Itīḥād as-Safā'īya. It is divided into two parts, the first on the technical expressions (muṣṭafalāhāt), and the second on the so-called 'stations' (mutaqāmat). 'Abd ar-Razzāq relates in his preface that he composed it for the instruction of his friends who, not being sūfīs, could not understand the technical terms which he had employed in some of his other works. The Itīḥād was largely translated into English by Elia, and published and translated by Guyard. 'Abd ar-Razzāq wrote several books of less importance, such as his allegorical interpretation of the 38th chapter of the Qurān (Tawāf al-Qur'ān) and his commentaries on the Ruqūs al-ḥikmat of Ibn 'Arabī, on the Tawāf al-khurāsānī of Ibn al-Fārid, and on the Manzil as-sārūrī of 'Abdallāh al-Ansārī.

3. Doctrine.—Like the later sūfīs generally, 'Abd ar-Razzāq finds a basis for his system in the Neo-Platonic philosophy as expounded by the Muslims by Fārābī, Ibn Sinā (Avicenna), and Ghazālī. He is a thoroughgoing pantheist, in the sense that he considers the whole universe, spiritual and material, to be the direct manifestation of God. From the Absolute Being, who alone exists, and who is known solely to Himself, there radiates a spiritual substance, the Primal Intelligence (al-ʿaṣr al-aṣlī), and its intellectual products, the Ruqūs al-ḥikmat. This substance contains the types or ideas of all existing things, and by a further process of emanation these types entered into the world of the Universal Soul, the Platonian ḥikmat, where they become individualized and are transmitted to the material world. Here begins an upward movement by which all individual souls are drawn back to the Ruqūs al-ḥikmat. 'Abd ar-Razzāq distinguishes three classes of mankind: the slaves of passion (ṣāḥib as-rū') and those who are ignorant of God and of His attributes, and such, as Nasīr ad-Dīn al-Qurānī, who are saved from hell if they have faith; secondly, the men of intellect (ṣāḥib ghabāt), who attain to the knowledge of the Divine attributes by means of reflection and argument; and, thirdly, the spiritualists (ṣāḥib rā'ī), who pierce through the veil and are in the presence of the eternal Oneness and contemplate God as He really is (Nafahat, p. 559 f.).

Much of this doctrine is not peculiar to 'Abd ar-Razzāq, but belongs to Ibn 'Arabī and philosophical "Ar-Razzāq, the Provider," is one of the names of Allah, school of Sufism. His originality lies in the fact that he combined his pantheistic principles with an assertion of moral freedom which at first sight appears to be incompatible with them. His theory on this point is that of the divine Emissary (wa-l-qudūr) and the divine Emissary (wa-l-qudūr) (see Guyard's article on the Ruqūs al-ḥikmat, pp. vii. i. p. 125 ff.), and may be summarized as follows: Everything that exists in the terrestrial world is the manifestation of some universal type prefigured in the world of the Emissaries (qudūr). Since Intelligences, and undergoes a process of creation, development, and destruction which is pre-determined in every particular. How then, we may ask, is it possible for men to perform acts emanating from a Divine source, and governed by immutable laws? What is the use of commands and prohibitions, of rewards and punishments, if there is no liberty to choose good or reject evil? 'Abd ar-Razzāq, diverting at this point from Ibn 'Arabī, solves the difficulty by declaring that all actions are the result of direct or indirect causes, themselves predetermined, one of which is Freedom, or will itself. In other words, it is foreknown to God and inevitably decreed that every human act shall be produced by the united operation of certain causes, at a certain time, in a certain place, and in a certain form; but it is also decreed, no less by means of the agent cause (biwašūd), the specific cause (biṣāliq), and the free choice (ištīyār) in the production of the act. Therefore every act is at once fatal and free. The Qurānists (Mu'tazilites), who maintain that men are the authors of their own actions, regard only the proximate causes; while the Qadarians hold that all actions are created by God, regard only the remote causes (cf. MUHAMMADIANISM, §II). Both parties see but half the truth, which, as Ja'far Śādiq remarked, is neither absolute fatalism nor absolute liberty, but something between those two extremes. Hence the utility of religion and morals, whereby men are incited to good actions and deterred from evil. The Prophet said of Abū Hurairā: "The pen which has written his destiny is dry," meaning that what should happen was already fixed; but to the question, "Why then do thouught?" he replied: "Nay, do it; every one of you has received the capacity of doing that which he was created." 'Abd ar-Razzāq next proceeds to deal with the objection that, if our acts are determined in advance and produced, though willingly, by us, we should all have an equal share of good and evil, or freedom from God. From the Absolute Being, who alone exists, and who is known solely to Himself, there radiates a spiritual substance, the Primal Intelligence (al-ʿaṣr al-aṣlī), and its intellectual products, the Ruqūs al-ḥikmat. This substance contains the types or ideas of all existing things, and by a further process of emanation these types entered into the world of the Universal Soul, the Platonian ḥikmat, where they become individualized and are transmitted to the material world. Here begins an upward movement by which all individual souls are drawn back to the Ruqūs al-ḥikmat. 'Abd ar-Razzāq distinguishes three classes of mankind: the slaves of passion (ṣāḥib as-rū') and those who are ignorant of God and of His attributes, and such, as Nasīr ad-Dīn al-Qurānī, who are saved from hell if they have faith; secondly, the men of intellect (ṣāḥib ghabāt), who attain to the knowledge of the Divine attributes by means of reflection and argument; and, thirdly, the spiritualists (ṣāḥib rā'ī), who pierce through the veil and are in the presence of the eternal Oneness and contemplate God as He really is (Nafahat, p. 559 f.).

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ABDUCTION—ABELARD


REYNOLD A. NICOLSON.

ABDUCTION.—In English law abduction is a term usually, though not exclusively, applied to the state of a woman, within a period of twenty-one years of age, who, without her consent, is led, taken away, detained, or detained by force of a woman of any age with intent to marry her, and is not married, or is led, taken away, detained, or detained by force of a woman of any age with intent to marry her, and is not led, taken away, detained, or detained by force of a woman of any age with intent to marry her, and is not married, or to cause her to be married or carnally known (Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885). The penalty for such an offence may be either a period of penal servitude not exceeding fourteen years, or a period of imprisonment not exceeding two years. Crimes of this kind are now comparatively rare: in England the number tried at Sessions and Assizes during the ten years ending 1904 amounted only to an annual average of thirteen (Criminal Statistics, 1904, p. 20).

It is to be noted that abduction, which is now regarded as a serious crime among all civilized communities, is probably a survival of one of the most primitive forms of marriage regulation. The marriage bond took the form of capture. This primitive form of marriage relationship still prevails among some uncivilized peoples in various parts of the world; it is, in fact, a customary law in many nations which have not reached a certain stage of civilization, and among communities which have reached a certain stage of culture, as, for instance, the South Slavonic peoples, marriage by abduction was in full force at the beginning of the 19th century. Our Teutonic and Scandinavian ancestors regularly resorted to the forcible abduction of women for wives, and war was often carried on among them for the purpose of capturing wives. The same custom prevails in the early stages of Greek life, and the Romes of the Heroic age were often obliged to resort to surprise and force to secure wives for the community.

Distinct traces of the same custom are to be found in Old Testament literature. The tradition is handed down in the Book of Judges that the men of the tribe of Benjamin were supplied with wives from the virgins who had been captured as the result of a war upon the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead (Jg 21:12); and when these did not suffice, the sons of Benjamin in their search for wives made a raid upon the daughters of Shiloh, when they were celebrating an annual religious festival, and they carried them off (v. 21) when they came out to dance.

Among some races abduction was the ordinary legal method of procuring a wife, and the parents of the abducted woman were liable to punishment if they attempted to get back their daughter. Among other races abduction led to blood feuds, and it is possible, as Herbert Spencer suggests, that the fear of vengeance led to the offer of compensation by the abductor, and prepared the way for the more advanced matrimonial custom of marriage by purchase. After the decay of marriage by capture, many traces of it still remained in many primitive communities, and in some cases the bridegroom is expected to go through the form of carrying off the bride by stratagem or force; in other cases the bride conceals herself in a hiding-place; arrangements to be discovered by her future husband; in some marriage ceremonies it is considered a point of honour with the bride to resist and struggle, no matter how willing she may be to enter into the marriage compact. With the abolition of the marriage bond, and more especially in those forms of society where marriage became a matter of mutual consent, and in this way assumed an ethical character, abduction, from being a tolerated custom, descended to the position of a crime. In

Chinese legislation abduction is a capital offence, and a man is not living as a free man as a result of it is null and void. The code of Justinian also nullifies a marriage of this kind. The Church, although condemning the perpetrator of abduction to severe spiritual pains and penalties, refrained till the 9th cent. from exerting the temporal power. The marriage at that period ecclesiastical law was brought into conformity with the jurisprudence of Justinian. Innocent III., however, made the legality of the marriage contingent on the consent of the abducted woman, and the Council of Trent adopted a somewhat similar principle. It declared that, so long as the woman was in the power of the abductor and unable to exercise the freedom of her will, abduction was an impediment, but if she regained her liberty and freely became a consenting party, the marriage ceased to be invalid. The abductor incurred the penalty of excommunication. The growth of the ethical conception of marriage as a matter of free will and mutual consent on the part of persons who have arrived at the age of maturity, necessarily led to the repudiation of abduction as an act of force or fraud, and involved the enactment of laws relating to marriage by the law of nations, which are usually attached to it by the criminal jurisprudence of civilized peoples. See also MARRIAGE, WOMAN.

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W. D. MORRISON.

ABELARD.—I. Life.—Master Peter, surnamed Abelard, * the commanding figure in the intellectual movements of the 12th century, was born at Le Pallet (Podelatun) in Brittany, a castle 11 miles S.E. from Nantes, about the year 1079. His parents were nobles, whose piety led them in later life to enter the monastic life. Abelard, the eldest son, renounced his claims, that he might the better devote himself to learning. 'I prefer,' he said, 'the strife of disputation to the trophies of war.' After studying for a while under the extreme nominalist Rocelin, probably at Locminé near Vannes, and trying, though without avail, to learn mathematics under Theodoric of Chartres (Poole, op. cit. 363, 115), Abelard was at last attracted to the Notre Dame at Paris by the fame of its master, William of Champeaux, whose crude realism soon provoked Abelard, though not yet twenty, to open combat. The duel, protracted through years, resulted in length at the overthrow of the older man's reputation, and the installation for a while of Abelard as an independent master. When expelled from the Notre Dame by the cathedral authorities, at the instigation of William, Abelard took refuge first at Melun, afterwards at Corbeil, and finally at St. Genevieve, at that time outside the city and free from the jurisdiction of the cathedral. This abbey of secular canons of what lax life thus became the headquarters of philosophic discussions, and the centre of the scholastic movement in the next generation the famous University (Rashdall, Univ. in M. A. i. ch. 5). The next encounter of Abelard with authority was even more momentous, a more serious in a striking distinction not merely as a hitherto, in dialectics, but also in theology, perhaps under the influence of the religious revival which led his mother Lucia, whom he visited at this time, to withdraw from the monastery.

* This spelling was more nearly correct to the original form (see Poole, op. cit. 137 n.). For its proposed derivation see Ducange, a * hailed * (cf. Poole, op. cit. 354), and the note on the Fr. word. Cf. also Battrén's Précis de la langue fr. (1900) n.
into a nummery, Abelard, at the age of thirty-four, put himself under the most famous theologian of the day, Anselm of Laon (c. 1113, Deutsch, op. cit. 30 n.). The venture, whether due to religious influ- ences or to the natural impulses of his poetic genius, few lectures convinced Abelard that he would find little fruit on 'this barren fig-tree.'

"Anselm," continues Abelard, "was that sort of man that if one could only stir him up to his work, he could still. He was wonderful to hear, but at once failed if you ques- tioned him. He would kindle a fire not to get light, but to fill the house with smoke" (Hist. Col. c. 9).

Abelard soon shook his fellow-students by expressing the opinion that education should be able to study the Scriptures for themselves with the help of the 'glosses' alone. (As a matter of fact, the 'gloss' in universal use was his tutor Anselm's amended form of the Glosses Ordinaria of Walafrid Strabo (†1140).) In proof of his view, he gave, at their request, a series of lectures on Ezekiel. Such was his success, if we may accept his own statement, that it was only by expelling him from Laon as an unauthorized teacher, as in theology he certainly was, that the authorities were able to check the rush to his classroom. 'Anselm,' says Abelard, in a characteristic sentence, 'had the impudence to suppress me' (Hist. Col. c. 3).

On his return to Paris, Abelard resumed his lectures, though in the cathedral or in St. Genevieve is uncertain. Scholars from every land (Falk of Denil, Ép. ad Abelardum in Migne, PL clxxviii. 571, gives an interesting catalogue) hastened to sit at the feet of this wonder of the age—philosopher, poet, musician, and theologian in one. The Church smiled on his success, and appointed him, though not yet sub-deacon, a canon of Notre Dame (Poole, op. cit. 145 n.; Rému- nst, i. 39 n.). Abelard had reached the zenith of his fame. Henceforth the story of his life is one of 'calamity,' not the least element in which was his own moral downfall, the conscious deliberateness of which, however, in our judgment, he characteristically exaggerates in his later reminiscences (Hist. Col. c. 6; cf. Rému- nst, i. 49, as against Cotter Morison, St. Bernard, 260). Into the romance of his connexion with Heloise (Heloïsae, his in-law) we need not enter. The repetition of this well-known story distracts attention from the real greatness of Abelard in the history of thought. In the time of Henry II of France, Abelard was created for mankind, and should not be sacrifi- ced for the sake of a single woman,' Abelard privately married the woman he had seduced, and, when the secret was out, removed her to the convent of Saint Suger, where she was very lax. In Abelard's opinion, as reported for us by one of his students, marriage was lawful for such of the clergy as had not been ordained priests (Senteunt, c. xxvi.; cf. Poole, 147 n.). We draw a veil over the story of the revenge of Fulbert, his wife's uncle. Abelard in an agony of soul and body fled to St. Denis, while Heloise, on his demand, tried to transfer her passions to more spiritual objects. "I long to chant," said she, as she did so, a verse out of Lucretius's Pharsalia (c. 1110). Their boy, to whom the parents had given the curious name of Astraloba, was left with Abelard's father, Denis (Hist. Col. c. 8). For his career see Rému- nst, i. 260).

Abelard found the abbey of St. Denis worldy and dissolute. He retired in disgust to a cell of the house in Champagne, the exact location of which is unknown (Poole, op. cit. 1. 72 n.; Rému- nst, op. cit. i. 73 n.; Poole, op. cit. 156 n.), and opened a school of theology. Very soon the thoroughness of his students made it difficult to procure either food or lodging for himself and those who were living as they were brilliant. In his Tractatus de Unitate et Trinitate Divina, a work recently discovered and edited by Dr. Stötzle (Freiburg, 1891), and afterwards recast into his Theologia Christiana, he discussed the great mystery. His line of thought may be gathered from his position: a theologian not believed merely because God has said it; but because we are convinced by reason that it is so (cf. Introd. ad Theol. ii. 15). We need not wonder that he was disowned by the legate, Cardinal Cuno of Preneste, to answer for his teaching before a Synod at Soissons (1121) at the instance, curi- ously, of his first master, the aged Roscelin (on this see Rému- nst, i. 81 n.), and of two rival masters of theology, Albert of Rheneus and Lotulf of Novara, the leading spirits in his former expulsion from Laon. The charge against him of Sabellianism seems to have had little justification (Rashdall, i. 53; Deutsch, 265). In reality the chief cause of offence lay in his appeal to reason. According to Abelard, the Synod, without either reading or inquiring, in spite also of the efforts of bp. Geoffrey of Chartres to secure an adjournment, 'compelled me to burn the book with my own hands. So was burnt amid general silence.' He was not allowed to justify his orthodoxy. A copy was handed to him of the Athanasian Creed, 'the which I read amid tears and fear, as well as I might.

He was then sent to St. Medard, a convenit near Soissons, which had acquired the reputation of a penitentiary through the stern discipline of its abbot Geoffrey and his frequent use of the whip (Hist. Col. c. 9, 10). 'Good Jesus,' cried Abelard in his distress, 'where art Thou?' There he suffered much from the zeal of its prior, the rude but canonized Goswin (Recueil des historiens des Gaules, xiv. 449), who had previously come into conflict with him at St. Genevieve, 'as David with Goliath' (ib. 442). (The student should note that the records of the Synod of Soissons have been lost. We are dependent on Abelard, Otto of Freising, and St. Bernard.) Abelard was soon permitted to return to St. Denis. There his love for truth overwhelmed him in a new calamity. He had been led by Bede (Expos. in Arts, xvii. 34) to doubt whether the foundation was indeed due, as the monks pro- claimed, to Dionysius the Areopagite. Character- istically Abelard 'showed the passage in a joke to some of the monks. Alarmed by their threats of handing his report to the abbot, Abelard fled by night to St. Ayouti, a priory near Provins in Champagne. Eflorts were made to secure his return, if necessary by force. He himself became willing to explain away the authority of Bede (Deutsch, op. cit. 38, for a de- fence of Abelard). Fortunately at this stage abbot Adam of St. Denis died (Feb. 19, 1122). He was succeeded by the famous Suger (1081-1152), at that time not the saint and reformer he became later through the influence of St. Bernard (1127), but one of the king's trusted ministers. At the instance of certain courtiers, Suger gave permission to Abelard to seek any refuge he liked, provided he did not 'defile the monks or hinder the peace the abbey. Abelard fled by night to St. Ayouti, a priory near Provins in Champagne. Efforts were made to secure his return, if necessary by force. He himself became willing to explain away the authority of Bede (Deutsch, op. cit. 38, for a de- fence of Abelard). Fortunately at this stage abbot Adam of St. Denis died (Feb. 19, 1122). He was succeeded by the famous Suger (1081-1152), at that time not the saint and reformer he became later through the influence of St. Bernard (1127), but one of the king's trusted ministers. At the instance of certain courtiers, Suger gave permission to Abelard to seek any refuge he liked, provided he did not 'defile the monks or hinder the peace the abbey. Abelard thus became a hermit, or un- attached member of the house. But his eager pupils soon found out his retreat. His hut of wattles and stubble 'like a Vesta altar, army of robbers and robbers' on the Ardunus, near Troyes, became the crowded monastery of the Paraclete. 'The whole world,' wrote Abelard, 'is gone out after me, By their persecutions they have prevailed nothing.' Nor was his life a mystery to a few: "A hermit," said Bede. It was rather a school of philosophers, where disquisitions took the place of constant devotions, where there were neither vows nor rigid rules. The very title of "Paraclete" and the Conductor of his sad life, was an innovation; 'dedications should
be either to the Trinity, or to the Son alone' (Hist. Col. c. 11). That Abelard maintained strict order among his flock is shown, however, by a curious survival of fragment of verse (Rénesaut, i. 111).

In 1125, Abelard was in the service of the abbot of the monastery of St. Gildas de Rhuys, near Vannes, the oldest monastery in his native Brittany. Abelard accepted, either urged by his fears of further councils (for Clairvaux, the monastery of St. Bernard was at no great distance from Paraclete; while he dreaded also an attack from Norbert of Magdeburg, the founder of the Premonstratensians), or in one of his frequent moods of despair, 'God knows what it was, that at times I fell into such despair that I proposed to myself to go off and live the life of a Christian among the enemies of Christ.' His life there for the next six, or possibly eight, years (Poole, 158 n.), was one of almost unrelieved misery. The abbey was poor in resources, shameless in its depravity; the monks unscrupulous in their determination to get rid of any reformer. They tried to poison Abelard, first in his food, then in the cup of the Eucharist. So the abbot, not approving, allowed Abelard to leave Paraclete. But Paraclete was no longer open to him. In 1129 he had formally handed it over— with the added sanction (Nov. 28, 1129, R. Lec. 119) of the priests obtained from Pope Innocent II. on his stay at Moryg in, near Etampes (Lec. 29, xii. 80) — to Heloise 'the priestess, and the other sisters in the oratory of the Holy Trinity.' Heloise had been expelled from Argentenil in 1123 (Lec. 120), by the mindful capacity and reforming zeal of Suger, who made good at Rome the claims of St. Denys to the convent.

The movements of Abelard for the next three or four years are a little uncertain, the more so as it seems he had maintained the rank and title of abbot of St. Gildas. Probably he lived near Paraclete, engaged in collecting and publishing his writings, including his Historia Calamitatum, and in resolving for Heloise the various problems which arose in the establishment of Paraclete as a nunnery. To this period belongs also his famous correspondence with Heloise. To pass from these impassioned letters to the scholastic trilling of many of the Problematum Heloise is chiefly of interest as a study in repression. He resumed also his teaching at St. Genevieve, though perhaps fitfully. From the enthusiastic description of John of Salisbury (Pug. 43) we learn that he had lost none of his power (Metalogicus, ii. 10, 'contulit me ad peripateticum palatinum'). But for this mention, Abelard's history at this time would be almost a blank. We know, however, that about this date Arnold of Brescia attached himself to Abelard.

When next Abelard appears before us, he is at fault as a theological stonk with St. Bernard, whom he had first met at Morigny when in quest of the papal grant of the Paraclete (Jan. 29th, 1131). The differences of the two men were fundamental, of the kind that no argument or personal intercourse can remove. A realist goes without saying. Realism in those days was almost identical with orthodoxy. But this was not the difference. The two were representatives of opposing schools. Abelard set up in himself the spirit of a premature revolt against unreasoning authority. Bernard, the last of the Fathers, was the supreme representative to the age of all that was best in the old faith: a reformer in morals and life, a rigid conservative in creed and ritual. Abelard, profoundly religious in the age of his, was the representative of a creed full of dry light and clear of cant, but destitute of spiritual warmth; and which, as is shown, both at St. Denys and St. Gildas, little power in turning men to their use to the higher life. With all his narrowness of intellectual vision compared with Abelard, put St. Bernard down at St. Gildas, and that abode of loose livers would have felt at once the purifying power of his rectitude. He was not without fire which not only cleanses but warms; but of this the cold, subtle, intellectual religion of Abelard knew little or nothing. To Bernard—'Faith is not a habit but a certitude, the certainty of things hoped for,' says the Apostle, not the phantasies of empty conjecture. You hear, the substance. You may not dispute on the facts, but you may not wander beyond them through the waste of opinion, the byways of error. By the name 'intellectual religion' something certain and sure of itself is marked off from before you; you are enclosed within boundaries, you are restrained within unchanging limits' (Tractatus de erroribus Abelardi, iv. 9).

Abelard, on the contrary, argued that reason was of God, and had, as philosophy showed, found God. He argued that 'he that is hasty to trust is light-minded' (Sir l. 19). Conflict between the two was inevitable; it had already broken out. In one of his letters, Bernard inveighs with his customary rhetoric against Peter Abelard disputing with boys, conversing with women. A. M., who does not apologize for Moses 46, lid, towards the darkness in which God was, but advances attended by a crowd of disciples (Bernard, Ep. cccxxvi.). On his part, Abelard had attacked the saint for preferring the teaching of St. Bernard to his. Bernard had written that to insist on the use at Paraclete (τὸ ἀργὸν τὸ τινος, which Abelard translates supersubstantialem; see Abelard, Ep. x. in Migne, op. cit. col. 377). Nor would the attachment to Abelard of his former pupil, the daring revolutionary Arnold of Brescia, tend to lessen the suspicions against him.

The two representatives of systems whose conflict from the nature of things is as inevitable as it is unending, were now to meet in fierce combat; at Sens, in the province of whose archbishop both Paris and Clairvaux lay. The challenge seems to have come from Abelard; for we may dismiss as fiction the statement of Bernard's biographer, Geoffrey of Anuxer, that Bernard privately visited Abelard and secured his repentance (Lec. xiv. 350). Abelard felt the need of publicly clearing himself from the charges of heterodoxy brought against him by William of St. Thierry in collision, as some think, with Bernard himself (Bernard, Ep. cccxxvii.). In this challenge Abelard once more shows that neither misfortune nor years had taught him wisdom. He entered the lists against authority with the authority of the master and the general council. At issue with the deep devotional spirit of the age, he chose his time when all minds were excited by the most solemn action of devotion, the Crusade; he appealed to reason when reason was least likely to be heard (Millman, Latii Christianitiy, iv. 350). His one advantage would appear to have been that Henry le Sanglier, the archbishop of Sens, had a legacy against Bernard (Rénesaut, i. 210-211). Perhaps for this reason Bernard at first was unwilling to come to the duel. Such contests, he pleaded, were vain; the verities of faith could not be submitted to their decision (Ep. xiv. 26). Bernard yielded to the representations of his friends and the summons of his metropolitan, and set out for Sens, Whitsuntide 1141 (for date, not 1140 as Poole, Bernard in Deventer, Bilcke, Berlin, 1880). Hardly had the council opened (June 4), and Bernard demanded the recital of Abelard's heresies, than Abelard, whether from characteristic irresolution, fear of the people of Sens, loss of nerve, or revulsion of feeling so great, availed from the very tribunal he had chosen to the judgment of the Pope, and left the assembly to mumble out over its wine-cups its condemnans, already decided upon, it seems, on the previous day (Berengar of Poitiers, Apologia pro Magistro, Migne, PL
Abelard's
to the preface to his *Sié et Non*—a collection of
contradictory opinions from the Father of the
leading disputes of theology, the prologue of
which was probably written not later than 1121 (Deutsch,
402)—he lays down a defence of all criticism: 'By
doubting we are led to inquiry, by inquiry to
perceive the truth.' Of those who argue that we
must not reason on matters of faith, Abelard asks:

'How, then, is the faith of any people, however false, to
be trusted, though it may have arrived at such a stage of
orthodoxy as to confess some idol to be the creator both of heaven
and earth? As, according to your own admission, you cannot reason
upon matters of faith, you can have no right to raise a question
on a matter with regard to which you think you ought yourselves to
be unassailed' (Intro. Theol. ii. 3, Migne, op. cit. col. 1669).

The dilemma of unreasoning pietism has never
been better exposed.

The circumstances of the times flung Abelard
into conflict with Bernard. Intellectually, the only
foeman worthy of his steel would have been Anselm
of Canterbury. At first sight there seems to be
between these two philosophers an impassable
abyss, unconsciously summed up by Anselm in the
preface to his *Cursus Homo*. Some men seek for reason, but
we seek for them because we do believe! 'This is my
belief, that, if I believe not, neither shall I
understand' (credo ut intelligam). The rule of
Abelard is the exact opposite. He argues that men believe
not because of any reason but because of
their own unreason. Doubt is his starting-point, reason his guide to
certitude. But a deeper study reveals that the
differences between the two may be exaggerated,
as in Abelard's own generation they certainly were.

Abelard owns that the highest truths of theology
stand above the proof of our understanding; they
may only be hinted at by analogies, as, for instance,
his favourite analogy of the seal and the Trinity.

But through knowledge faith is made perfect.
(Deutsch, op. cit. 96 ff., 433 ff.), Anselm was no less
anxious to satisfy reason than Abelard, only
wanted to make sure of its limits before he began.

Thus the difference between the two great thinkers
was one rather of the order of thought than real
divergence. If the chronological order be
regarded, Anselm is right; if the logical, Abelard.
In the order of experience faith precedes reason;
in the manner knowledge leads up to faith. And
some excellent remarks in Fairbairn, *Christ in
Mod. Theol.* 120 f., on the contrast; cf. also
Deutsch, op. cit. 172). It is in the clear perception
of this last that the true greatness of Abelard lies.
But, like Bacon, he was saved from memory to the next age, that age which
he had done more than any man to usher in.
The school in which he taught developed within a generation
into the greatest university of Europe, largely
through his influence. With Abelard also closes
the first period of Scholasticism. In the next
generation James of Venice translated the works
of Aristotle, hitherto for the most part unknown,
into Latin. Henceforth the *New Logic*, the basis
of which in many ways was the same as that which
led Abelard in his protests, dominated Europe.

In the place of St. Bernard we have Aristotle as the
all but canonized leader of the Christian
world. But in nothing is Abelard's influence more visible than
in his scholars. Of his pupils, twenty-five, it is
said, became cardinals, including Pope Alexander
III., and more than fifty were bishops. Through
Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, founded on the model
of Abelard's *Sié et Non*, Abelard swayed and
moulded the theology of the next three hundred
years. As Abelard was the incarnation of the
new spirit charging itself with the freedoms of
thought, so in his pupil Arnold of Brescia we find the leader
in the new claim for freedom of will in an ideal
Christian republic. Another pupil, William of
Conches, made a firm though intellectual protest
against the growing neglect of literature (John of Salisbury, Metal. i. 24 in Migne, PL cxxxvii. col. 543c).

Of particular doctrines which illustrate Abelard's influence or drift, we select the following as of special theological interest:—

(a) Injustice.—He limits inspiration to matters concerning 'faith, hope, charity, and the sacraments.' The rest is largely 'for the adornment or enlargement of the Church' (see his Prol. in Ep. Rom., Migne, op. cit. 785). Even 'prophecy' and 'apocalyptic' (see Poole and Migne, op. cit. 1345), while a place must be found in the evolution of life and doctrine for revelation given to the heathen philosophers, especially Plato (Theol. Christ. lib. ii. passim, e.g. Migne, op. cit. 1179. Cf. Epit. Theol. Christ. c. 11).

(b) The humanity of Christ.—This he claims to be essentially real. He goes so far even as to claim that it includes 'hominum infirmatis veros defec tus' (Epit. Theol. Christ. c. 25). In his emphasis on the real humanity of Jesus, Abelard is a complete contrast to his age.

(c) He claimed that sin lies in the intention, the consequence being that sin is not of itself evil. Virtue cannot be attained except by conflict. Ignorance in the case of the unenlightened does not constitute sin, and the Jews who ignorantly crucified Jesus must be judged accordingly; (Abelard's view of sin is best gathered from his Scito te ipsum, esp. cc. 2, 3, 13. Its very title shows the emphasis he places on self-knowledge or intention). Original sin is thus the penal consequence of sin and not sin itself. 'It is inconceivable that God should damn a man for the sin of his parents' (Ep. Rom., Migne, op. cit. 866 ff.).

(d) From this it is an easy transition to Abelard's moral theory of the Atonement—Christ's creating within us by His passion a love which itself delivers from sin (Exp. Ep. Rom. in Migne, op. cit. 830, 859). He rejects totally any theory that makes the Atonement a redemption from the right of the devil (Epit. Theol. Christ. c. 29).

Abelard's influence in the field of Logic was very great, amounting almost to a revolution. He struck out a theory which to-day we should call Conceptualism, midway between the Nominalism of Roscelin and the crude Realism of William of Champeaux. He held that we arrive at the general from the particular by an effort of thought. Thus he allowed the reality of the individual, and the reality also of the universals, in so far, that is, as they were the manifestations of the love of the infinite to Abelard. Thus returned to the position of Aristotle, probably without any direct knowledge of Aristotle's arguments (Poole, 142 n.). Hence the reputation of Abelard in dialectics in the following centuries when Aristotle had become dominant. (For a full discussion see Rémuas, vol. ii., von Prantl, or Ueberweg, i. 892 f.)

Abelard's versatility was very great. In dialectics and theology he was the master without a rival; he also lectured on the great classical law-texts (Rashdall, i. 63 n.). His vernacular songs have perished; the religious hymns (in Migne, 1729 ff.) give little indication of the great power that he exercised in this matter. As a humanist, his qualifications, as also in the case of Heloise, have been exaggerated. His knowledge of Latin literature was considerable, especially Latin scripta, and of Hebrew nil (Poole, c. 59; Deutsch, 55 f.). Of mathematics he professes his complete ignorance. His citations from the Fathers are extensive (Deutsch, 69 f.), as the reader may see for himself by the pages of Poole, xl. many no doubt are second-hand. His eloquence, wit, and charm of manner, added to a culture that covered almost the whole range of knowledge as then conceived, were acknowledged by his admirers.

To this we have the witness of his epitaph:—

Epitaph:—
Abelardus
Hic soli patiit eccliea quidquid erat
(Poole, 145). The Latin is different and inferior reading, Migne, 103; Rémuas, i. 259 n. .

But the truest estimate of Abelard's greatness is that unconsciously given by William of St. Thierry in his invective against him in his Hist. Thuring., ii. 1759:

'His books pass the seas, cross the Alps. His new notions and dogmas about the faith are carried through kingdom and province; to these unmourned before man and beast, he adds, unconsciously that they are reported even to have influence at the court of Rome, by the name of Bernard, Ep. clxxvii.

Abelard's spirit lived in the victories and movements of later thought.

Literature.—A. The chief source for the life of Abelard will be found in his autobiographical, Historia Conscientiae. In addition, we have a stray reference in Otto of Freising's des Gestes Fredericis (ed. Pert, v. 20, esp. i. cc. 47-49, with reference to the Synods of Soissons and Sens; John of Salisbury, Metapopicius (in Migne, PL v. 160, or Bouquet, Reuils, xiv.), and, of course, the writings of St. Bernard. We may read the Vita b. Guilleni (in Bouquet or Brial, Recueil des Hist des Gauves, xiv.), and Suger's de rebus in admin. sua gestis (in Duchesne's Script. Franc. iv.). Of modern Lives the best sketch in English is by R. L. Poole in his Hist. of Hist. of Med. Thought (1881); Abelard's connection with the University of Paris is judiciously dealt with by Rashdall, Univ. in M. A. (1905), ch. 1.; Companyns's Abelard et ses contemporains (1905) is altogether misnamed; M'Cabe's Peter Abelard (1901) is the work of a partisan; the chapter in Cotter Morris's St. Bernard (many ed.) is concise but very fair and judiciously written. We may have the admirable Abelard, 2 vols. (Paris, 1846), of Charles de Rémuas. In view of the vast amount of material on Abelard, we may also read Peter de Debretz (Paris, 1838), which has given us a thorough criticism of Abelard's theology which may be compared by the student with that in Rémuas. Deubert has added considerably to our knowledge of Abelard by a list of English sermons covering seven years by his Die Synode von Sens (Berlin, 1880). Adolph Haushat's Peter Abélard (Paris, 1893) is considerable; his philosophy of Abelard, in addition to the exhaustive discussion in Rémuas, we have Reuter, Gesch. der relig. Entwickelung (2 vols. 1873-1877), and an interesting piece of popular writing on the History of the Franciscans (Paris, 1879); and, more especially for his views, von Prantl, Gesch. d. Liturgie, passim, and Mendelssohn's 6 vols., Leipzig, 1856.

B. Of the works of Abelard we have the following editions:—Migne, PL cxxxvii. (1850), but without the Tractatus de Unitate et Priniciple, first published by Stütte (Freiburg, 1851). On p. 375 of Migne's edition there is an amazing suppression of 'what would seem to be a quip.' Migne's edition contains the Sic et Non first edited in full by Henke and Lindenkohl (Marburg, 1851), as also all the works of Abelard, for the first editing of which we are indebted to Victor Cousin; Opera omnia t. Abelard (Paris, 1870), and the later Petr. Abelardi Opera, ed. V. Cousin, C. Jourdain, and E. Despolis (Paris, 1849). Cousin's contributions to our knowledge of Abelard are very great.

H. B. Workman.

Abatement.—In its most general sense 'abatement' means encouragement, but the word is now used almost entirely in a bad sense as encouragement, counsel, and instigation to commit an offence against the law. When any one 'directly or indirectly counsels, procures, commits any felony or piracy which is committed in consequence of such counselling, procuring, or commandment,' he is described in English law as an accessory before the fact (cf. Stephen, Digest of the Criminal Law). In most criminal codes an abettor or accessory is usually described as a person who has in some manner led to, or facilitated the execution of, an offence by rendering material or intellectual assistance. Without being present at the actual perpetration of a crime or an injustice, a man may be useful to the perpetrator of it by assisting him to plan it, or by placing information before him which will facilitate its execution. Or abetment may take the form of rendering material assistance to the principal agent, such as procuring for him the instruments or physical means by which he is enabled or assisted to commit the crime. In this case the moral character is punished with the same severity as if the accomplice were the actual agent, and an offender found guilty of counselling the perpetration of murder receives the punishment of murder (see further the sentence of non-langement) as if he had committed it. (Cf. Letourneau, L'Évolution juridique, p. 109). In Roman law, in ancient German law, in old French law, and in
ABHAYAGIRI—ABHIDHAMMA

English and American law, no distinction is made, in cases of serious crime, between an accessory and a principal. ' Each in English law may be indicted, tried, convicted, and punished as if he alone and independently' (Stephen) had committed the offence (cf. Post, E. 316. 410, et al., and R. 159. 298 f.). In ancient Jewish law, any one inciting or seducing the people to commit idolatry was ordered to be stoned to death (Dt 13. 16-21). Idolatry was regarded as an act of offense against theocracy, and hence any sort of incitement to commit it was visited with the severest penalties. In primitive penal law, abetment does not appear to have been a punishable offence (Post), and in Talmudic jurisprudence no cognizance is taken of incitement by thoughts or words (Je, i, p. 54).

In recent years, certain Italian jurists (e.g. Gihele, Teoria positiva della complicita, Torinca, 1894) have contended that no distinction should be made between accessories and principals, on the ground that a crime committed by persons acting in concert is more dangerous in character than a crime committed by a single individual, and that men united for a common purpose should not be permitted to escape the blame and responsibility which the law ought to share the responsibility for it in common. Habitual offenders, it is contended, frequently act together; it is often a mere accident which of them shall be the actual perpetrator; therefore all of them should be punished. (Ex, 22. 29). The supreme object of the law should be to strike at the association, and not merely at the individuals of which it is composed. It is the association that is the danger.

W. D. MOWRISON

ABHAYAGIRI.—Name of a celebrated monastery at Anurâdhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon. Giri means 'mountain,' and Abhaya was one of the kings of Ceylon, who erected the monastery close to the stupa, or solid dome-like structure built over supposed relics of the Buddha. It was this stupa that was called a mountain or hill, and the simile was not extravagant, as the stupa was nearly the height of St. Paul's, and its ruins are still one of the sights of Anurâdhapura.

There was considerable rivalry between the monks of Jetavana, the establishment and those at the much older Mahâvihâra (the Great Minster), founded 217 years earlier. The rivalry was mainly personal, but developed into differences of opinion. The latter we have no exact information, and they were probably not of much importance. On one occasion, in the reign of Mahâmaha (A.D. 275-302), the Great Minster was abolished, and its materials removed to the Abhayagiri. But the former was soon afterwards restored to its previous position, and throughout the long history of Ceylon maintained its pre-eminence.


T. W. RHyS DAVIDS

ABHIDHAMMA.—The title of the third (and last) group, or pitaka, of the Buddhist canonical books; it is the also for the specific way in which the Dhamma (doctrine) is set forth in those books. It is in that specific treatment, and not in any distinctive subject-matter, that the real use and significance of these books for early Buddhism are to be found. A myth grew up among 19th Century Indologists, that the Abhidhamma pitaka was the repository of Buddhist metaphysics. Acquaintance with the contents of the pitaka has dispelled this notion. These books for early Buddhism are to be found. A myth grew up among 19th Century Indologists, that the Abhidhamma pitaka was the repository of Buddhist metaphysics. Acquaintance with the contents of the pitaka has dispelled this notion. These books for early Buddhism are to be found. A myth grew up among 19th Century Indologists, that the Abhidhamma pitaka was the repository of Buddhist metaphysics. Acquaintance with the contents of the pitaka has dispelled this notion. These books for early Buddhism are to be found.

It helps only by catechism; in its last and longest books, not even by that. Hence the call for sustained reconstructive and critical effort. The Abhidhamma gives no such aids. It should always be remembered (and the reader forget it) that the canon was compiled, and for generations learnt, as an unwritten composition.

In the first two pitakas the memory is aided by episodes giving occasion for the utterance of rules, doctrine, or sermon, and by hints of the abhidhamma in the sense of a thenceverse. The Abhidhamma gives no such aids. It helps only by catechism; in its last and longest books, not even by that. Hence the call for sustained reconstructive and critical effort. The Abhidhamma gives no such aids. It should always be remembered (and the reader forget it) that the canon was compiled, and for generations learnt, as an unwritten composition.

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such it might have almost equalled, in value to the
world, the contents of the discourses. As a fact it is
impossible to estimate the extent to which the
exaggeration of the Indian temperament and the
temperance of the Greek temperament were due to
purely practical reasons; but, incidentally, during
the florescence of each, of the written book. No-
where as in India do we find imagination so
dastic and exuberant, running riot through time,
space, and the infinite; and nowhere else is seen
such an effort to carry forth.
Abhidhamma training was one of the most not-
worthy forms of this effort. It was specially cal-
culated (according to Buddaghosa, Atthadisiri, p.
24) to be a functional instrument (dhammamitta) which, in the Buddha’s words, tended to loss of balance, craziness, and insanity. The chief methods of that training were: first, the definition and determination of all names or terms entering into the Buddhist scheme of culture; secondly, the enunciation of all doctrines, theo-
retical and practical, as formulas, with co-ordina-
tion of all such as were logically interrelated; and
finally, the verification of all the heterodox posi-
tions to an absurdity—a method which is con-
finned to the somewhat later fifth book, the Katha-
vatthu. Even in these lofty aims, however, the
want of restraint, helped by the cumbersome
ness of purely theoretical, compilation, tended to defeat
the very objects sought. The logic of definition is not
the same as we have inherited, and the propositions
yield strings of alternatives that have often little
or no relation to facts.

Of the seven books of the Abhidhamma-pịṭkā, the first five have been published by the Pali Text Society, viz., Dhamma-
mitā, Abhidhamma-ṃucanā, Dhammasatthā, Abhidhamma-Ratubuddhika, and Katha-
vatthu; the sixth, or Yamaka, is not yet edited; the seventh, the Pathbha, is [1907] in the press. The first book has been tran-
slated by the present writer under the title, A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, London, 1909. Besides these seven, there are two versions in Chinese, one Tibetan translation, other seven books, which form the Abhidhamma literature of the Sarvāstivāda—a school which split off from the original nucleus of Buddhist culture. A very full index to the contents of these
seven is given by Professor Takakusu in JPTS, 1905. But the books themselves have not as yet been edited or translated. Their date also is not yet settled, but they are certainly earlier than the Christian era. These works form the basis of the celebrated, but as yet undiscovered, Maha-bhuta-kosa, or Dictionary of Abhidhamma, written in Sanskrit, as well as that of its Commentaries, and other correlative works, some of which survive in Sanskrit and others in Chinese or Tibetan versions, and which carried on the development of Abhidhamma down to the present day. A master, Professor Deechok, in his catalogue of Chinese Buddhist literature (Oxford, 1883), gives the number of the shāstras to be more than thirteen, of these works still extant. In the later developments of Buddhism in India, notably in the so-called ‘Great Vehicle,’ the use of the term Abhidhamma has been systematically dropped. They died out, so to speak, in all other Buddhist countries, where Pali has remained the literary language, books on Abhidhamma have continued to be written down to the present day, the best known being the Abhidhamma-pịṭkā, published in 1834 by the Pali Text Society.

C. RIVUS DAVIDS.

ABHIDHARMA KOṢA VYAKHYĀ.—One of the most important Buddhist texts preserved in Nepal. It is a commentary, written by a scholar named Yasomintra, on a classical account of Bud-
idhism metaphysics: Abhidharmakoṣa, ‘the treasure of Abhidharmma.’ The Sanskrit original of the Koṣa seems to be irrecoverably lost; but there still exist Chinese and Tibetan versions, of which the Chinese are the oldest. It is the earliest of these is the work of a Hindu monk, Paramārtha, dated A.D. 563-567; then revived tradition, was modified and en-
riched by Hīne-tening, the celebrated pilgrim, A.D. 651-
654. The author of the Koṣa is Vasubandhu, one of the most illustrious doctors of the Buddhist Church, who flourished about the end of the 5th century B.C.

The Koṣa itself consists of two parts: (1) a summary account of the doctrine in 602 verses (kīrtikās); (2) an illustrative commentary (vyākyā) on these verses. The subject-matter is discussed in eight sections, viz.: the first principles (dhātus), the senses and their objects, the world of the senses (samānyata), the science (jñāna), the trance (samādhi), the individuality (pudgala). Vasubandhu belongs to the school of the Sarvāstivāda, and the existence of all things, a school of the Hinayāna, or ‘Little Vehicle.’ The Koṣa has neverless been admitted as an authority by all schools of Buddhism; the author of the Vyakhyā, Yasomintra, is a Sau-
trāntikā, and the Sarvāstivādins have always employed it as a text-book. A huge literature of notes and glosses on the Koṣa has grown up. In India, before Yasomintra, Ginnarati, and Yasomintra wrote commentaries on it, which still exist in Tibetan versions. In China, two books of Hīne-tening, Fu-kong and Fu-pa, compiled the lectures and explanations given by their master. It would be easy to-day to fill a whole library with the Koṣa literature.

The work achieved so great popularity is due to the rare merit of the author. Familiar with the anterior intricacies of each school, Vasubandhu not only exhausted the strength of his genius, he brings order, clarity, preciseness, and cohesion into the whole, combining in a harmonious synthesis the tenets sanctioned by general consent of Buddhists.

SILVAIN LÉVI.

ABHISEKA (literally ‘pouring upon’) [from abhi-siṣṭa].—A compound which, without definite ceremonial implications, occurs several times in the Atharvaveda, but not in the Rig or the Sāma. In the White Yajur Veda, and in the three Sami-
hitās of the Black Yajur Veda, as well as in several Brahmāṇas and the brāhmaṇa ritual of all the four Vedas, we find abhishekavāna as the name of a rite included in the rajyāya, and the last book of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has abhishekā itself for its main topic.

The ceremonial sprinkling, anointing, or baptiz-
ing of persons and things is a usage of such antiquity and universality, that its origin and sig-
nificance could not methodically be made the sub-
ject of an inquiry confined to India (see artt. on AOINTING). If the earliest anointing was with blood, and the object of it to confer vigour, the evidence for the former truth must be sought out-
side India; and although an invigorating power is in fact ascribed (e.g. Saptapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. 4.
2. 2) to the rite, the Brāhmaṇical theologians were quite capable of arriving at a similar conclusion without the help of an old tradition.

We may (A) begin by a statement of the actual employment of such a ceremony, so far as it is known to us from narrative sources, and then (B) append an account of the Brāhmaṇical prescrip-
tions in connexion with abhiseka, vajapeya, and
rajyāya ceremonies, and the ritual appertaining to them.

A. I. Subjects of the ceremony.—The persons who underwent the rite of abhiseka were in the first place emperors. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii. 15) states as the object of the rite the attain-
ment of paramount power, which it names with a
great amplitude of synonyms, and it annexes a list of the famous rulers of former times who had been so distinguished (vii. 21-23). In the Mahā-
brāhmaṇa, the seven signs are given, and, in the first (Sātāe Purāṇa, cc. 33, 45, esp. 45) is pre-
ceded by victories expeditions in all directions and
celebrated as part of a rajyāya in the presence of subordinate kings, while the second (Sānti Parvan, c. 40) finally determines the conclusion of the whole. The Buddhist emperor Aśoka was not crowned until four years of conquest had followed his acces-
sion (Mahawansa, Turnour, p. 25), and in the case of
For many prior, 21, 11, 2496, 5, not xxv). the supported 209), that supported that Santi images took (4) 282), Jacobi, it 112) 40), The Beal, and various authorities 107, 11, 112). See 5.5.12 ff., 9, 10), also esp. The mention of various authorities, also esp. Weber, the 1892, p. 171, 1.2). The fluid mentioned in this case is milk; but a variety of other substances, including water of various kinds, cow-dung, earth from an ant-hill, etc., etc., are named by the authorities whom Goldstücker quotes.

Finally, the name abhisekabhisīmā is given by the Buddhists to the last of their ten bhāmis or stages of perfection (Mahāvastu, i, 124, 20). And further, the word abhiseka was applied to any ceremonial anointing, such as has always been, and still is, practised by Hindus at sacred fairs, tanks, etc., etc. For abhisekas of neophytes, see Agnipūrāṇa, c. 90, Posaini, ff., and Rājendralalā Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit MSS, No. 1536; of barren women, etc., Henman, Fr. Bṛhadvāla.

2. Ritual and occasion of the ceremony.—This is not the place for enlarging on the varying details of the inauguration ceremony as described in the Sanskrit literature. The reader will find in Goldstücker's Dictionary, s.v. 'abhiseka,' ample material, extracted from the Mahābhārata (Sānti Parvan, c. 49), Rāmāyana, Agni-Pūrāṇa (c. 209), and Mānasārā. Although in these works the special priestly aspect of the ceremony is but little developed, Goldstücker finds (p. 250) that the details as given in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana show 'that the vaidik ceremony had undergone various modifications at the time of their composition,' while (p. 283) 'the inauguration ceremony at the Pāṇḍu-yuga period has but little affinity with the vaidik rite; it is a series of proceedings which are founded on late superstitions, and reflect scarcely any of the ideas which are the groundwork of the ceremony of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.' Such changes are, of course, far from unnatural; but there may also have been special causes at work, such as the neglect of the old śramaṇa ritual, or the necessity of providing new forms for rulers who were without title to kṣatriya rites.

The general features of the ceremony seem to be as follows:—Prior to the rite (e.g. on the previous day) the king undergoes a purification, consisting of a bath, etc., no doubt analogous to the Vedē diligence. Essentials are—(1) appointment of the various minister of states either before or in the course of the inauguration; (2) choice of the other royal ratnas, a queen, an elephant, a white horse, a white bull, a white umbrella, a white chowrie or two, etc.; (3) a throne (bhadrāsana, sīvāsana, bhadrāpātha, parāśamāsa) made of gold and decorated with a bluish film; (4) offering of various gifts to the king; (5) etc. See Rāmāyana, ii, 13; Kṛṣṇa-dvīpa, xvi, 23 ff.; Somadeva, xv, 110. C.E.; Jacobi, op. cit. p. 26, 12.3 ff.; Sānti Parvan, c. 40.
hands to him a vessel of suri (spirit) to drink, identifying the suri with soma.

Any consideration of the ceremony, which is preceded by an oath of life-long fealty on the part of the king towards the priest, may be reserved for the end of this article. After the description of it, there follows in the Brāhmaṇa a list of all the famous Kings of ancient times who had been consecrated thereby, together with the names of the consecrating priests. These names may be cited here:

1. Janamejaya Pārśuṣa, consecrated by Tara Kavaṣeya;
2. Śrīśvaṇga, consecrated by King Inteṣaṇa;
3. Niśākṣa, consecrated by Sarvaśrī Vaiṣṭara-
4. Ambika, consecrated by Pārvata and Nārada;
5. Yudhikīrṇa Arugaraṇa, consecrated by Pārvata and Nārada.

Viśvakarmā Bhavunaka, consecrated by Kaṭṣapa;
Sudānā Pājāvana, consecrated by Vaiṣṭara;
Marutu A śūka, consecrated by Sāntara A śūka;
Agha, consecrated by Udayanaka Atreyau;
Bharata Dvāravat, consecrated by Kaṭṣadaṇa Māṇāyata;
These following were victorious by mere knowledge of the rites:
—
Durmukha Chāṭhā, having learned it by Brāhmatīta;
—
Atṭara, has learned it not through a king, but by Vaiṣṭara Śāhravaya.

For other lists see Goldstucker, op. cit. p. 270.

2. Before dealing with the rājāṣṭiya proper, we may conveniently take into consideration the other ceremony described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii. 5-11), the punarabhiseka, which, though widely differing in procedure, is of an analogous character in theme; it represents the ritual of a royal consecration or a routine disconnected from the actual accession of a king. It is not, however, as in the rājāṣṭiya, imbued in a composite series of rituals, but placed under one head of a sacrifice.

The name punarabhiseka implies that the person concerned was an already crowned king, and the object of the rite was probably to reinforce his vigour as such. Thus, it is stated that the royal power is quickened by it (rājāṣṭiya va vāya ṣastraḥ rājāṣṭiya yu dīkṣate kaṇṭhīyaḥ saṁ—as an expression perhaps implying a knowledge of the word rājāṣṭiya), and the various substances used are said to restore to the king various powers (brahmaṇayanāḥ vṛgya samudraya yuṁ aṇiṁaṁ ghadāyāṁ ṛṣaṇaṁ vṛgya samudrayaḥ). The phrase which through the sacrifice had passed out of him (§§ 7, 8). It is with this object that the god Savitṛ is invoked in the mantra mantra dharma dharma dharma dharma dharma, etc. (§ 7), which recites the crowning of the inādha māhābhiseka and the rājāṣṭiya.

The actual rites are very similar to those of the inādha māhābhiseka. The apparatus consists of:

(1) a seat of udumbara wood with a covering of tiger-skin and branch of udumbara wood,

(2) a concretion of fluid of curds, honey, butter, and water of a sunshine shower, with grass, sprouts, surī, and dārā-grass.

The sacrificial space (vedi) is marked out with a sphaṇa (wooden sword), and the seat is placed half within and half without the same. Sitting behind the seat with his right knee bent to the ground, the king takes hold of it with both hands and invites the gods to ascend it, in order that he may ascend it 'for royalty, paramony, etc. ' He then ascends, and the priest, having blessed the consecration fluid, sprinkles him through the interspersed udumbara branch, and hands to him the cup of suri from which he drinks; then he offers the remains to a friend. He descends from the throne, placing his feet on the udumbara branch, and, sitting with his face eastward, utters the words mantra brah-
certain order obligations from the *svāra*-cup and pronounces a prayer for progeny of oxen, horses, and men.

3. The *rājāśya* is an elaborate ritual prescribed for a kṣatriya king desiring of paramountcy. It is brought into connexion with Varuna, the first emperor, and after him named *Varaṇasaṅgaṇa*. Like the *pavanabhiksha*, it was applicable to an already established king, though very likely the two ceremonies may have been susceptible of combination. The essential difference between the two is that *abhiṣeka* was a necessary act of State, involving the consecration of certain objects; whereas *rājāśya* was an optional religious rite, undertaken with a certain object, and including a ceremony of consecration. In Sanskrit inscriptions the kings sometimes glory in having performed the rite, which they mention in connection with the *vājapeya*, *akśāmedha*, etc. (Epigraphia Indica, iv. p. 196, l. 3).

Weber holds ('Über den Rājasaśya,' pp. 1-6) that the *rājāśya*, like the *vājapeya*, was originally a simpler popular institution, which subsequently found admission, with many elaborations, into the *śrauta* ritual, and Hillebrandt (Vedische Öfner und Zaubrer, 34 u. 35, together with his V. 2, 14) agree, with him, that the *rājāśya* is the *dvaruḥbhāṣya* we may explain the word as meaning: the *rājāśya* ceremony (the word *rājāśya* occurring in the ritual, see Weber, p. 37), and conclude, in accordance with common notions, that the inherent vigour of a king derived from time to time by the *rājāśya*. The *dvaruḥbhāṣya* is a ritual, and that case the earliest *rājāśya* may have been a regularly repeated (e.g. annual), or an occasional quickening rite undergone by king.

The actual *rājāśya* consists of seven rites (*pāvitra* or *abhāryākāra*, *abhiṣekha*, *dāsakeya*), *keśavapaniya*, *vyūṣṭi*, *dvārāśra*, *śaṭradhātya*), to which some authorities add (after *dāsakeya* or after *śaṭradhātya*) an eighth (*sauḍāmitra*). Concerning the *pāvitra* we need only say that it must be taken to cover the preparatory and purificatory ceremonies, beginning in the month Phālguṇa (Feb.-March), and extending over a whole year. It is stated that according to the Mānasas the rite took place in autumn. The *keśavapaniya* is the formal cutting of the king's hair, which remains unshorn for a whole year after the *abhiṣekha*, and the *vyūṣṭi*, etc., need not detain us. Of interest here are only the *abhiṣekha* with its preceding *raṅmakāśya* and the *dāsakeya*. With the first day of the month Phālguṇa in the second year commence certain introductory rites (*sauḍa- mitra, *pāvitra*, *abhāryākāra*, *abhiṣekha*, *dāsakeya*, *trīṣajnyākta* *raṅmakāśya*), of which the last and most important is a series of sacrifices on 12 successive days in the houses of the king's *rātras* (see above), who are variously enumerated. The *abhiṣekha* is, commencing on the first day of the month Chaitra (March-April), occupies five days. After the completion of eight *devaśākāśya* comes the proclamation of the king by the priest, who, grasping his right arm, pronounces a mantra referring to Savitri, Agni, Brähmat, Soma, Indra, Varuna, etc., and stating the name of the king, his father and mother, and his kingdom. Next are provided for the sprinkling 17 fluids, namely, 13 *pāvitra* or *abhāryākāra*, and 4 *śaṭradhātya*, each in a separate vessel of *udumbara* wood, and having sun-motes mixed with them. These are then poured into a single silver *udumbara* vessel, which, together with four other vessels, of *palasī* (*Buta frouonos*), *udumbara*, *nyagrodha*, and *aśvattha*, is set down before one of the altars. Next day a tiger-skin is placed in front of the four vessels, and by the consecrator with Fluids, and then poured: the king is specially arrayed for the ceremony and armed with bow and arrows, then announced to gods and people: to avert evil, a piece of tiger-skin is passed over him. The next step is the king, head and he is made to hold forth his arms facing eastward, while with the four vessels severally he is anointed by the purohita or adhavarya, a kinsman (brother), a friendly kṣatriya, and a vāya. At this point (according to one account) is related to him the story of Sunahśeṣa (a reminiscence of human sacrifice). He then rubs himself with the consecration fluid, after which he takes three steps (reminiscence of steps of the tiger-skin) and dries himself with the skin. The remnant of the liquid, poured into the *palāśa* cup, he hands to his dearest son. The latter holds on to behind the adhavarya, who pours the remnant upon the sacrificial fire, mentioning, and one intentionally confusing, the name of the king and his son. There follow: (1) a symbolic seizure of a cow, one of a hundred, belonging to one of the king's relatives, the king driving against them in a war-chariot and ultimately returning to the sacrificial edifice, where, after assuming shoes of pig-skin, he dismounts; (2) enthroning of the king upon a seat of *khedara* (acacia catechu) wood, placed upon the tiger-skin; (3) beating of the king with a *sauḍa* (which holds five arrows), in order to expel his sins, after which he is proclaimed as Brahmā, Savitri, Indra, and Rudra; (4) a symbolic game with dice, in which the king, his brother, his eunuch, or any other person, is the *police magistrate*, according to Weber, a *grāṇaṇi* (village-headman), and a relative take part; (5) various minor ceremonies. On the seventh day of Chaitra takes place the *dāsakeya*, a ceremony in which 190 persons, including the king, drink in groups of 10 out of 10 cups: a genealogical test is implied, the qualification being that each must be able to cite 10 generations of soma-drinking ancestors.

A few years later comes the *keśavapaniya*, etc.

The above account of the *rājāśya* is taken chiefly from Egegging's *tr. of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* and Weber's translation and exposition of the *Khāyāyana Srauta-sūtra* ("Über den Rājasaśya"), which, as representing the part of the operant priests, is naturally the fullest Sanskrit authority. The *brauta* ritual of the other Vedas, also cited by Prof. Weber, agrees in the main. The *paurāṇikā*-sūka of the Aitareya Brahmaṇa, though it gives many common features, is distinctly different from both. But it does not follow that the additional matter of the *rājāśya* is necessarily of later origin: that there were various forms of the rite appears from the Aśvālayana Srauta-sūtra, which employs a plural of the adjectives *brahtyā*, *brahmā*, *sauḍāmitra*, *aśvājas* (ablative: *aśvāja* rājaśya), ix. 3. 3. 1. Weber, who has elaborately discussed the various incidents, regards the references to Varuna and Savitri as, from the point of view of Indian religion, remnants of antiquity. Similarly ancient must be the mimic freebooting expedition, game of dice, and *dāsakeya*. A general anthropological interest attaches to (1) the association of the king with the *udumbara* tree and with the rain-water, (2) the notion of quickening the royal energy by means of the rite, (3) the reminiscence of human sacrifice in the legend of Sunahseṣa, which, in connexion with *paurāṇikā*-sūka, is also related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Sākhyāyana Srauta-sūtra.

4. The *vājapeya*, which is mentioned in the Atharva Veda (xi. 7. 7) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (iii. 41. 1), and fully described in the *brauta* ritual of all the Vedas, also includes a ceremony. At the outset it presents us with a difficulty as to the object with which it was to be celebrated. The Aśvālayana Srauta-sūtra (ix. 9. 1) prescribes it for ‘one desiring abundance of food’ (annādya), explaining
the word vājapeya as meaning 'food and drink';

the Lātāyāna requires it for 'one promoted by brāhmaṇas and kings' (yāmin brāhmaṇāyā rājasya ca parakśāsanaś tva vājapeyaḥ yeṣa); and forbids those who have celebrated it to rise before, salute, etc., those who have not: the White Yajur Veda states that whose sacrifices with the vājapeya wins Prajāpati, and so wins everything. According to Āśvalayana (ix. 19), it is reserved for kings and brāhmaṇas; Śāndhyāyana (xvi. 17–1–4) allows it to the three highest castes, the bhārata-
pātavāsa following in the case of a brāhman; Lātāy-
āna (viii. 11. 12) mentions a view that it might be preceded and followed by the bhārata-pātavāsa; while Kātyāyana (xiv. 1. 1), confining it to kṣatriya and vaisya, orders it to be both preceded and followed by the bhārata-pātavāsa. According to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (v. 1. 1), the rite originated with Indra and Bṛhaspati, who, both by the vājapeya and Śukrāyana, 'won Prajāpati.' The rite of the rank also is variously estimated: Āśvalayana (ix. 19) would make it a preliminary to the rājasya (for a king) or bhārata-pātavāsa (for a priest), while the White Yajur definitely forbids the vājapeya to follow, explaining that the latter is inferior, as the effect is to constitute a king, while by the vājapeya an emperor is constituted.

The celebrated solution seems to be that of Eggeling and Hillebrandt, that the vājapeya was originally general for all the ranks, which severally had more special rites, the rājasya, bhārata-pātavāsa, et. al., etc. The features of the vājapeya itself seem to point to the conclusion of Weber that it was originally a popular celebration of victory or promotion.

The most prominent of these features are (1) ādi, a mimic race; (2) the offering of a sacrifice; and (3) the recurrence of the number 17.

The vājapeya takes place in autumn. There are preliminary ṛaṇa, soma-purchase, etc., 17 cups of soma and 17 of sura being provided; and the gifts to the priest include 1700 cows, etc., 17 slave-

women, 17 elephants, and so on. At the midday ceremony on the final day a racing-car is rolled into the sacrificial area, and to it are yoked four horses, which receive a specially prepared food. Sixteen other cars are arranged outside. Seventeen drums are beaten, the course is marked off by 17 arrow-shots, and an udumbara branch serves as goal. The racing-place and the sacrificial wins; the horses of all the cars are fed and the car chosen to be presented to the priests. After certain libations, the wife of the sacrificer is brought in and specially dressed. A ladder is placed against the sacrificial post, and the sacrificer, seated on his wife's lap. 'Come, wife, ascend we to the sky,' mounts until his head overtops the post: he looks forth in all directions, salutes the earth, and descends, alighting on a gold plate placed upon the ground or upon a godkin. A subordinate priest covers a seat of udumbara wood with a goat's skin, and, taking his arm, seats him thereupon, saying, 'This is thy kingdom.' A mixture of water and milk having been poured in an udumbara basin, the ascendant sacrificer in libations, the offerer is sprinkled with the remainder, and thrice proclaimed with the words, 'This man is Samraj.' There follow 17 mantras of victory.


For ahśeṣka: Āśvalayana Brāhmaṇa, viii. 5 ff.; Mahābhārata Sthānāt Pṛṇārṇa, pp. 35–40, and Sūnti Pṛṇārṇa, c. 10; Kātyāyana Apastamba-śāstra, c. 112; Apastamba Pūruṣa, adhyāya 300; Nītisūkṣaḥ and other works cited above, pp. 1344–1346; Goldzierek, Sanskrit Law and English Berlin and London, 1856, etc.; Rajendralāla Misra, Indira- 


For the rājasya: Vṛṣabha-bhāṣa (cf. 35–x. 34), Kā-


ABILITY.—(Lat. habilītabilis, habilitāte, habilitātum.)

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The use of 'ability' as denoting physical strength is now obsolete, save in Scotland; and, in its use with reference to mental power, 'ability' denotes active power, as distinct from 'capacity,' which signifies potentiality. In the natural sciences, general, also, natural ability is to be contrasted with acquired skill. 'For natural abilities are like natural plants that need pruning by study' (Bacon, Essays: 'Of Studies'). The distinction is important in ethics also; the natural ability is regarded as yielding an income of the nature of rent, while acquired skill yields profits. Again, general ability, natural or acquired, is often contrasted with 'mutative ability,' which refers to a growing complexity of industry and the increasing use of machinery, general ability, which is easily transferable from one trade to another, is yearly becoming a relatively more important factor in industrial skill (cf. A. Marshall, Principles of Economics, 1898, pp. 284-291, 331-342, 637).

In Theology, the terms 'ability' and 'inability' refer to man's power, or want of power, to do the will of God. Man by his fall into a state of sin hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation (Westminster Confession). Here the opposition is to be noted between the doctrine of 'original ability,' as based on a recognition of the difference between the Pelagians, the 'gracious ability' of the Arminians, and the 'natural ability' of the New School (or Edwar dian) theologians (cf. A. H. Strong, Systematic Theology, 1886, pp. 342-345).

ABIOGENESIS (L.= Abiogenesis (from Gr. ἀβίος, 'without life,' and γένεσις, 'birth') is the theory of the origin of living from not-living matter, it is more commonly known as the theory of 'spontaneous generation.' So far as the beginnings of life on the earth are concerned, the doctrine of abiogenesis is generally accepted by biologists. For, in its passage from the nebulous to the more or less solid state, our globe reached a temperature and general conditions which made possible the evolution of the organic from the inorganic. Life, as Buffon was among the first to suggest, probably originated in the polar regions, these being the earliest to cool. The inter-relationship between living and lifeless matter is a fundamental canon of the theory of Evolution, which recognizes no break in continuity, and which also recognizes that living matter in its essential nature is not destroyed, whether these be defined in terms of mind or of matter. 'All our philosophy, all our poetry, all our science, all our art—Plato, Shakespeare, Newton, and Raphael—are potential in the fires of the sun,' says Tyndall; and Huxley, while holding abiogenesis to be unproved, added that 'if it were given him to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions which it can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy, he should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from inert matter' (Collected Essays, viii. p. 236). Hence, both physicist and biologist reject the theory of 'Vitalism,' or the existence of a vital principle or energy distinct in kind from other physical energies. The problem of abiogenesis is therefore narrowed to this—given the origin of life from the not-living, do the conditions which resulted in that still prevail, or have they so far passed away that life is now derived only from pre-existing life?—as the phrase has it, Omne vivum ex vivo.

Belief in spontaneous generation was unchallenged for above 2000 years. It was on the Ionian schoolboard that speculation arose about origins and laws governing phenomena, hence scepticism as to the validity of old cosmogonies and legends. Anaximander (B.C. 610-547), the friend and pupil of Thales, appears to have been the earliest to speak of life as a product of 'the moist element which is the support of the sun.' Aristotle (B.C. 384-322) accepted abiogenesis with few limitations, applying it to parasites, certain invertebrates, and a few vertebrates, as eels (the mode of generation of which was, until recent times, a mystery), but not to animals in which sexual generation is known. Lucretius (c. B.C. 95-51) speaks of 'many living creatures, even now, springing out of the earth and taking form by the rains and the heat of the sun' (de Rerum Natura, v. 205, 206).

It was not until the latter half of the 17th cent., nearly fifty years after Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, that the doctrine of spontaneous generation was assailed, and that by the only effective weapon—experiments. These were started by an Italian scholar-naturalist, Francesco Redi (1626-1698), and, like other methods which have led to momentous results, were simplicity itself. Observing how rapidly dead flesh, exposed to the air, swarmed with maggots, he put some pieces of meat into a jar which he covered with fine gauze, leaving other pieces exposed. In the one case no maggots were found, while in the other, maggots were numerous as usual. The inconclusive conviction was that the maggots were hatched from eggs deposited by blowflies on the dead stuff. A temporary reaction against Redi's conclusions was brought about by Needham (1718-1784) and Buffon (1707-1788), who adduced the case of animalcules which, after a certain lapse of time, appeared in the infusions boiled and hermetically sealed. But when Spallanzani (1729-1799) showed that the air had not been wholly excluded from the infusions, the animalcules in which, by reason of inadequate heating, remained unsterilized. The discovery of oxygen (by Priestley, in 1770), the presence of which is essential to life, compelled the repetition of experiments 'under conditions which would make sure that neither the oxygen of the air nor the composition of the organic matter was altered in such a manner as to interfere with the existence of life.' Schultze and Schwann (1836-1837), after boiling the infusions, and supplying air passed through red-hot tubes, the properties of its oxygen being unaffected thereby, although organic results, were destroyed, when the animalcules, which, however, were present in the infusions not supplied with purified air. There followed other experiments, carried on by Cagniard de la Tour, the illustrious Helmholtz, and others, which differed from the foregoing only in completeness of detail, and, therefore, do not need recapitulation in this summary. Each in turn was more effective in destroying whatever agents were essential to the reproduction of life in the infusions. Thus were laid slowly, but surely and abidingly, the foundations of the bacteria or germ theory which has revolutionized old theories of diseases and old methods of attacking them. As recently as 1859, Pouchet reported that he had effected the sterilization of microscopic animals from inorganic substances. This prompted Pasteur and Tyndall to demonstrate, with a precision hitherto unapproached, that, despite the ubiquity of microbes, their activity and reproduction are rendered impossible wherever sterilization is effectively performed.

Thirty years ago, Dr. Bastian published a series of volumes entitled Man and his origin. In these, he contends, support abiogenesis. In 1904, M. Dubois, of Lyons, reported the production of living germs in a sterilized medium under the agency of radium, and in 1905 the question was reopened by Mr. Butler Burke, of the Cavendish laboratory, Cam-
ABIOGENESIS

bridge, who stated that, as the result of experiments made with radium bromide (which appears to have a destructive action on sterilized beef-gelatine in sealed tubes subjected to a temperature above the boiling point of water, there had appeared minute 'cultures' or growths of grains), his idea of abiogenesis was beginning to give up the struggle, stage by stage. Mr. Butler Burkes inclines to the conclusion that they are organisms on the border lines between microbes and crystals, and, provisionally, he names them 'radioles,' that their organic character is not excluded to the satisfaction of competent authorities. The fundamental identity of the living and the not-living being admitted (proof of advance thereto being furnished by the production of organic compounds from inorganic matter in our chemical laboratories), there is no warrant for the contention that abiogenesis is impossible in the present or the future. All that can be said is that the experiments which appear to favour the theory do not wholly exclude doubt as to complete sterilization, and consequent exclusion or destruction, of life-producing germs.

It is the demonstration of the universality of this germ-theory of putrefaction furnished him with the principle upon which alone the antibiotic system can be carried on. It has armed the physician successfully with human ills, and one by one reduces the number of diseases hitherto ranked as inevitable and incurable. See also next art. and BIOGENESIS.

LITERATURE.—Redi, 'Experiencia victoria alla Generazione dell’, (1869); Huxley, 'Biogenesis and Abiogenesis' (1850); Helmholtz, 'The Origin of Life in Lowest Organisms' (1851), 'The Jinnings of Life' (1872), 'The Nature and Origin of Living Matter' (1865); Pasteur, 'Leçons de Chimie' (1862); Pasteur, 'The Scientific Foundation of the Science of Life' (1860), ch. viii.; René Valenty-Radot, 'The Life of Pasteur' (1897); Thomson, 'Evolution and Living and Non-Living' (1903); Meadison, 'The Chemical Synthesis of Vital Products' (1894); J. Butler Burkes, 'The Origin of Life,' Fortnightly Review, Sept. 1896.

EDWARD GLOD.

ABIOGENESIS (II).—During the early phases of the earth's existence, before it cooled and consolidated, the conditions were such that no living creature like any we now know could have then lived there. At an uncertain but inconceivably distant date, after the earth became fit to be a home of organic life, living creatures somehow appeared.

(a) Prayre strongly opposed the view that organic substance could arise from inorganic substances, and the living from non-living; the reverse supposition seemed to him more tenable.

(b) As far back as 1865, H. E. Richter started the idea that germs could arise from inorganic substances, the living from non-living; the reverse supposition seemed to him more tenable.

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He also could not think of life beginning; his dictum was: Onne vivum ab alternte collatis. To Helmholtz, who in 1884 also got to Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin) the same idea occurred, that germs of life may have come to the earth enshrouded in meteorites. 'I cannot contend,' Helmholtz said, 'against one who would regard this hypothesis as highly or wholly improbable. But it appears to me to be a wholly correct scientific procedure, when all our endeavours to produce organisms out of lifeless substance are thwarted, to question whether, after all, life has ever arisen, whether it may not be even as old as matter, and whether its germs, passed from one world to another, may not have developed where they found no life in a hostile environment a new and independent; organic life has either begun to exist at some one time, or has existed from eternity.' On the other hand, we may note that the word 'eternal' is somewhat irrelevant in scientific discourse, that the notion of life is not essential to the germ (essentially involved in every organism we know) being primitive is quite against the tenor of modern theories of inorganic evolution; and that, though we cannot deny the possibility, it is difficult to conceive of anything like the protoplasm we know surviving transport in a meteorite through the intense cold in space and through intense heat when passing through our atmosphere. The mildest form of the hypothesis associated with the name of Lord Kelvin was simply one of transport; he wisely said nothing about 'eternal cells' or any such thing; he simply shifted the responsibility for the problem of the origin of living organisms off the shoulders of our planet. So far, then, the suggestions are (a) that the physical basis of life is as old as the cosmos, and (b) that germs of organisms may have come from elsewhere to our earth. Apart from an abandonment of the problem as scientifically insoluble, that, is to say, from the view that living creatures began to be in some way which we cannot hope to formulate, we may entertain the supposition, no doubt, of the whole trend of evolutionist thinking attracts us. There are few living biologists who doubt the present universality of the induction from all sufficiently careful experiment and observation—omne vivens e vivo; Dr. Bastian is practically alone in believing that creatures like Infusorians and Annelae (highly complex individualities in their own way) can now arise from not-living material; but it is quite another thing to say that abiogenesis may not have occurred in the past or may not occur in the future.

But though many thoughtful biologists, such as Huxley and Spencer, Nägeli and Haeckel, have accepted the hypothesis that living organisms of a very simple kind may be evolved from not-living material, they have done so rather in their faith in a continuous natural evolution than from any apprehension of the possible sequences which might lead up to such a remarkable result. The hypothesis of such a lower kind may be suggested on a priori grounds, but few have ventured to offer any concrete indication of how the process might conceivably come about. To postulate abiogenesis.
as if it were a matter of course, seems to betray an extraordinarily easy-going scientific mood.

One of the few concrete suggestions is due to the physiologist Pflüger (1875), whose views are clearly summarized in Verworn's General Physiology (translated as Organic Chemistry). It is that the cyanogen radical (CN) gives the 'living' protid molecule its characteristic properties of self-decomposition and reconstruction. He indicated the similarities between cyanic acid (H-CN) — a levorotatory enantiomer of cyanogen — and albuminoids, which is admitted to be an essential part, at least, of all living matter. 'This similarity is so great,' he said, 'that I might term cyanic acid a half-living molecule.' As cyanogen and its compounds arise in an incandescent heat when the necessary nitrogenous compounds are present, they may have been formed when the earth was still an incandescent ball. 'If now we consider the immeasurably long time during which the cooling of the earth's surface dragged itself slowly along, cyanogen and the compounds that contain cyanogen- and hydrocarbon-substances have had time, indeed, to indulge capriciously in their great tendency towards transformation and polymerization, and to pass over with the aid of oxygen, and later of water and salts, into that self-destructive protid, living matter.' Verworn attempted to address the nature of this question. Compounds of cyanogen were formed while the earth was still incandescent; with their property of ready decomposition they were forced into correlation with various other carbon compounds likewise due to the great heat; when water was precipitated as liquid upon the earth, these compounds entered into chemical relations with the water and its dissolved salts and gases, and thus originated extremely likeable, very simple, undifferentiated living substances.

Professor E. Ray Lankester, in his art. 'Protozoa' in the Encyc. Britt., makes the suggestion, 'that a vast amount of albuminoids and other such compounds has been brought into existence by those processes which culminated in the development of the first protoplasm, and it seems therefore likely enough that the first protoplasm fed upon these antecedent steps in its own evolution.'

Dr. H. Charlton Bastian suggests, in regard to the first origin of living matter upon the earth, that the nitrate of ammonia which is known to be produced by the combustion of carbon in the atmosphere discovered in the thunder-shower, may have played an important part in the mixture of ingredients from which the hypothetical natural synthesis of living matter was effected. Mr. J. Butler Burke postulates original vital units or 'bio-elements,' which 'may have existed throughout the universe for an almost indefinite time,' which are probably 'elements possessing many of the chemical properties of carbon and the radio-active properties of the more unstable elements,' and which, by interacting on otherwise present carbon-compounds, probably gave rise to cellular life as we know it today.

It must be admitted that, in spite of these and other concrete suggestions, we are still far from being able to imagine how living matter could arise from not-living matter. In postulating possible processes which may have occurred long ago in Nature's laboratory, it seems desirable that we should be able to back these up with evidence of analogous processes now occurring in Nature,—the usual mode of argument in evolutionist discussion,—but these analogies are not forthcoming at present. It is usual to refer to the achievements of the synthetic chemist, who can now manufacture artificially such natural organic products as urea, alcohol, grape sugar, indigo, oxalic acid, tartaric acid, salicylic acid, and more.

But three facts should be borne in mind: (1) the directive agency of the intelligent chemist is an essential factor in these syntheses; (2) no one suggests that a living organism derives its organic compounds in the way in which many of these can be made in the chemical laboratory; and (3) no one has yet come near the artificial synthesis of proteins, which are the most characteristic substances in living matter.

We are in the habit of comparing what man can do in the way of evolving domesticated animals and cultivated plants with what we believe Nature has done in the distant past. Why, then, should we not argue from what the intelligent chemist can do in the way of evolving carbon compounds to what Nature may have done before there was anything animate? There is this difference, among others, in the two cases, that in the former we can actually observe the process of Natural Selection which in Nature takes the place of the breeder, while we are at a loss to suggest what in Nature's past yet very hypothetical laboratory of chemical synthesis could take the place of the directive chemist.

Thus Professor F. R. Japp, following Pasteur, pointed out in a memorable British Association address on organic and inorganic matter, that 'the most practically active' (a characteristic property which cannot be here discussed), that artificially prepared organic compounds are primarily 'optically active,' that by a selective process the intelligent operator can obtain the wrong from the latter, but... it is difficult to conceive of any mechanism in nature which could effect this. 'No fortuitous concourse of atoms, even with all eternity for them to clash under the influence of chance alone; it is the feat of the formation of the first optically active compound.' The chance synthesis of the simplest optically active compound from inorganic materials is absolutely inconceivable.

Not content, however, with indicating the difficulty which the believer in abiogenesis has here to face, Professor Japp went on to say—perhaps, in so doing, leaving the rigidly scientific position: 'I see no escape from the conclusion that, at the moment when life first arose, a directive force came into play—a force of precisely the same character as that which enables the intelligent operator, by the exercise of his will, to select out one crystallized enantiomorph and reject its enantiomer, and in this way bring about the formation of the first optically active compound.' The chance synthesis of proteins, if it be possible, is not to be held with an easy mind, attested as we may be to it by the general evolutionist argument.

In thinking over this difficult question, there are two generalizations which should be borne in mind. We must not exaggerate the apatness of the animate from the inanimate, nor must we depreciate it. On the one hand, we must recognize that modern progress in biological and chemistry has given us a much more vital conception of what has been labelled as 'dead matter': we must not belittle the powers of growth and regrowth which we observe in crystals, the series of form-changes.
through which many inorganic things, even drops of water, may pass; the behaviour of the builds up the internal activity of even the dust.

When we consider, too, such phenomena as 'latent life' and 'local life,' and the relatively great simplicity of many forms and kinds of life, we do not find it so easy to discern their absolute, universal, and irrevocable distinctions between animate and inanimate systems, or between the quick and the dead. To some extent, also, the artificial synthesis of some organic compounds, and the ingenious construction of 'artificial cells' which closely mimic the structure of living cells, though no one supposes that they are in the least degree 'alive,' serve to lessen the gap which seems at first so wide.

On the other hand, it is the verdict of common sense and exact science alike that living creatures stand apart from inanimate systems. The living creature feeds and grows; it undergoes ceaseless change or metabolism, and passes through a cycle of changes, yet has a marvellous power of retaining its integrity; it is not merely a self-storing, self-repairing engine, but a self-reproducing energy-mechanism. It lives, so to speak, and gives effective response to external stimuli; it profits by experience; it co-ordinates its activities into united behaviour, it may be into intelligent deeds and rational conduct; even in the very simplest animals (Infusorians) there are hints of mind.

Allowing for the gradual realization of potentialities in the course of evolution, we cannot but feel that if the living emerged from the not-living then our respect for the not-living matter of our day would be greatly enhanced. As a matter of fact, however, we cannot at present re-describe any vital behaviour in terms of physical and chemical categories, and the secret of the organism has to be admitted as such whether we advance to a vitalistic statement of it or not.

Finally, let us suppose that some bold experimenter in the border-land between chemistry and biology, a man like Prof. Jacques Loeb of Chicago, succeeded this year or next year in making, not merely a corpusde of protid, but a little living thing, by some ingenious synthesis. What then?

(a) It is quite likely that the steps leading to this hypothetical achievement might be as follows: those which, on the hypothesis of abiogenesis, once occurred in Nature's laboratory, as the artificial synthesis of, say, oxalic acid is unlike what takes place in life. The idea of a constraint we cannot assert that the laws of the movements of organic corpuscles can be deduced from the laws of motion of non-living corpuscles,—continually as we may believe cosmic evolution to have been,—and the artificial production of a living creature would not enable us to make this assertion. What simplification of descriptive formula the future has in store for us no one can predict. We may have to simplify the conceptual formulae which we use in describing animate behaviour, and we may have to modify the conceptual formulae which we use in describing inanimate sequences, but at present the two sets of formulae remain distinct, and they would so remain even of a little living creature were manufactured to-morrow. (c) If we discovered a method of artificially producing an organism, as Loeb has discovered a method of inducing an egg to develop into a frog without any intervention, it would render the hypothesis of abiogenesis more credible. We would then know, what no naturalist at present knows, however strongly he may believe it, that what we call not-living has in it factors of giving rise to what we call living. But the hypothetical discovery would in no way affect the dignity and value of living creatures, or of our own life. (d) If it came about that we were able to bring materials and energies together in such a way that living creatures of a simple sort resulted, we should still have to remember that we had acted as directive agents in the synthesis. (e) Finally, if the experiment succeeded, we should not have arrived at any explanation of the origin of life. We should be able to say that, given certain antecedent conditions, certain consequences ensue, but we should still be unable to answer the question how or why. We should have a genetic description of an occurrence, not an explanation of it. For that is what science never supplies.

In conclusion, to quote Principal Lloyd Morgan, 'Those who would concentrate the mystery of existence on the pin-point of the genesis of protoplasm, do violence alike to philosophy and to religion. Those who would single out from the multitudinous differentiations of an evolving universe this alone for special interposition, would seem to do little honour to the Divinity they profess to serve. Theodore Parker gave expression to a broader and more reverent theology when he said: "The universe, broad and deep and high, is a handful of dust which God engulfs. He is the mysterious mind, the inevitable life, — not protoplasm merely, but—" the world."'


ABIPONES.—A tribe of South American Indians, of Guynecar stock, who formerly roved from the head waters of the Rio Grande de Bolivia, although their central habitation was the Gran Chaco, west of the Paraguay River, in Northern Argentina and Paraguay. About 1780 the tribe numbered some 5000, but it is now supposed to be extinct, like the kindred Caduevs, Payaguas, Lenguas, and their own destroyers, the Mocovis (J. Deniker, Races of Man, London, 1901, pp. 572-573). Practically the only information concerning them is that given by Martin Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit missionary who resided among them for seven years. They are described as tall and well formed, while in their habits they were nomads and hunters. They were well clad, and their movements were graceful, painting themselves. Both sexes were tattooed with a cross on the forehead, and the women with the cross, as well as an ornamental design, on the face, breast, and arms. This operation was performed at the age of puberty, and was designed to render a girl sufficiently attractive to win a husband, and also to test her courage. Males above the age of seven wore labrets, the most esteemed being of brass or (for the chiefs) of a sort of gun. These adornments came down to the tip of the nose and cut off the heads or skimmed the faces of those slain in war. Annual feasts in honour of victories were celebrated with merrymaking and with copious indulgence in wine made of alfaro or

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honey, the only vice of the Abipones being intoxication. In temperament they were somewhat phlegmatic, not being reckless in war, despite their undoubted bravery. The type of physique was due, in great measure, to the fact that consanguineous marriages were forbidden, and that early sexual excess was said to be unknown, while men did not marry under the age of thirty, or women under twenty. At the birth of a child the father practised the cowhide (q.v.). Infanticide and abortion were common, each woman killing all her children but two. The custom of infanticide was increased by the suelking of infants for three years, during which time the husband was denied all marital rights, and consequently often married again—marriage being terminated at his will. On the other hand, polygamy was rare, and when practised the wives were not required to live together; they should become jealous. Frikeliness in marriage was almost invariable. A curious deviation from the ordinary usage of infanticide is found in the fact that girls were killed less often than boys, as the parents received large sums for giving their daughters in marriage, while sons were required to pay heavy dowries to the parents of their brides.

In their religion, Dobrihoroff states that the Abipones had had civilization, speculation, or reasoning, although they were cunning imitators. According to him, they had no word for God, but reverenced an 'evil spirit' (who seems, however, to have had no qualities essentially evil). This deity was called Aharaigichi or Quecet, and also 'grandfather' (Grapereike), and it was he who gave the Abipones valour and the Spaniards riches. Aharaigichi was represented by the Pendeves. Whether this constellation disappeared from the horizon, the Abipones thought him sick and in danger of extinction; so they celebrated the rising of the Pedeves in May by feasting, dancing, and singing. The cult was maintained by priests (koebet), whom Aharaigichi had given supernatural power. These 'jugglers,' as the good Jesuit calls them, were much feared, since when angry they could transform themselves into invisible and invulnerable tigers. To the malice of the koebet was ascribed death, and the Abipones quaintly said that it was not for the koebet and the Spaniards, they would never die. Thunder and lightning were supposed to be the effects of the koebet and other relics of these medicine-men were carried by the Abipones in their wanderings. In addition to thunder and lightning, comets and eclipses of the sun and the moon were objects of terror. Besides the koebet, old women, who gathered in bands to perform secret rites with wailing and discordant drumming, were dreaded, especially as they were able to conjure up the dead.

Immediately after death, the heart and tongue of the deceased were boiled and given to a dog to eat, in order that the koebet who had caused the dissolution might himself perish. Relatives and friends buried the body, casting down a heavy stone, and the women waited for nine days and nights, the nocturnal lamentations being restricted to those who were specially invited for the purpose. A woman might also wall when her son remembered a dead ancestor, whereas all others of her sex who heard her were expected to unite with her in howling lugubriously. All mention of the name of the dead was avoided; his house was destroyed, and everything connected with him was burned. The soul was believed to survive the body, although the Abipones had no clear idea of its fate. The ghosts of the dead, however, were objects of intense dread, and were supposed to enter into snails (a snail was a radiate, or worm) by night, and have a doleful hissing note. On the grave were placed, for the use of the dead, a water-pot, a garment, weapons, and the bodies of his horses and cattle which had been killed at the time of his death. The graves of ancestors were venerated,—thus clearly implying the existence of ancestor-worship,—and their bones were often repeatedly exhumed by the Abipones in the course of their wanderings, and carried from place to place, until they could finally be buried in the family burial-ground which contained the bodies of their kin.

LITERATURE.—M. Dobrihoroff's Historia de Abiponibus, equoestri bellicose et Paraenarratio natione (3 vols., Vienna, 1784; English translation: Account of the Abipones, an Equesstrian People of Paraguay, by Sara Coleridge, 3 vols., London, 1825.)

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABNORMALITIES (Biological).—In biology, the term 'abnormality' is used in a comprehensive sense to describe forms of life, or parts or structures thereof, differing in appearance or constitution from such of their fellows as are shown by statistics to be so closely similar that for general purposes they may be regarded as identical, or, in other words, normal. It is now acknowledged that all organisms are variable, and that, while we tacitly ignore the smaller degrees of variation from the mean, yet we do recognize the variations of higher degree and the theories based upon them. Once again, abnormalities may be defined as the more aberrant of the variations to which every organism, and every structure, is liable or subject. The most extreme cases of abnormality will be described separately as 'monsters' (cf. art. MONSTERS), though it must be remembered that no true line of distinction exists, and that, as has just been stated, they are really the extreme instances of abnormalities.

With the exclusion of monsters, the field of our subject is somewhat narrowed. It remains to review briefly the classes of these aberrant forms, and to indicate the importance of their study in biology. Abnormalities may be classified in various ways. One of the most comprehensive schemes is that proposed by Professor Macalister in his Bogie Lecture (1894). It includes nine categories or classes, viz.: the abnormalities of (1) quantity, (2) material, (3) repetition, (4) cohesion, (5) alternation, (6) position, (7) series, (8) inheritance, (9) new formation. For present purposes it is, however, most convenient to review briefly (1) the origin of abnormalities, and (2) their transmission from parent to offspring.

1. Origin of abnormalities.—In some cases an origin can be discerned and a cause assigned. Thus (a) interference with the normal processes of development is evidently the determining cause in certain instances. A typical example met with in medical practice is the individual in whom the development of the partitions within the heart has been affected. In such instances the blood is not properly aerated, and the patient has a cyanotic aspect, i.e. he looks blue and cold. The study of the developmental history of animals has shown that any interference can produce monstrous and abnormal extension acting in the earlier stages of growth than the later period. And progress in embryological science has shown how some of the observed effects may be produced. Thus in the higher animals, for instance, an aberration of growth can be referred to defects in the body of the embryo itself, though in other cases the membranes immediately surrounding the embryo or the adjacent maternal tissues are involved. It is probable that abnormalities are produced on the embryo so as to modify its form. The effect may seem to be produced either directly or

* In a fuller discussion of this part of the subject, attention would have to be directed to the difference between what are termed respectively the 'mean' and the 'mode' of any series.
mechanically, or yet again, the result may be due to an indirect cause in turn determined by interference with nutrition. Again, (6) the nutrition, and the quantity and quality of the food, are alone capable, if altered, of leading to deviations from the ordinary course of events, sufficiently marked to constitute abnormalities, if the subject be one of hypertrophy, overgrowth, or gigantism fall under this heading. (c) In other cases, no such obvious interference can be detected or held accountable for. The examples are eliminated in which by analogy there is a fair show of reason for believing that they fall under heading (a) or (b) above (though the acting cause is not quite so clear), there is a remnant of instances in which it does not seem justifiable to invoke causes of this kind. Pending the discovery of a more intelligible explanation, the only course open to biologists in such cases is to recognize in living matter an inherent power, or capability, of producing abnormalities, or, as they are sometimes termed, 'sports.'

2. Transmission from parent to offspring.—The transmission of abnormalities from parent to offspring is an important subject, and the study of this question is inseparably connected with that of the transmission of those more constant features which distinguish the normal individual. The discussion of the influencing causes of the latter is the object of this article, and it will suffice to state that abnormalities can even be classified according as they are constantly transmitted, or not so constantly transmitted, from parent to offspring. It is thus possible to distinguish the forms of hereditary transmission. Such transmitted varieties, now termed 'mutations,' from the latter, not so constantly transmitted, now called 'fluctuations.' The importance of this distinction, the lesser tendency to persist in its manifestations, has been shown by others, the ground is cleared for the erection of a theory of the origin of organic species through transformation. This seems to depend further upon the postulate that certain kinds of abnormality in an individual are baffling to the offspring of such abnormality, and give them an advantage not shared by their congeners. Hence, were the advantage to be maintained, the abnormal stock might in time outnumber the original stock. But the latter would then no longer be the normal stock, for by definition the normal must be in a majority, so that the type of the organism would have changed. Such a process, if it occurred on a large scale, would lead to the production of forms so different from their ancestors that they might well be classified as new species. It is not proposed to embark upon an examination of this position here, the main object in view being to illustrate the importance of the study of abnormalities in biology.

Literature (selected works in chronological order).—Darwin, On the Origin of Species, 1859; Mendel, On the Law of Inheritance in Plant Hybrids, 1865 (tr. by Bateson in Mendel's Principles of Heredity, 1902); Darwin, Variations of Animals and Plants under Domestication, 1896; Bateson, Materials for the Study of Variation, 1894; De Vries, Species and Varieties, their origin by mutation, 1885; Punnett, Some recent progress in the study of variation, heredity, and evolution, 1906.

W. L. H. DUCKWORTH.

Abnormalities (Psychological).—Human abnormalities, psychologically considered, are included within the great class of mental affections which owe their origin to arrested development of the brain. The development of the brain may be arrested, as the result of congenital malformation, or from the effect of disease in the earlier periods of existence. As a rule, it is by no means easy to differentiate congenital deformities from that arising from interference with the normal course of development in later life. Cases of feeble-mindedness are of this character, but there is reason to believe that congenital malformation accounts for much the larger number of cases of feeble-mindedness.

Congenital deformity is wholly or in part correlated with the development of the physical organization, especially with that of the nervous system; and it is rare to meet with imperfect congenital structure of the nervous system in the absence of other imperfections of the body. These imperfections of the body are technically known as physical stigmata. They are the outward signs of the nervous imperfections. It is acknowledged on all hands that the more grave the mental defect, the more numerous and the more grave are the physical malformations. Thus, as we pass up the scale from monsters to idiots, imbeciles, and the higher class of the latter, we find a gradually increasing number of bodily deformities, excluding all others.

Besides the physical stigmata, there are certain well recognized mental stigmata, such as epilepsy, hysteria, alcoholism, and the various tics and obsessions which are the outward manifestations of underlying defects in the nervous system, especially in the brain. Although we know that every functional peculiarity must have an underlying organic basis, we are still very far from a knowledge of the intimate correlation between structure and function. The most important attempt to correlate mental power with the structure of the cortex cerebri has been made by Dr. J. S. Bolton, writing in Mott's Archives of Neurology for 1906. His only conclusions, as yet unconfirmed, show that the pyramidal layer (second layer) of nerve cells in the pre-frontal cortex varies inversely in depth with the degree of amenity or dementia present in each case. This is the only layer that appreciably varies in depth in normal brains; the degree of its development in normal infants and in congenital amnes (idiots) varies directly with the mental endowment of the individual, and the degree of its retrogression in the nervous system varies directly with the amount of existing dementia.

Idiocies and imbecilities are abnormalities connected by gradation with the more pronounced class of human monsters which are either non-viable or, owing to defective organization, unable to survive for any considerable time after birth. As the non-viable monsters and those which, owing to imperfect development, are unable to live through infancy, are all mindless, a description of them does not fall under the scope of the present article.

The present divisions of congenital mental abnormalities are (1) Idiocy, (2) Intellectual Imbecility, and (3) Mental Imbecility. In mind that the following descriptions refer to types only, and that the forms of the various classes referred to merge into one another insensibly without any fast dividing differences.

1. Idiocy.—For clinical purposes and convenience of description, idiocy is frequently subdivided into (a) complete idiocy, and (b) ordinary idiocy.

(a) Complete Idiocy.—The greater number of the members of this mental class manifest early signs of psychical life. Their intelligence is of a very low order, and all the ordinary mental faculties are practically absent. There remains at the most a species of local memory, applicable to simple
habitual wants, and to the requirements of the moment. There is no will-power and no faculty of initiative. They have no command of articulate language, but some of them are able to make their few words pass. The knowledge they understand and comprehend is limited, and they stood only by those in immediate attendance upon them. The presence of the ordinary instincts and sentiments is not revealed by such cases. Many of them do not appear even to be conscious of the ordinary emotions and passions, with much less of the ordinary feelings of pleasure, pain, fear, or love. In the great majority of instances the sexual instinct is absent. The only instinct they exhibit is that of hunger, and it is expressed only when food is presented before them.

On the physical side, the facial expression is marked by the most complete hebétude, relieved only by the occasional appearance of passing emotions of a superficial and vague kind. The general impression left upon the observer of one of these faces is one of a peculiar mlinging of youth and old age. The form of the head is very variable, being macrocephalic or microcephalic, and the size of the face is generally disproportionate to that of the head, being in the former case too large and in the latter too small. The lips are thick, the tongue has a swollen appearance, and they are covered with a greenish or yellowish, earthy colour, and is covered with an oily secretion which gives off an offensive odour. Most of these idiots are unable to walk, and when they can do so, the gait is tottering and uncertain, and all the muscular movements are incoordinate and ungainly. Among the disorders of motility to which they are subject may be mentioned: general and local spasms, chorea, and epileptic convulsions; while contractures of the neck, of the palate, and local paralyses are very common. They exhibit in abundance the ordinary stigmata of degeneration, such as eleft palate, hare-lip, disordered and irregular dentition, and dwarfishness.

(a) Ordinary Idiocy.—Idiots of this class are, as a rule, fairly conversant with their immediate surroundings. Although they may know their own names and respond when addressed, their command of language is extremely limited; they are able to pronounce only a few words, or at most a few phrases, the correct significance of which they understand. They make particular use of interjections and nouns in conversation, and are incapable of being taught to train themselves either to read or write beyond the simplest words. Some of them show an aptitude for drawing imperfect resemblances of natural objects; but they are unable to count beyond certain numbers and to understand beyond their power. A great many idiots possess the faculty of imitation very strongly, but in most of them the imitative art is imperfect and grotesque. Many of them manifest affection to those with whom they live and who treat them kindly, but this feeling bears a stronger affinity to dog-like attachment than to the more reasoned human instinct of friendship. In short, their sentiments are usually confined to their immediate personal interests, and arithmetic is entirely expressed emotionally in an unreasoned barbaric manner. They are, however, capable of a certain amount of training and discipline, as regards external behaviour. Thus, if properly trained, they may learn to dress themselves more or less tidily, to eat inoffensively, and to control their animal impulses; but if for any reason supervision is for long relaxed, they are apt to become degraded and repulsive in their habits.

In this class, as in the former, the body is stunted, and most of the individuals are unattractive in appearance. A great variety of physical stigmata and malformations are manifested by the subjects. In addition to microcephalism and macrocephalism, the shape of the head may be altered in one or other of the following ways,—namely, flattening of the cranial vertex or occiput, low or swiftly receding forehead, asymmetry of the sides of the skull, mental prognathism and extreme vaulting, flattening, or asymmetry of the palate. The teeth are liable to numerous malformations; the second dentition may fail altogether, or, if it does occur, they are badly formed and curious. In the eyes, strabismus, astigmatism, and anomalous pigmentation are frequent; in some cases the distance between the eyes is narrowed, while in others, as in the Mongolian type of idiot, they present the true Oriental appearance, being set far apart and almond-shaped. Idiots are subject to various disorders of the gastrointestinal tract, especially to inflammatory conditions of the mucous membranes. The skin is usually pigmented and unhealthy-looking, and gives off an offensive odour.

About 25 per cent. of all idiots are subject to epilepsy. Most of them exhibit a tendency to instinctive impulse, irritability of temper, and occasionally to maniacal excitement. The physical resistance to disease of all kinds is extremely low, and tuberculosis is one of the most frequent causes of death. Few of them live longer than thirty years; in complete idiocy the duration of life is very much shorter.

2. Intellectual Imbecility.—It is often impossible to detect in early childhood any outstanding difference between imbeciles and normal children. In many instances it is only when education begins to be communicated that a radical difference shows itself in the greater inaptness of the feeble-minded to assimilate ordinary elementary instruction. As imbeciles approach the age of puberty their mental defects become more apparent; besides being slow of apprehension and dull-witted, they are deficient in ordinary interest, in judgment, and in common sense. Littleness, inattention, and a tendency to become absorbed in subjective thought—commonly called 'day-dreaming'—are frequent symptoms of their intellectual feebleness, in addition to the symptoms which result from imperfect cerebral development. In a certain sense it may be said of them that they do not grow old with their years, and when they approach adolescence they do so without any appreciable increase of responsibility.

They remain child-like, are easily satisfied, and display an interest and curiosity in things which have long ceased to interest people of the same age. The sexual instinct is early developed, and often manifests itself as an exaggeration or perversion of the normal condition. Mental conceptions, the association of ideas, and power of initiative are slow and difficult. Within their somewhat limited sphere of reasoning, which never passes into abstruse consideration, they think and act in a normally logical manner; yet they lamentably fail either in foreseeing the consequences of their actions or in understanding the more complicated actions of their normal fellow-creatures.

The moral sensations are as pronounced as the intellectual. Imbeciles are prone to be egotistic, vain, and sensibly proud. Family ties are apt to be loosely felt; the ordinary affection for relatives is generally feeble, and, although they may be capable of forming strong attachments to individuals, such feelings rapidly yield after short periods of separation. Religious and altruistic ideas as well as moral discrimination are rare or non-existent, and are based upon convictions so much as upon habit, and the discipline exercised by other people. Most imbeciles are untruthful and unreliable, more especially in small matters such as the appropriation of trifling articles, the property of others.

They are often irritable, and are subject to out-
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Bursts of rage or excitement, for adequate reasons. Mental traits, however, lead to total disregard of personal livelihood by ordinary manual labour, or by working at some trade which they may have learned indifferently well, but the technique of which they are able to execute only imperfectly. Whatever, also, are likely to strain the patients beyond the point of endurance on account of physical, or moral, faculties, or both. What is often observed is theResult of the absence of reasoning in defect of form, of the animal physical and mental faculties, of the development of a truth of worldy success. Their intellectual faculties, often very acute, are exercised in the gratification of their selfish desires or in the justification of their beneficent, rather than the benefit of any continuous honest endeavours. As a rule, their affinities for evil courses lead them to indulge in habits which tend to accelerate their degeneration and to terminate life prematurely.

In the case of children and young adolescents, it is unwise to pass too hasty a judgment, for it may happen that the moral sense is not absent but only tardily manifested. In such cases the children may be bright, intelligent, quickly receptive, often emotionally impressionable,—perhaps to a morbid degree,—but lacking in the very elements of moral perception. Many of these individuals, as they approach adult life, begin to change radically in their moral nature, and it is only to be expected that the moral defects, which have been due to various causes, have been manifest.

Among the morbid defects, the mental defect, as such, is, probably, the most frequent and most important. The physical defects observed in connection with it are of a less serious nature.

The physical characteristics of imbecility are neither numerous nor important. The subjects are usually well developed, and their outward comparison differs but slightly from that of normal individuals. The mental defects observed are usually associated with certain speech defects, such as lisping, stammering, and imperfect pronunciation, which may also be observed in the normal individual. These defects are usually associated with certain words, and to misunderstand the grammatical use of certain parts of speech, such as adverbs, and the infinitive mood of verbs. The physical resistance is lowered, and the activity of the various bodily functions is not thoroughly as vigorous as in normal individuals. Hence it is that imbeciles succumb more easily to bodily diseases, especially such as are of infectious origin, and that a considerable number of them die of phthisis.

3. Mental Imbecility.—Whether or not congenital moral defect can exist independently of intellectual defect is a disputed question. We have already seen that moral defect is a concomitant of congenital intellectual weakness; but there are indubitably cases of moral non-development in which the intellectual faculties are as vigorous as, or even surpass, those of ordinary individuals. We are therefore compelled to admit that congenital perversion of the brain only occurs without any apparent intellectual defect. But a closer observation of such cases shows not only that they are non-moral in one or more particulars, but that they also give peculiarities of defect or singular and absurd habits, or the tendency to perform the common actions of life in an unconventional manner. Moreover, a prolonged observation of such persons reveals a liability in them to various forms of intellectual perversion, such as uncontrolled suspicions, gross superstitions, obsessions, delusions, hallucinations, and even confirmed insanity.

In the more pronounced forms of moral imbecility, it is by no means clear that the intellect itself is defective. The absence of social instincts and of normal affection, which may even express itself as a positive aversion to relatives and friends. Such persons are incapable of realizing the value of truth, and becomes so notorious in this respect among the people who know them, that their statements on the most ordinary matters of fact are never believed. They steal systematically without alarm, the only restraint being the fear of being found out. Perhaps their most prominent characteristic is their cruelty. It is not so much that they are ready to commit it, but that they do it, rather as that they go out of their way to inflict pain presumably for the pleasure of witnessing suffering. They are, however, apt to be extremely resentful of injury to themselves, and seldom forget to avenge an insult. They are also vain, proud, and supercilious. The impulses of their lower nature without any evident desire to resist them, and they never express sincere contrition for any action. As might be expected, they become ruthless in the gratification of their selfish desires or in the justification of their beneficent, rather than the benefit of any continuous honest endeavours. As a rule, their affinity for evil courses leads them to indulge in habits which tend to accelerate their degeneration and to terminate life prematurely.

In the case of children and young adolescents, it is unwise to pass too hasty a judgment, for it may happen that the moral sense is not absent but only tardily manifested. In such cases the children may be bright, intelligent, quickly receptive, often emotionally impressionable,—perhaps to a morbid degree,—but lacking in the very elements of moral perception. Many of these individuals, as they approach adult life, begin to change radically in their moral nature, and it is only to be expected that the moral defects, which have been due to various causes, have been manifest.

The size of the cerebellum relative to that of the cerebrum may be deficient, so that the latter is not covered over by the occipital lobes, as is the case in the carnivores and higher herbivores. Parts of the brain must therefore, by the theory, be absent, or may be absent, and many inequalities in the development of the two hemispheres have been recorded.

In the second and third layers of the cortex of the ape and in a similar situation in the cortex of the pig, Bevan Lewis (Text Book of Mental Diseases, 1899, p. 70) describes a perfectly globular cell, with a single delicate apex process and two more, extremely delicate basal processes without any angular projection from the rounded contour of the cell. These cells occur in man only in cases of idiocy and imbecility. Hammarberg (quoted by Ireland, Mental Affections of Children) found the pyramidal cells fewer in number than in normal man. This confirms to a certain extent the observations of Bolton, referred to at the commencement of this article. It only shows that the convolutions of the brain presented this peculiarity of cell development, while the remaining portions were normal, though having fewer cells than usual, the individual was, according to Hammarberg, not idiotic, but imbecile or weak-minded. Where the cells were not only abnormal in shape, but also, generally, very few in number, the idiocy was profound; where the cells were more numerous, though at places globular, and the impalpable, there was more intellectual development, though the individual was still idiotic. Concomitants with these arrests in the development of nerve cells there is a considerable diminution in cell pro-
cesses, and consequently in the number of the nerve fibres of the cortex. We thus see that the essential pathological condition in idiocy and imbecility is an arrest in the development of the cortex of the brain. This arrest is to a great extent dependent upon the extent of the imperfect development of these elements.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

ABOR, ABOR-MIRI.—A title applied to a group of hill tribes of the Mongolian type, on the N. frontier of the Indian province of Assam. The word Abor or Abors seems to mean 'barbarous' or 'industrious.' The title was given to the Abors (p. 251) at an early period because they acted as mediators between the Assamese and the more savage tribes whom they had been in contact with, and he suggests (p. 20) that the word is identical with the mira or mulla of Orissa, which, according to him, has originated the title applied to the Morah victim by the people of Assam. But this is, it may be truly said, the Dr. Grierson, to whom the question was recently referred, with more probability suggests that the word is Miri, of which the first syllable in Tibetan means 'man,' and the whole compound may possibly mean 'nobleman' or 'gentleman.'

The Abors or Abars occupy a tract of country on both banks of the Dihang river, which is the upper course of the Brahmaputra and the Yarlung in the Miri country. Most of the Abors live outside British territory, within the Tibetan border, only 321 being recorded as British subjects at the Census of 1881. They are generally described as a drab barbarous people, living, such as the Chinese class is, 7 as Buddhists, and the remaining 261 as Animists. Of the Miris, 46,729 persons were enumerated within British territory at the same Census, of whom about half represented themselves as Hindu and half as Animists. There are hills along the border which occupy the hills on both sides of this group, the Mishmis (wh. see) to the E. and the Daphils (wh. see) to the W., to be little affected by either Hinduism or Buddhism and to be in the main Animists. Dalton (p. 25) states that when their children are lost, probably being kidnapped by the Mishmis, the Abors attribute their disappearance to the wood-spirits, in whom they firmly believe, and to one of whom the police department in the destiny of man is assigned. Each disease has a spirit of its own, and, as they have no medicine for the sick, the only remedy is a sacrifice to the spirit to whom the illness is attributed. The favourite haunt of these spirits is a mountain called Rigan, which is held in awe by them. No one can return from it, hence its mysteries have never been disclosed. They acknowledge a Supreme Being, and one Supreme Priest—the father of all, and have some vague belief in a future state; but their ideas on the subject are ill-defined, and Dalton, who heard them speak of a Judge of the Dead under the name of Jon, who is clearly the Hindu Yama, reasonably inferred that much of this belief had been borrowed from Hindu sources. Needham (Assam Census, 1901, i. 48) adds that the chief of the malignant spirits whom it is the main object of their religion to propitiate, is called Apom or Epon, and his younger brother Pomos, both of whom inhabit the rubber tree, and must be propitiated in times of sickness. Uros is another malignant spirit who resides in unripe deodars, and is the father of the kila, or malevolent spirits of the Indians (which see), live underground, and destroy crops and other field produce. A sacrifice of two cooked fowls, rice, and other delicacies must be offered to them under the farm granary. Nipong is an evil spirit to whom the women have to propitiate, and he attacks men also with hemorrhage and colic, which cause the sufferer to roll about like a woman in travail. He is said to live in the rice and mango groves and in the hills. All these deities, whether malevolent or propitious, are represented as evil spirits and are not considered friendly, and it is never safe for a man to go too near them, for they are more or less destructive to property and frequently cause the death of cattle and the loss of human lives.

ABORIGINES.—In the article ETHNOLOGY it is pointed out that the four main divisions of mankind have not remained stationary in their respective original homes, but have been subject to great fluctuations during the course of time, and that no rigid parallel-line can be drawn between the historic and the prehistoric ages, which everywhere tend to merge imperceptibly one into the other. Hence the remark may confidently be extended to all times since early man first began those migratory movements by which he has replenished the earth. We know, for instance, that, during the Stone Ages, Europe was occupied by both long-headed and short-headed races, and Outes has now shown that the same two types had already reached Austral-America in Pleistocene times (La Edad de la Piedra en Patagonia, 1905). It follows that the two primary divisions recognized by anthropologists have been intimately associated together for countless generations, and consequently that there are no more any pure stocks, except perhaps a few isolated groups, still surviving in some remote and hard-to-inaccessible corners of the world, such as the Andamanese Islanders, the recently-discovered Tolsias of Celebes, and the Fijian Kali-Colos. The term 'Aborigine' or 'aboriginal' is usually to be taken in a purely relative sense, and the
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claim often made by them to be regarded as true autochthones must be unhesitatingly rejected. They are normally 'mestizos,' in whom the physical and psychic characters of two or more races are intermingled in varying proportions. But the psychological and practical production of primitive cultures finds its chief expression in their religious concepts, since their whole conduct is almost exclusively
t controlled by their views regarding the unseen world.

Put in this way, the statement that their religious systems have been influenced by foreign contact, it follows of itself, and the inference that, as there are no longer any unmixed races, so there are no longer any unmixed religions, becomes almost a truism. The inference is certainly not quite obvious at first sight, although the analogous somatic mixtures, as between whites and blacks, are often self-evident. But that is only because mental are necessarily more self-evident and elusive than material phenomena. The savage may hide his inmost thoughts regarding the supernatural, as he often does to casual visitors; but he cannot hide the constituent elements of his outward form from the intelligent observer.

1. Thus the main physical features of the Austral aborigines have long been determined, while the source of many of their religious ideas is still shrouded in mystery, whether between the Spencers, Gillens, Langs, Frazer's, and other serious students of primitive psychologies.

The Narrinyeri people of South-East Australia have a 'god' or mythical being, Nurrnderi, who dwells in the, and is the master of the Lower Murray River; and to reach this abode of bliss the souls of the dead have to pass under the sea and over a fiery pit, into which the wicked fall while the good escape. But such abodes of bliss and misery form no part of the mental life of the chiefs of the natives, who do not distinguish between morally good and wicked people; and careful inquiry has now shown that these are merely distorted reminiscences of the heaven and hell preached to the Narrinyeri tribe by the early missionaries.

The same god Nurrnderi (Ngnurndore) plays a great part in the myths of the kindred Tanganarins of the Lower Murray River, and also affects a curious institution with the hands, which, as in the Biblical stories get perverted in the minds of the natives.

This great King of Wyir (Heaven) had two wives, who caught a hare, and only gave the forefinger to themselves and giving him the little one. Discovering the fraud, he was very angry, and said, 'You shall die for this, and all Tanganarins shall be fighting for food, and will be fighting the gods, and evil spirits until then.' Ngnurndore had created and done everything, from the beginning; knowing them knowledge will be hunting, fishing, and fighting. But after the sentence of death for the trick played upon him by his wives, he took away their knowledge and power, left them, and ascended into heaven. Then they became ignorant and blind, and lived like the beasts of the field for a long time, till of a virgin was born a good and wise man named Wyngrare. He gave them back their lost wisdom and power, and taught them sorcery; and when he had re-generated all the tribe, he was taken up to heaven by Ngnurndore, and now reigns there as second King. And when a Tanganarin dies, Wyngrare takes his spirit up to heaven, and gets him a good-hunting-ground in that place, through his influence with Ngnurndore. This might be called the Australian version of the doctrines of the Fall and the Atonement.

The native account of the Creation of the first man is more directly taken from the Book of Genesis. The people of the present Melbourne district say that Punjill, Creator of all things, made two male blacks by cutting three large strips of bark with his big knife, and on one of them kindling a quantity of clay to the required consistency. Then he carried some of the dough to another black strip, and began to mould it into a man, beginning at the feet and working upwards to the head. This he repeated on the third strip; and being well pleased with his work, he turned round about the two figures. He next made some hair out of stringy bark, curled for one man and straight for the other, took him one person, being once again pleased with this work, one more danced round about them. After smoothing their bodies with big leaves, he lay upon them and blew within their nostrils and mouth; and until they stirred, when then danced round, worked them a third time. Then he made them speak and walk about, and they were finished.

The Dieris tell it differently. In the beginning Murn-Mura, the Good Spirit, made a number of small black lizards, and being pleased with them, promised them power over all creeping things. He divided their feet into toes and fingers, and with his forefinger added nose, eyes, mouth, and ears. Then he spread them out, but it toppled down. So they stood on their tail, after which the lizard walked erect like a man. He did the same with another, which happened to be a female, and so the race was founded. After a time rains fell, and there were very numerous and wicked, whereas Punjill, being angry, raised storms and floods which shook the mountains and hills. And Punjill went about with his big knife, cutting this way and that way, and men, women, and children he cut into very little pieces, and threw them about like worms, whereupon great gales came, and blew them about like snowflakes. They were wafted into the clouds, and by the clouds borne hither and thither over all the earth, and thus was mankind dispersed. But the good men and women were carried upwards and became stars, which still shine in the heavens.

Death came in this way. The first pair were told not to go near a certain tree, in which lived a bat which was not to be disturbed. But one day the women were getting fuel, and were tempted to go near the tree. Thereupon the bat flew away, and so death came into the world.

It should be noted that all these Creation myths have been gathered from tribes who have long been in association with the whites, and probably derived much of their religious views from the missionaries. The local colouring would gradually be supplied as the stories passed from tribe to tribe.

2. Some Biblical legends are widespread among the Masai of East Africa, and here the parallelisms are so striking that Captain Merker can account for them only by supposing that the Masai nomads are a Semite people who evolved originally with the kindred Israelites in North Arabia, whence they migrated some 6000 or 7000 years ago to their present domain east of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Surprising coincidences are pointed out between the traditions, myths, legends, and stories of the Masai and the Bible.

The Masai el-Eber is equated with Eber (Gen 10: 1-2); Hans, 'Great,' with Jahuech; Nabe with Abel; Naroal with Abraham; and it is shown that the Masai have also their ten commandments, the first of which is: 'There is one only God; heretofore you called Him E'magadani, "Almighty"; henceforth you shall call Him Nyagi; just as in Ex 6' Sandalii is replaced by Jahuech. Here we have unquestionably many Jewish religious notions superimposed on the primitive Masai animism. These were not, however, brought from Arabia thousands of years ago, but in modern times, when the Jewish Judaising Falashas of the neighbouring Abyssinian uplands (cf. M. Merker, Die Mosai, Berlin, 1904).

3. In Senaur there is a curious intermingling of Muslim and animistic beliefs, which corresponds completely with the Negro and Semitic intermingleings of its Funk inhabitants. These pass for fairly good Muhammadans; practise circumcision, make the pilgrimage to Mecca, have zealous qur'ans and dervishes (who act as teachers and scribes in the towns), and conform to most of the other Qur'anic precepts. Yet beneath this thin Muslim veneer these Negro natives are still sheik pages, firmly believe in the gross superstitions which are associated with the queer wolf notions referred to in art. ETHNOLOGY. Their much-dreaded sábirs (muggers) are credited with the power of transforming themselves at night into hyenas and hippopotami, which roam about seeking to destroy their enemies, and inflict injuries even on the most devout Musalmans. The marrafis, as the metamorphosed human hyenas are called, hold their unhallowed entrails and feet in the woods, and the woodlands, indicating their presence by their terrible howlings, just as wayfarers were stricken with awe by the midnight roar of the transformed human jaguars amongst the Aztecs of pre-Columbian times. In the daytime the marrafis again
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They assumed their human form, but are still dangerous, since a glance from their evil eye suffices to wither the limbs, the heart, or the entrails of their victims, who thus perish in the most horrible torments.

To counteract these dire machinations, the scribes write a passage of the Qurânic text: 'They shall be laid outcastes, seething in their own society.' Islam has added some converts in isolated localities, but they are Christians only in name' (Social History, etc., i. p. 12).

In some places, as in the West Sudan, the primitive pagan substratum has been partly overlaid by Islam, and the whole Peninsula, from the seven Dolobes to the Trinity, which they cannot understand. Other violent contrasts are seen in the lofty conception of Tukhar, 'god of justice,' associated amongst the neighbouring Serers with lowly household gods, such as the talon, from whom the nightly milk-bowl is set apart. Here again the fusion of higher and lower ideals is obvious enough, and so it is throughout Negroland, wherever the seething masses of heathendom have been touched by higher influences.

4. We do not wish to make the common mistake of regarding heterogeneous elements as we are at once confronted with perhaps the saddest tragedy ever witnessed anywhere in the whole history of human development. Here are seen, not so much gross anthropomorphous systems leavened by contact with superior ideas, as the very reverse process of these ideas being themselves gradually contaminated and utterly debased by submergence in the great flood of aboriginal heathendom. The present writer has elsewhere shown (East and West, April 1905) that the whole of the peninsula, from the Himâlayas to Ceylon, was occupied by these aborigines — the Malayars and Dravido-Kolarians — the former a mixed race of the two, and the latter a continuous people, the Dravidians, who have penetrated into the neighbouring Kollencode forests, and are there worshipped with semi-Hindu rites, jointly with Muniappan and the other demon-gods, for all these aborigines are still everywhere at heart devotees of the Census. But these demons themselves, as well as all preternatural beings, are really human like the suppliants, only invisible and more potent. Hence they are held in fear and procured reverence, and their favour can be sought by sacrifice alone (Iyer, MS. notes). Much the same account is given of the Erravellers of the Chittur forests, who also include Kâli amongst their demoniacal gods, and seek her protection with little offerings.

Amongst the Bhils, Kol, Gonds, and other Pakhrânes of the Vindhyân uplands, great respect is paid to Mahâdeva, to whom they have been consecrated by the Mahâdeo heights east of the Satparas. He is even confounded with the chthonic Tiger-god, and associated with Bhîna, Arjuna, and other heroes or demi-gods of the Mahâbhârata epic. Yet these almost Hinduised hillmen offered till lately human sacrifices to the various members of their limitless pantheon, which includes sun, moon, rocks, trees, torrents, the passing winds, and especially the departed spirits who return in the form of nightmare, sit on the crest, squeeze the throats, and suck the blood, like the vampires of the popular Slav legend (see ETHNOLOGY). So intermingled are the higher and lower forms throughout Gondwâna and the Southern highlands, that the Census puzzlement over the mixed ethnic groups, whether as outcaste Hindus or Hinduised outcastes.

5. But this new field of research is boundless, and we must hasten through Indo-China, where
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the superficial Buddhism is everywhere intimately associated with the never-dying animism, eastward to the Malay lands, where analogous associations crop out everywhere between Islam and the still rampant heathenism of Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo, and Mindanao. Much light has recently been thrown on this religious syncretism in Celebes by the brothers F. and P. Sarasin, in whose Reisen (Berlin, 1905) the reader will find much instructive matter. The prevalent relations in the hitherto almost absolutely unknown island of Celebes, thrown light on the teaching of the great Saleeby in his Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion, vol. iv. of the Philippine Ethnological Survey Publications ( Manila, 1905). Here the "authentic" genealogies of the Moro (Mumah- dan) dynastic families are interwoven with curious pagan elements, and we read of orthodox Sultans descended from unions not only with houirs but sent down from heaven, but also with a native princess found inside a bamboo stalk. This occurred at the time "Tabunaway and Mamalul were cutting bamboo to build their fish corral. When the last tree was felled, out came a child who was called Putri Tunina, and whose little finger was wounded, the child went through the bamboo, and from her sprang Malang-sa-ingnd, third jatuv (king) of the Bwayan dynasty. The Mindanao Muslims have also assimilated some of the pagan folk-lore, and this is found in China (Balbal in Marambun, a huge night bird, whose scream is supposed to be distinctly heard after sunset. It is really "a human being who transforms at night into an evil spirit which devours dead people," in this differing from other vampires, which more or less are the dead and prey on the living. But so detested is the creature, that in the local Muhammadan code, here published in full, anyone calling another baling is fined one slave or his value (p. 48). Thus in Mindanao it is again the higher Muslim system that is affected by the lower ideals of the aborigines, many of whom have withdrawn to the uplands of the interior, where interesting discoveries await future explorers in primitive psychologies.

6. Once more the balance is redressed in Oceanica, where the more civilized Eastern Polynesians have inculcated the Western Melanesian cannibal headhunters with their mana and other sublil religious essences. But in the process modifications naturally take place, and the Maori or Samoan mana is not, perhaps, quite the same thing as that of the New Hebrides savages. The Maori restricts the breath of the Hero (Samoa?) to New Zealand by the kaka bird, is not easily distinguished from the forest, the human, and the other local maori, and is generally defined as "power, authority, influence, prestige" (A. Hamilton, Maori Art, p. 308). But the Melanesian mana is more spiritual, analogous to the Augustinian "grace," without which no works avail, but with which all things superhuman can be achieved. Thus a person may have mana, but is not himself mana,—a force which "is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be deduced to its operation." and again, "a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which is of the greatest advantage to possess" (Corrington, The Melanesian, pp. 118-119).

But however divergent with this divergent from, the Maori mana, this impersonal essence permeates the whole religious thought of the Melanesians, whose religion consists, in fact, in generalizing our own lives, qualifying it more for one's benefit—all religion, that is, as far as religious practices go, prayers and sacrifices (Ib.), and as the principle is admittedly derived from the more highly cultured Polynesians, we have here again a primitive system influenced, and, in this instance, somewhat elevated, by a more advanced line of thought. How primitive in other respects is the Melanesian system, may be seen from the belief current in the Banks' Islands that people may become tolanma, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead. In this and in several other Melanesian groups the anthropology also (see ETHNOLOGY) is widely prevalent, only being really flexible to the blamant, a kind of vampire which prevails usually at night, and, like the Mindanao balbal, devours the bodies of the dead.
originally distinct personalities, and are themselves a clear indication of the higher Aryan and Semitic influences brought to bear on the primitive religion of the Pelasgian aborigines. But these influences must not be pushed too far, as when G. Glaser imports Glasper into Greece (Zens) and Italy (Jove), as well as into Israel (Jahweh). It is clear from the compound forms Dyaspiter, (Vedic Sanskrit), Zeispiter (Gr.), Jwaspiter (Ugarit. and Phoenician), and Dyaspiter (Ugarit. and Phoenician), that this personification of the bright sky had already found expression in the Aryan mother-tongue, and was consequently a common inheritance of all the proto-Aryans who, after the dispersion, brought it independently into their Indian, Hellenic, and Italic settlements. Thus we have here no reciprocal influence of Aryan upon Aryans; but as to the same root belong the Avestic, Modern Persian, and Lithuanian Lietic Deivs, Deiva, ‘God,’ and other Western variants, it follows that the pantheons of the Iranian and European aborigines were enlarged and otherwise modified in remote prehistoric times by elements introduced from other quarters. The early interminglings of religious systems may have taken place, as between Aryans and Ligurians in Italy, or Aryans (Celts) and Iberians in Spain, Gaul, and the British Isles, is a subject of too speculative a nature to be the present concern. However, it seems fairly well established, that the Semitic Phenicians reached the far west with their Baal, who was adopted as one of their chief deities by the Ibero-Celt peoples of Britain and Ireland. The expressions Boi minait art, ‘may Baal prosper thee,’ and Dal Dhia dhiut, ‘God Baal be with thee,’ were not so many years ago still addressed to strangers on the banks of the Suir in Tipperary (see Gl. A., vol. 3, p. 402). The Chibchas, Peruvians, and Aymaras reached a relatively high degree of civilization, while most of the others lagged behind, and are still at the barbaric or even pure savage state. These last have, till recently, stood for a country in which, as a result of a series of natural facts, so that many, such as the Mexican Seris, the Caribs and Arawaks of British Guiana, the Brazilian Cotoceus, and the Fuegian Yahgans, afford excellent object-lessons for the study of the earliest types of unmodified religious thought, but for that very reason do not come within the scope of the present inquiry. Thus, in America, the mutual influences are confined mainly to the more advanced cultural peoples, amongst whose interminglings appear to have been more the rule than the exception. Apart from the much discussed subject of the long-extinct Toltecs, it may be stated in a general way, that the two Aztêcs and Mayas cultures betray undoubted proofs of endless borrowings, especially in matters associated with astrology, divination, and religious observances. Where were the givers and who the recipients may still be a moot point, but the contacts are not open to question.

E. Förstemann, who takes the Maya side against Selé and others, holds that the Aztecs adopted many things they learned from the Mayas, especially their deities, whose names they borrowed from the Chibchas who live in Yucatan. It is a very typical case, for when and quot;instantanea; the bird Trogon resplendens, and can and coafl mean the snake. The Aztecs first came in contact with the higher civilization not very long before the arrival of the Spaniards, so that they did not have time to establish their supremacy and so absorb the Mayas, but, on the contrary, were absorbed by them.” (Mexican and Central American Antiquities, Washington, 1904, p. 542). It is also shown that the tomatoleltas which were common to all Central American peoples, were not calendars, but horoscopes covering a period of 520 days, the period of gestation. The Aztecs, however, were not copied by the Aztecs, (6, p. 557; see also Keane’s Eng. ed. of Selé’s Religion of the Aztecs, translates, 1901). Dealing with the worship of the Sun, Mithra in the Ascetic Apocryphon (the present state of Oxaxas), Professor Selé shows that this cultured nation drew many of its religious inspirations from the neighbouring Aztecs. ‘The conclusion seems inevitable that the cosmogonic representations referring to Quetzalcoatl, as well as the Oynaco, with its many names figured in the picture-writings, were not strictly national, did not have their roots in the Zapotec country, but represent an imported culture which owes its origin to the influence of Nahua tribes dating back to prehistoric times’ (Wandelreien von Mitila, Berlin, 1899).

On the other hand, the views advanced by the late Mr. Leland in The Algonquin Legends of New England regarding the old Norse origin of the north-east Indian mythology cannot be upheld. But although they are now shown to be untenable, later European influences have been at work, and Mr. Andrew Lang has found clear traces of Irish, French, and a few Anglo-American strata in many of the Passamaquoddy myths. Dr. J. D. Prince, of Columbia University, holds that what is genuinely native ‘stands forth with unmistakable distinctness in some of the Kulöskap tales,’ that is, the witchcraft and other stories recorded in Kulöskap the Mzier, the joint work of himself and Mr. Leland.

ABORTION.—See FETICIDE.

ABOULIA.—A mental disorder characterized by loss of volitional control over action or thought. There are three general types of aboulia. (1) In the purely ideational field it may occur as a result of the loss of ineruptive powers or of control of attention. In such cases, when a motive or impulse appears in consciousness with a preponderating force, there is an ill-balanced tendency to immediate action. The suggestion is without natural check, and rash and inconsiderate execution of it follows. The limiting cases of such disorder (some-times termed hyperaboulia) are to be found in the obsessions of fixed ideas, in hypnotic suggestion, etc., where the force of the suggested idea is so strong that there is no consciousness of competitive motor impulse (and hence none of volition). (2) Distinguished from this, but still in the ideational field, is aboulia which takes the form of extreme hesitancy. While a series of impulses is presented to consciousness as alternatives,—that is, with equal or nearly equal suggestive power,—the loss of ability to inhibit prevents selection, and irresolution and failure to act at all are the result. It is probable that conduct which is often interpreted as extreme scrupulosity, or conscientiousness in affairs of no real moral moment, taking the form of indecision, is merely a manifestation of this type of aboulia. (3) Aboulia due to idiomotor derangement should be sharply discriminated from the preceding. It is due not to failure to make rational choice, but to inability to execute the choice made. It is psychical form is failure of the kinesthetic equivalent, or motor image adequate to action, and its physiological basis is probably lesion or loss of tone in the association tracts. It shows itself as muscular stammering, repeated efforts being required to perform some ordinarily easy action. Abohia is a characteristic neuropsychic condition, appearing in connexion with multiple personality, automatism, etc. It is the natural pre-condition of excessive susceptibility to suggestion.

LITERATURE.—Ribot, Les maladies de la volonté (1883); Janet, Nervous et des idées fixes (1889); Duprat, Morale (1876); Jastrow, The Subconsciences (1900).

H. B. AMERICAN.
ABRAHMAN-MEN.—A class of studly beggars, who feigned to have been mad, and to have been kept in Bedlam for a term of years. In London they are denominated ‘Beggars of Bedlam’—a term for the lunatics asylum, or madhouse—a kind of competition for Bethlem, the name of a religious house in London, founded as a priory in 1247, and in 1547 converted into a hospital for lunatics. Originally ‘Abraham-men’ were those who denied the integrity of the lunacy ward under the patronage of the patriarch Abraham. On discharge from hospital they wore a badge for identification, and were formally permitted to roam the country as ‘a Tom o’ Bedlam’ and subject to the laws.

This character was personated by vagabonds and studly rogues, who wandered over England in a disorderly manner, feigning lunacy and preying upon the charitable. Hence the slang phrase, ‘to sham Abraham.’ Where begging failed they did not hesitate to live by pilfering, and, when detected in any depredation, they would plead the immunities and privileges of a Bedlamite. The character is common in the knapsack poetry of the time, and often to have survived till the period of the Civil Wars.

For a specimen of the language and demeanour of the Abraham-men, see an account in the ‘Steeple in King Lear,’ Act v. sc. 2; for synonyms, Beaumont and Fletcher’s ‘Beggar’s Bush,’ ii. sc. 1—

And then he’s in a Jacob’s coat
Jackman, or Patricio, Cranke, or Clapper-dudgeon,
Fraier, or Abraham-man, I speak to all.

man is he that walketh bare-armed and bare-legged, and fayneth himself to have the company of the good folk; but to some it doth fall on it, or such like toy, and nameth himself “Poor Tom.”’ (cf. Early Eng. Text Soc. p. 3). See also Dekker’s ‘Belman of London,’ 1610, where Sackel and Randal call the Abraham-man the most phantastick. . . . The fellow that sat half naked (at table to-day) is the best Abraham man that ever came in to my house, the notablest villain: he sweats he hath been in Bedlam, and will talk from the point of purpose: you see pinnes stuck in sundry places of his naked flesh, especially in his back; and certainly to make you believe he is out of his wits: he calls himself by the name of Poor Tom. . . . Great Abraham men some be exceeding merry, and doe nothing but sing songs: some will dance: others will do nothing but laugh or weep: other are dogged and so sullen both in look and speech, that, saying but small company in a house, they boldly and bluntly enter, compelling the servants through fear to give them what they demand, which is commonly bacon or something that will yield ready money.

The great authority is Harman’s ‘Cawset, or Warning for Common Corrotors, 2nd ed., 1657.’

W. W. FULTON.

ABRAVANEL (or ABARBANEL), Isaac (1437—1508).—Statesman and author, Don Isaac Abravanel shared in the general expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. He had been in the service of King Alfonso v. of Portugal and Queen Isabella of Castile, and after his banishment acted as finance minister in the states of Naples and Venice. His facility in learning from Commentaries on the Bible. He wrote on the Pentateuch, the Historical Books, and the Prophets, but not on the Hagiographa. Among the characteristics of his Commentaries, mention must be made first of his general as the pseudepigraphic works of the early Church, was interpreted in 1 P. iii: 18 and 2 P. 3: 18, which it was intended by its writer; but as to the interpretation we have no evidence. The commentators vary in their views. Almost all下了 all cite from St. Paul’s epistles, which is a very trifling piece of the Peshitta (not washing away . . . but confessing God with a clear conscience) and the Vulgate (conscientia bona interrogatoria in Deum); some, like Alford, denying any reference to the baptismal interrogations, and rendering ‘querying a good conscience’ (= ‘s. i. v.’); but if so, we would expect ερωτώμενος and others taking ερωτώμενος to be the baptismal interrogations, as Gudemus (ii. 107). Hooker (I. Eccles. Pol. v. 63), Estienne (Com. i. 10.), de Wette, and others. Dr. Bigg (I. and ii. loc.) also uphold the reference to the baptismal questions, but gives a strong argument for taking ερωτώμενον with αποκριτη, as corresponding to ερωτώμενος, just as δι’ εναντιωμενον corresponds to δι’ αντιομενον. Whether the case would be: . . . the ark into which few . . . were brought safely through water, which also after a true likeness doth now bring you. They bring back, even baptism (by water) in the God of the first of the flesh, but the interrogation of a good conscience, though there is room for an unscriptural exegesis—for an exegesis which shall attempt to explain Scripture without theological prejudice.

In all these points Abravanel’s services were appreciated by Christians as well as Jews. ‘No less than thirty bishops and prelates of all ranks’—among them men of eminence, like the younger Buxtorf, Budeus, Carpuzo, and others—occupied themselves with the close study of Abravanel’s exegetical writings, which they condensed and translated to the world of Christian scholarship (Ginzberg). Certainly Abravanel gains by compression, for his works are very prolix. They were often written in great haste. Thus his large Commentaries on the Psalms, and Samuel occupied him only six months. Yet these Commentaries include some of the very best work.

The philosophical works of Abravanel are of less importance than the exegetical. His Ethik Aniithah (‘Pinnacle of Faith’) is a treatise which aims at dissociating Jewish theology from philosophy; he uphold, against Malmonides, the view of miraculous inspiration. His Messianic books were very popular.

Among of his many other literary efforts, he disputes alike the views of Christian and of Jewish rationalists. His Yasharot Meishicho (‘Salvation of His Anointed’) is a clear and full account of the Rabbinic teachings. Concerning the Messiah, Abravanel himself claimed descent from the royal house of David.


ABRENUNTIO.—The renunciation of the devil at baptism is a custom which goes back certainly to the 2nd century. At first, as we see from the Patristic references, the renunciation was thought of as intellectual as well as moral, as a repudiation of heathenism with its teachings as well as with its vices and abuses; while later, after the triumph of Christianity (and so at the present day), the renunciation is thought of almost entirely as moral, as a promise to lead a good life.

The custom of interrogating the candidates to see whether they really gave up heathenism and believed in Jesus Christ probably goes back to Apostolic times, though it is a custom which could scarcely be dispensed with. Perhaps the earliest certain reference to it is the gloss of Ac 5: 8, the confession of faith by the Ethiopian eunuch, which, though probably not part of the original Epistle, is well adapted to it, and must therefore reflect the usage of at least the 2nd century. It is quite probable, however, that the interrogatio (ἐρωτώμενος, not ἐρωτώμενος) of a good conscience in 1 P 3: 19 refers to the practice in question.

For our present purpose it is more important to know how the early Church interpreted 1 P 3: 19 than how it was intended by its writer; but as to the early interpretation we have no evidence. The commentators vary in their views. Almost all cite from St. Paul’s epistles, which is a very trifling piece of the Peshitta (not washing away . . . but confessing God with a clear conscience) and the Vulgate (conscientia bona interrogatoria in Deum); some, like Alford, denying any reference to the baptismal interrogations, and rendering ‘querying a good conscience’ (= ‘s. i. v.’); but if so, we would expect ερωτώμενος and others taking ερωτώμενος to be the baptismal interrogation, as Gudemus (ii. 107). Hooker (I. Eccles. Pol. v. 63), Estienne (Com. i. 10.), de Wette, and others. Dr. Bigg (I. and ii. loc.) also uphold the reference to the baptismal questions, but gives a strong argument for taking ερωτώμενον with αποκριτη, as corresponding to ερωτώμενος, just as δι’ εναντιωμενον corresponds to δι’ αντιομενον. Whether the case would be: . . . the ark into which few . . . were brought safely through water, which also after a true likeness doth now bring you. They bring back, even baptism (by water) in the God of the first of the flesh, but the interrogation of a good conscience, though there is room for an unscriptural exegesis—for an exegesis which shall attempt to explain Scripture without theological prejudice.

Turning to the Patristic evidence, we may notice that Justin Martyr speaks (Apol. i. 61) of those who are being prepared for baptism ‘promising to
be able to live according [to the truth]. The first witness for renunciations, however, is Tertullian. He says (de Scept. 4):—

'When entering the water, we make profession of the Christian faith in the words of its profession: I renounce the devil, his pomp, and his angels. Well, it is not in connexion with idolatry, above all, that you have the devil with his pomp and his angels. The adversary's testimony in the laver of baptism has reference to the shows, which through their idolatry have been given over to the devil and his angels.'

Elsewhere (de Idol. 6) he says that idol-making is prohibited to Christians by the very fact of their baptism. 'For how have we renounced the devil and his angels? The renunciation is renewed.' In de Cor. 8, after describing the act of disowning 'the devil and his pomp and his angels,' he says: 'Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord has appointed in the Gospel.' So in the Canons of Hippolytus, which probably represent Roman or Alexandrian usage early in the 3rd cent., the candidate for baptism turns to the West and says: 'I renounce thee, Satan, with all thy pomp, and this is then acknowledged by the presbyter, and before being baptized turns to the East and says: 'I believe and bow myself in thy presence and in the presence of all thy pomp, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost' [for the words 'and bow myself' are found in the English version]. The canons cite the passages from the Canons of Hippolytus, and the Book of Apostles, and Dionysius of Alexandria, writing to Pope Xystus (ep. Euseb. HE vii. 9), speaks of the questions and answers (των ἐπιστολίσεων καὶ των ἀπώτητας ἔκαθος). It is clear, then, that in the 3rd and probably in the 2nd cent., the candidates made an act of submission to God at baptism as well as a renunciation of the devil.

The same thing is also evident in the 4th century. The act of submission might be the recital of a creed ('reddito symboli'), which had been taught to the candidates during their catechumenate ('tradito symboli'); or it might be a simple formula, or both the formula and the creed. In Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Oration against Judas (Lect. xiv. 2-3) we read of the candidate first facing West, because 'the West is the region of sensible darkness,' and Satan, 'being darkness, has his dominion also in darkness, whereas the East is 'the place of light.' He says, stretching out his hand: 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and all thy service (or worship), λατρείας.' The word 'pomp' is explained as being the shows, horse races, hunting, and all such vanities; the word 'service' as idolatry, prayer in idol temples, etc. Then the candidate faces East and says: 'I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in the confession of one God and of three persons. The renunciation and submission are pronounced in the outer chamber; the anointing and baptism follow in the baptistery, where the candidate is again asked whether he believes in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (xx. 4). It does not appear that at Jerusalem in Cyril's time the Creed was recited at baptism. Of the 4th cent. Church Orders we may first cite the Egyptian, in which are some almost alike. The candidate says: 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service and all thy works;' (Ethiopic: 'all thy angels and all thy unclean works'); he is then anointed, and a long

creed takes the place of the formula of submission. Turning to the West and East is not mentioned in these two Church Orders. In the corresponding part of the Verona Latin Fragments of the Didascalia (ed. Hauler, Ixx), in the Testament of our Lord (ii. 8) the candidate turns to the West and says: 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service (lit. military service), and thy shows (lit. theatres), and thy pleasures, and all thy works.' After being anointed, he turns to the East and says: 'I submit to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' etc. In the Apostolic Constitutions the form is somewhat different (vii. 41). The candidate says: 'I renounce thee, Satan, and his works, and his pomp, and his worships, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that are under him.' This is immediately followed by the act of submission: 'I associate myself (ερωτευομενυ) with Christ, and believe and an baptised into one unbegotten Being,' etc. (a long creed); then come the anointing and baptism. Turning to the West and East is not mentioned; but later, after confirmation, the neophyte is directed to 'pray towards the East' (vii. 44). We have some confirmatory evidence from other 4th cent. writers. St. Basil (de Spir. Sancto, xi. 57) says: '[Apostates] have set at naught their own confessions ...' In the Confession of the Cyprians, the departure of the Western and the East, and in the Holy Ghost, when they renounced the devil and his angels, and uttered those saving words. The Pilgrimage of Silvia (or of Etheria) does not mention the renunciation, but says that the 'reddito symboli' was made publicly. Pseudo-Ambrose in de Sacramentis (ii. 7, c. 400 a.d.) also does not mention the renunciation, but gives the interrogations at the time of the triple immersion: 'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?'—'Dost thou believe also in our Lord Jesus Christ and in His cross?'—'Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?' When the candidates were too young to make the answers to the interrogations and to say the renunciations themselves, this was done for them by the sponsor, or the parents, or a relation (Canons of Hippolytus, 113; Egyptian Church Order, § 46; Testament of our Lord, ii. 8; for sponsors see also Tertullian, de Bap. 18, and the allusion to them—'unde suspecti'—in de Cor. 3). The custom of renouncing the devil has persistently remained. Duchesne (Oriens du cent. trièvè, Eng. tr. ['Christian Worship'] p. 304), gives the form long in use at Rome. At the seventh and last scrutiny, after the 'Effeta,' and anointing on the breast and back, the candidate was asked: 'Dost thou renounce Satan?'—'And all his works?'—'And all his pomp?' To each question he answered, 'I renounce (abrenuntio)'. The candidate recited the Creed publicly, but in the 5th cent. the priest recited it for him. In the Gallican use, the candidate, facing West, was asked: 'Dost thou renounce Satan, the pomp of the world and its pleasures?' The candidate replied, entered the font, and answered a threefold interrogatory on the creed with 'I believe,' and was baptized (Miscell Gallarum, see Duchesne, op. cit. p. 324).

In the Sarum Manual the renunciations were as at Rome (see above); after the anointing asks the candidate a threefold interrogatory which is a short form of the Apostles' Creed, to each part of which he answers 'I believe,' and the baptism follows (Maskell, Monumenta, i. 225). In the English use of the Caxtonian time, the order is much the same as in the West. In the Orthodox Eastern Church the renunciations come in the 'Office for

* In the Testament, the Verona Fragments, and in the Canons of Hippolytus, a form of the Apostles' Creed is put before the candidates in the shape of three questions at the act of baptism.
Making a Catechumen, which is separate from infant or adult baptism, if the candidate is a "barbarian or a child") his sponsor, is asked thrice: 'Dost thou renounce Satan, and all his works, and all his angels, and all his pomp?' and answers: 'I renounce.' He is thrice asked: 'Dost thou renounce all the Filthiness of the World, and all the Vanities of the Sons of the Wicked One?' and answers: 'I have renounced,' and is bidden to throw upon him and spit upon him. Then he is thrice asked: 'Dost thou join Christ?' The Nicene Creed follows hereon: 'I renounce the Heretics, and all liars: I renounce the name of the same.'

Thus we see a most persistent survival of a formula which dates back at least to the 2 Centuries. The case is exactly parallel with the survival of the Sermo Corde in the Eucharistic Liturgy. Thus, however, one exception to the universal use of the Renunciation. The Nestorians or Eastern Syrians appear not to have it. Their baptismal service is drawn up in a form closely resembling the Eucharistic Liturgy, with lections, canticles, invocations, etc., which presents many unique features. The Renunciation among the Nestorians probably formed part of a separate office (as in many other Churches), and this office has now been discarded and the Renunciation with it. But the Nicene Creed, recited with the baptismal service on the analogy of the Liturgy, serves the purpose of a profession of faith.

A. J. MACLEAN.

Absolute.—I. Meaning of the term. The term 'absolute' (absolutum = unrestricted, set free, and hence what can subsist by itself in that condition, what is complete as it stands) is used either as an adjectival or as a substantive, and, in either case, takes on a variety of allied but distinct meanings. It seems probable that the adjective was grammatically prior. One of the first writers to use the term is Cicero, who (in de Finibus) employs it to describe a characteristic of the blessed life, and also a form of necessity. As an adjectival term it may be applied to a quality which is independent of or can have the qualification of subsisting by itself. This qualification may be given either negatively, in the form of the absence of all relation of dependence on another, or positively, in the sense that it is laid on its internal coherence and self-sufficiency. We find it employed not merely in philosophy, but in science and in everyday experience. Characteristic uses in science are, e.g., 'absolute temperature,' 'absolute alcohol,' 'absolute position,' or again 'absolute space.' In common thought it is found in the expressions 'absolute fact,' 'absolutely false.' As a substantive it is primarily a philosophical term, and is in general used to designate the basis or fundamental principle of all reality, which in some sense is or contains all the variety that exists. It is with the philosophical use of the term that we are mainly concerned here; but it will be remembered that 'absolute' is almost the same (Denzinger, i. 198, 223; see a shorter form at p. 234, where the renunciation is explained as a purely moral one, without reference to heathenism) as the Latin word absolu, 2d cent., 267, 231 (the latter is the 'rite of St. Basil'). In the 6th cent. James of Edessa describes the catechumens as renouncing 'Satan and all that belong to him, and as professing their belief (ib. i. 279); and Severus of Antioch gives the form as, 'I renounce Satan, and all his works, and all his worship, followed by an act of subscription (ib. p. 304). For the Maronites see Denzinger, i. 246, 354. In all these cases the turning to the West and East is emphasized, and the acts of renunciation and of subscription are recorded.

Meaning of 'pomp.'—The word σωμία (from σώμα) means properly 'a sending under an escort,' and so 'a company,' and then 'a solemn procession' (Liddell and Scott). It was taken into Latin (pompa) as meaning 'a procession,' and so (a) 'a train or a suite, and (b) 'barbarian' or 'pompa,' 'display.' Both these last meanings are found in the formula of renunciation. In Tertullian and the Canons of Hippolytus the meaning is apparently neutral, 'a retinue'; it is used in the Canons in a good sense, 'the children of God' (see Codex Sinaiticus). Then from the 4th cent. the bad sense of the word, 'display,' 'pride,' comes to the front. In the 9th and 10th centuries the Jerusalem and Jerusalem Ordo shows the plural is often used with this meaning to this day in the phrase 'pompes et vanités of this wicked world' of the Book of Common Prayer; the Latin usage of the word is found in 16th cent.; it was used for a kind of cake given on Christmas Eve; and is also employed in their godchildren when they give up, apparently (says Ducange, e.g.) to remind them of their having renounced the pomp of the devil.
of relation whatsoever will alter its permanent independence. In the long run, as we shall see, this is the only consistent form in which the term can be used, and is indeed the basis for all other uses of it. But, when describing common usage, it is desirable to indicate other ways in which the term is employed.

This independence of alteration by external association, to which we have referred, already contains within itself a qualification, a character which the term 'absolute' also possesses, and which in certain cases is more particularly emphasized. By 'absolute' is then meant that quality in virtue of which an object can stand by itself, has an internal constitution of its own, is controlled and determined from within by its very nature. This positive character is really the ground of that negative meaning above described; and the latter is in strictness inseparable from it. But for certain purposes it is of importance to lay special stress on the positive character per se. In this case, the term 'absolute' refers to what is included rather than to what is excluded; to the inner nature of an object qualified rather than to the possible relation to other objects; to its individual constitution rather than to its connexion with other individuals. Examples of this use would be such expressions as 'an absolute system,' 'absolute unit,' 'absolute equality.' This positive significance may be taken in significantly different senses. It may refer simply to what, in virtue of the internal constitution of the object, can stand by itself or hold good; and we may know its internal constitution so completely as to justify us in applying the term 'absolute' to it. This is one meaning of the expression, 'Such and such is an absolute possibility' or 'absolutely possible.' Its contents, the predicates we can apply to the object, are normally consistent. This is the least we can say of anything which we can think—its lowest claim to be something per se. This is 'absolute' as opposed to 'relative.' On the other hand, we may mean that the object maintains its being, not in spite of relation to other things, but in every possible relation to other objects in which it may stand. We may compare it with other objects as we please, may subject it to any condition, and find its meaning unaffected. This is 'absolute' as opposed to 'comparative.' The expression 'absolutely possible,' in this sense, is the utmost we can say of anything. The contents of this sense are: the absolute impenetrability of matter; absolute dominion over individuals in a society; absolute simplicity of physical elements; an absolute subject, i.e. a subject which, in every possible sphere, remains a subject, and cannot be a predicate of anything. Sometimes, indeed, we may use the term to cover simultaneously both of the forms of its positive meaning. But in general they would not be true together; for while, e.g., the least we could say of anything can also be said of it if we first state the most we can say of it, the reverse of this would not be true. The expression, an 'Absolute Being,' taken positively, is a case in point. Another, and an important, positive use of the term, is when it is employed to designate not what has been simply by itself, or what maintains its being in every possible relation, but what is the ultimate ground of all relations. This is the meaning often attached to the expression 'Absolute Reality.' The use of the term 'Absolute Space' to signify that which is the ground of the possibility of all determinate spatial relations, of phenomena appearing in spatial form, is an example. Here 'absolute' is nearly equivalent to 'ultimate,' or the logical praxis. The object in question here contains all relations, and is absolute in that sense. In the other positive senses an object was absolute either as existing by itself in spite of relation, or as subsisting throughout all relation.

The foregoing analysis of the negative and positive significance of the term has already, no doubt, indicated that neither sense alone is really adequate as a complete expression of its meaning. Each is in strictness one-sided. Indeed, each implies the other, and is more or less consciously present when, for certain purposes, stress is laid on one side rather than another. It is clear that 'absolute' in the sense of 'out of relation,' 'without qualification,' is predicative of a particular object only in virtue of relation. A negative relation is still a relation, and a relation cannot exist unless both terms constituting it are affected and involved. Strictly, 'absolute' is never meant to convey that the object is really outside all relation; but either that the effect of the relation may be ignored or that the object has so secure a place in a general system, that the whole system stands and fails with its individual subsistence. Thus, when a particular statement is said to be 'absolutely true,' we shall mean that we find that one or other of the assumptions is made. But it is evident that 'absolute' in this sense really implies relations which are merely unexpressed. In short, since 'absolute,' negatively considered, means simply without the qualifications which specific relations would bring, what is not qualified, and therefore these relations, must be there to give it its meaning. Relation thus enters into the constitution of the term in its negative aspect; and, with it, the positive content which the term related must possess to enter into a relation at all. In the limiting case, when by hypothesis there is no other term with which to constitute a relation, the positive aspect explicitly coincides completely with the negative; this is found when we speak of the 'absolute whole.'

Similarly, when we take the positive meaning by itself and apply it to a specific object, it contains, as part of its significance, a reference to other objects. An object cannot be conceived as something in itself without ipso facto implying a distinction from other things. What it is in itself logically implies others from which it is at least abstracted in order to be by itself. This is still more obvious when, as in the case, e.g., of 'absolute simplicity' above mentioned, it is what it absolutely is only through relation to other things.

The same is true again when it is a 'ground' of other things. In the limiting case the positive explicitly coincides with its negative, when the reality contains all possible otherness, and is in itself, not through others, but through itself.

If, then, the negative meaning in this way implies the positive and vice versa, we seem forced to the conclusion that what is really involved in either use of the term is the whole which contains both aspects, and that this alone is truly absolute. For, between them, positive and negative in strictness exhaust all that is to be said. When we predicate the term 'absolute' positively or negatively, it is implied that there is no restriction to what is excluded or included. Absolute in the sense of, e.g., without qualification, is in principle unrestricted in its range of negations. If, therefore, the positive, fully unqualifiable, in its entirety of what is negated and conversely, this means that it is a whole, and one and the same whole, that is implied in every use of the term 'absolute.' This whole, then, is what the use of the term 'absolute' in any given case refers to, and this alone is absolute. If this is not admitted, we are bound to conclude that the predicate 'absolute' is in every case through and through affected by relativity. But a relative absolute is a contradic-
tinction in terms; and if this is meant, we must give up the use of the term altogether, except as a way of being emphatic. Otherwise we must accept the idea that even this very strict use of the term it is logically a single whole that is involved, and that this is alone absolute.

The above analysis certainly compels us to accept this interpretation. If we admit it, we can at once give a logically valid meaning to the use of the term in its positive form and in its negative form. For in either case it means that the object so qualified has a necessary place in the one whole, and hence the whole is also the one absolute. It is thus an absolute, each part, of whose place in it we are assured, can be 'absolute.' And this is done by us in a negative or a positive way according to circumstances. If we apply this interpretation to any current use of the term, we shall find that it gives an intelligible and justifiable meaning to the idea we have in mind. The denial of this view involves the denial of all absoluteness in either form, and this is the position of those who maintain the doctrine of thoroughlygoing Relativity.

2. Philosophical application of the term.—So far we have merely considered the various uses of the term 'absolute' and especially of the term 'absolute truth.' We have not considered the application of the conception of absoluteness to specific philosophical problems. There are two such problems which are historically important and philosophically fundamental: (1) the problem of absoluteness in human knowledge, which raises in part the question of the 'relativity of knowledge'; (2) the problem of the Absolute in metaphysics. We must deal with each of these separately, so far as they can be separated.

I. ABSOLUTE AS APPLIED TO HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.—There are two distinct ways in which the term 'absolute' may be applied to human knowledge. Both start from the position that in all knowledge we aim at an ideal, and that the consummation of our knowledge would be the explicit articulation of that ideal in systematic form. The term 'ideal,' however, may or may not be used, and may be interpreted in different ways.

(a) We may call it 'complete' truth, and regard this as the complete 'agreement' of our thoughts with the 'nature of things.' If we attempt to express with systematic fullness what this ideal as such contains, to give in some sense the whole truth, the knowledge so supplied would be spoken of as 'absolute' knowledge. In general it is also implied that in such a case we are at the point of view of the whole ideal as such; that we do not rise to it gradually and give the content of the ideal at the end of our journey, so to speak, but rather that we start our exposition of what the ideal contains by occupying at the outset the position of an absolute knowing mind. We interpret the ideal as an objective system of truth in virtue of our taking up an objective or trans-individualistic attitude, where all the perspective of specific individual minds is excluded. This point of view is essential, because an ideal of knowledge in this sense involves the disappearance of finite qualifications and reservations.

This conception of absolute knowledge may be regarded in two ways. (a) It has been taken to mean an exposition of the general elements constituting the supreme or whole truth, a systematic development of the fundamental conceptions or principles involved in, and made possible, the different forms of knowledge. Spinoza's Ethics or Hegel's Logic would be an illustration of absolute knowledge in this sense. (b) It has also been taken to mean an exposition of the whole truth both in its general content and in its particular details—a system, in fact, not simply of principles, but of concentrically developed stages of their details at their various truth-folds. Absolute knowledge in this sense has generally been considered impossible of achievement, and certainly there is no historical example of a single system which aims to give such a view. These two senses of the term 'absolute knowledge' may be conveniently characterized in the language of a recent philosophical work (Laurie's Synthetic) as respectively knowledge which gives a 'synthesis of the absolute,' and knowledge which gives an 'absolute synthesis.'

(b) Another use of the term as applied to knowledge is found when we speak of knowledge in a given case being 'absolute knowledge,' or conveying 'absolute truth.' This need not refer directly or even at all to any absolute system of knowledge. It can be applied to any case where, as we sometimes say, we are 'absolutely certain,' or where the judgment does not contravene itself in any other judgment. From this point of view, many or most of the judgments making up our knowledge can be spoken of as absolute, whether the knowledge is given in the form of a specific statement, like 'two and two are four'; or even in the case of a judgment of perception: 'this paper is white.' The latter may be said to be absolutely true, independently of the case and the circumstances. For there are judgments which, taken independently of the case and the circumstances, are justifiable as true, and are capable of 'absolute' knowledge in this specific area of perceptive experience, as the former type of judgment. Indeed, the assertion of any ultimate fact, from this point of view, becomes an 'absolute truth,' a case of 'absolute knowledge'; and all the steps in the attainment of the complete truth, the complete systematic ideal of knowledge, are at least capable of being characterized in this way, whether we ever attain to the complete system or not. Hence the term can be applied in this second sense to knowledge without any implication of the possibility of 'absolute knowledge' in the first sense. Indeed, it may be denied in the latter sense, and asserted only in the former.

In considering the question as to the validity of the idea of absolute knowledge, we have to bear in mind this difference in the use and application of the term. It may, no doubt, be said with some truth that when we reach the second sense of the term we are in the long run the admission of absolute in the first sense. But, at any rate, that is not explicitly maintained, and can even be fairly denied. This comes out in the controversy between 'absolute' and 'relative' truth. It is often held that all our knowledge is relative to us, and therefore absolute knowledge is impossible to man. By this is meant that the attainment of an absolute system of truth is impossible, and not that our knowledge, 'so far as it goes,' is not absolutely true. Thus the relativity of knowledge may be maintained along with the assertion that we do possess absolutely valid knowledge. This is in general the position of the narrowly scientific mind. Relativity may, indeed, also be asserted of all forms of our knowledge. In this case absolute knowledge is denied in both senses of the term. Relativity, then, logically excludes either a systematic absolute or an individuation toward metaphysical anthropomorphism. It is thus important, in discussing the 'relativity' of knowledge, to determine both what kind of relativity is asserted and with what kind of absoluteness it stands in contrast. It may be justifiable to reject any when defending relativity in opposition to absoluteness of knowledge, if one disputation is using 'absolute' in the first sense and the other in the second.

Justification of (a).—The argument in defence of absolute knowledge, in the sense of a complete
system of the fundamental conceptions constituting the ideal of knowledge, rests on the simple proposition that knowledge as such can be an object of knowledge. When knowledge is itself an object of consideration, all that it implies must be offered up without reserve to the scrutiny of the mind; this being done, the discussion of knowledge as such is futile; for to assert at the outset that we can know only a part of an object which we set out to know, is to check our knowledge in advance by the hand of scepticism. We should never attempt to know any object if we consciously assumed as a fact that in its entirety it could not be known. The edge would be taken off the seriousness of the problem at once, and neither common sense nor the scientific mood would sanction the effort. But, indeed, it would require an interpretation of knowledge to prove such an assumption to be valid; and hence this hypothesis may be dismissed as logically impossible, because self-contradictory. But if knowledge as such can be an object of knowledge, it must have the rounded completeness of a determinate object to justify the attempt. But knowledge is the ideal unity of knowledge and nowhere else. This ideal, therefore, must be capable of analysis, of criticism, and, because a unity, of systematic expression. It may very well be that we are compassed in by some partial and more or less ultimate and the advance of human intellectual activity determine. But, as such, they are an expression in every case of the general forms in which this ultimate unity is realized. To state in some connected way, therefore, the constituent general conceptions which the ideal unity of knowledge contains, is always a possible achievement.

That ideal unity is at once the logically implied beginning and the final end of all knowledge in its various forms. The knowledge of it is the self-knowledge of knowledge; and that is absolute knowledge in both the negative and positive senses of the term. It is implied, in general, in any way, of course, be supplied in different ways, and with different degrees of success. These must always vary with the variation which is at once the privilege and the limitation of the individual thinker. But such peculiarities do not concern the question as to the possibility of truly achieving the result. What relation exists between the various forms which absolute knowledge in this sense has historically assumed, is a further question, which lies beyond that of the justification of its possibility:

Justification of (6).—The position that knowledge may be absolute without being at the same time a finished system, or without at least awaiting till a finished system is established, is maintained that every true judgment is absolute as knowledge, just as it stands. An isolated judgment is absolutely valid without any other term, or context of terms, or in any degree, to modify it. The addition of other judgments may or may not modify its truth, but it will only be in so far as it is not true that it is capable of supplementation. And, even at the worst, this will always leave what is actually contained in the assertion valid. It is maintained that this does not involve relativity in the sense of scepticism or individualism; for there is a distinction between a judgment which stands in a relation and judgment which is relatively valid. The first may, in virtue of the internal coherence of its content, hold a necessary and undeniable place in a series, or in a whole, from which it is inseparable; in the second, the content is completely determined, and therefore the judgment is only approximately true. For a judgment, its say or not cannot be disturbed by external agencies. The first may well be described as absolute, since, on the one hand, such judgments are not subject to alteration, but only to supplementation; and, on the other, it is out of such judgments that any system, even one claiming to be the complete ideal, has to be built up, if there is to be a system at all. Such judgments do not require to wait for the complete system to be evolved before claiming to be absolute, and hence, it is held, they possess that character whether or not the system be ever arrived at. A type of these judgments is found in mathematical truth; but, indeed, any scientific judgment tends to claim this attribute. That such judgments may be absolute per se, can also be justified by pointing out that, even if it be a system that makes them in the long run absolutely true by giving them a place in the absolute system, and though each is absolutely valid at least by means of it, and may therefore legitimately be spoken of as an absolute judgment. A system must be a system of different parts, and the character of the whole is present in each part. This, however, of course, does not claim to regard each as absolute independently of a system. For it seems clearly paradoxical to maintain that a judgment can be absolute both because of its place in a system and yet its quite of that system. It is only in the case of certain judgments that the attribute can be applied. And it will be found that only when a judgment has an individuality of its own does it possess that completeness and indivisibility of the whole system under the use of the term 'absolute.' Individuality, however, is precisely the characteristic of system, whether the range of the system be all-comprehensive or not. Moreover, it is impossible to state a judgment which is definite and restricted in meaning without at the same time by implication excluding from its content other equally definite judgments. What it does not say determines its meaning as well as what it does affirm. To be, therefore, completely true, it involves and is maintained by a wider whole than it explicitly asserts.

II. THE ABSOLUTE IN METAPHYSICS.—This must be treated apart from all else, absolutely. It is a fundamental term of metaphysics to the whole of 'Reality, and whether or not it is true that knowledge contains or covers all Reality, certainly it is true that Reality as a whole includes knowledge. Hitherto the term has been discussed mainly as an attribute of a subject. In metaphysics it is used as a subject of all possible predication, and therefore itself incapable of being a predicate. The transition to the substantive use of the term is fairly obvious. It consists simply in transforming a supreme quality into the name for the supreme subject of all qualities, as much as is done in the case of 'cause'; for example, when we speak of the first cause. When we use the term 'absolute' in this connexion, we have in mind primarily the general ideas of 'all-containing,' 'all-requiring,' 'all-embracing,' 'all-inclusive,' 'all-ground of all finite'; and such-like, all of them, in the long run, implying that the Reality so described combines in itself those positive and negative characteristics above mentioned. The way the term may be understood is vague, and better than meaningless. But that criticism is over hasty, since it is the aim of a metaphysical theory to determine what the full meaning of the
term is; and obviously that meaning cannot be given in the mere description of the signification of a word, which can in point of fact be used by a great variety of theories. Indeed, to regard the term as wholly and essentially indeterminate, is legitimately possible only as the result of a theory.

When the Absolute, then, is said to be the object-matter of metaphysics, we have to understand the term as the designation of the one all-inclusive uniting principle of whatever experience contains. From the point of view of metaphysical knowledge, the Absolute is but nothing more than the existential counterpart of the unity of experience, such knowledge postulates as a precondition of its progress, and the elucidation of which constitutes the achievement of the aim and ideal of metaphysics. It is therefore at the outset quite colourless; any more definite specification of its nature is possible only in virtue of a metaphysical theory. Thus for metaphysics it is simply a problem, and not an assumption, whether the Absolute is ‘personal’ or a ‘cause,’ or ‘real’ or an ‘appearance,’ or all or none of these. Only metaphysical inquiry can determine legitimately how far the Absolute contains the one fact in and of itself, if any, it is primarily. It is evident that this must be so, when we reflect that if it were not true, the mere meaning of the Absolute would give a solution of metaphysical question. Certainly it is, we sometimes find more, and sometimes less, imported into the idea. But if this is done before the inquiry, we must regard the fact as merely a peculiarity of the thinker, which does not affect the principle here laid down; whereas, if it is done at the end of the inquiry, that is quite legitimate, a necessary result, indeed, of having a theory at all.

If we bear this in mind, we can see at once the distinction between the metaphysical conception of the Absolute and the religious idea of God. The latter always involves personality—at least, spirituality in some form or other; the former does not. Both name the whole, and the same whole. But whereas religion is bound to do it by a certain category, to satisfy certain human needs, metaphysics is not committed to any category at all. It may well be that the legitimate conception of metaphysics satisfies the demands of the religious consciousness. But it may not.

Hence the possibility of conflict between the two, which we find historically as a fact. In the long run, the term ‘God’ in religion and ‘the Absolute’ in metaphysics must, if the religious mood is valid, be the same in meaning; if not, one of them will inevitably condemn the claims of the other, for both seek to express the same whole. But it has to be borne in mind at the outset, that while the God of religion must be the Absolute, the Absolute of metaphysics may or may not be conceived of as the God that will satisfy the religious mind; that will depend entirely on how the Absolute is interpreted by metaphysics.

The metaphysical problem, then, regarding the Absolute, resolves itself into the question how to conceive the nature of the principle which is at once all-inclusive in the manifold ways that make up experience. The problem is one of interpretation, not of discovery; for it is assumed that knowledge by which we conceive and think the nature of the Absolute itself falls within the province of this science, not the actual existence of the Absolute, which a process of discovery seeks to do, is thus logically absurd. At the same time, since the knowledge, which in a great variety of hypotheses we derive from the one-all, is the relatively subordinate question, regarding the relation between our knowledge and the whole which contains it, may well press for solution before the interpretation of the whole in the strict sense is given. Thus, in general, the metaphysical problem is a twofold one—(1) The relation of our knowledge to the Absolute; (2) The nature of the principle constituting the Absolute.

(1) Relation of knowledge to Absolute Reality.— On this subject two different views have been held. We must be content here to indicate the source of these differences.

(a) In the first place, it is held that, because our knowledge is anterior to the Absolute, and this factor or process in it, and works by its own peculiar conditions, it is not merely unequal to grasping the whole, but that it is logically meaningless to attempt the task. We can think it possible only by making the Absolute a part with which our knowledge, as another part, stands in relation. But the Absolute, being the whole, cannot logically be treated as a part in any sense. Or the same position is maintained when it is said that the unity of the whole cannot be itself an object for the subject thinking or knowing. The distinction between subject and object is fundamental for knowledge, and the object must not be presented to the subject before it can be known. But a whole which includes by hypothesis the subject cannot be presented or given in this way. Therefore the Absolute as a whole, we cannot, and so with the nature and naming of knowledge. And since there is no other way of knowing than by way of a relation between subject and object, the attempt to know the Absolute in any sense is logically impossible.

The issue here is what may be called metaphysical agnosticism resting on the basis of epistemological ‘criticism.’ A recent representative of this view is Adamsen (see Development of Modern Philosophy and other Lectures). It admits only empiricism or ‘naturalism’ and epistemology within the range of positive human knowledge. The line of argument against this position would be—(1) That the distinction and relation of subject and object must itself imply in some sense a unity between them, which is not simply imagined as outside the two terms, but is constitutive of this connexion, and necessary to it; (2) that the apprehension of something cannot logically be denied, asserted, or criticised by reference to the relational process which this unity constitutes; (3) that the unity is, from our point of view, an ideal; and an ideal in the nature of the case cannot be given or presented as a fact, either at the beginning of experience as such, or even at the end as such; for it determines and embraces the entire content from first to last, and must therefore be grasped in that sense.

(b) Another view of the relation of knowledge to Absolute which contains it, is that which regards the subject-mind and its processes, among which falls knowledge, as forming an ultimate element in the unity of the whole. The other element, in itself generically distinct from the former, may be described as the object world of ‘nature’ and natural processes. We remain the two between them exclusive of the content of the metaphysics. As far as our experience is concerned. The Absolute per se is not one any more than the other; it is both, but may be either one or other. In any case it is known only in its virtuality, in so far as the appearance, but it still has a nature of its own behind the appearances, its being per se. Our knowledge belongs to and has to do with the sphere of appearances, and therefore its knowledge justly to the one-all, as adequate to what the Ultimate Reality is per se; on the contrary, its origin and its processes necessarily
confine it to the phenomenal. Still, the absence of knowledge does not involve an entirely negative attitude to the Absolute. The mere fact that knowledge belongs to the sphere of appearance points to a certain attitude, or, in other words, the actual existence of an attitude distinct from knowledge, and one which can be concerned with the Absolute per se. We may call this attitude belief, or metaphysical agnosticism. As long as we bear in mind that its purport is to deal with this Ultimate Reality. Hence, while from the point of view of reflexion or knowledge in its various forms, scientific or otherwise, there is no approach to the Absolute, there is a way open in another direction, and this may constitute a specific mood of our lives, the mood, e.g., of religion.

This is the point of view of metaphysical agnosticism, which appeals for its justification to the anthropomorphic character of knowledge, and rests, on the one hand, upon a psychological analysis of knowledge, and, on the other, upon the necessary limitations of scientific reflexion by which alone knowledge is attained. One of its best-known representatives in recent times is Spencer (see his First Principles). The argument against this view takes the form of showing (1) the radical contradiction of the Absolute with the Absolute as an Ultimate Reality, in the idea of appearances per se, which leaves the nonmneval reality unrevealed, i.e., appearances of what does not appear; (2) that the Absolute is so far known in that it is conceived to have certain characteristics, and at least to be related to its appearances in a certain way; (3) that the psychological history of knowledge, and even the essential anthropomorphism of knowledge, do not necessarily prove either that Spirit may not express the Ultimate Reality more truly than Force, or that Spirit and Force have equal value as forms of the Absolute.

(c) A third view of the relation of knowledge to the Absolute finds a typical expression in the interpretation developed by Bradley in his Appearance and Reality. Raising his conception of knowledge partly on psychological, partly on logical and epistemological considerations, he insists that knowledge strictly understood is relational in character. It requires for its operation something given, an existential fact over against thought or the ideal process. This antithesis and duality of the terms in view, also restricts its activity and precision, and limits the range of the value in experience of the function of reflective knowledge. It can, for example, never exhaust the given, the 'that', without losing the precision of its own operation and so disappearing. If it had the 'that' within itself, the operation would be both unnecessary and impossible. Since this fails without itself, there always remains, so far as reflective knowledge is concerned, a surd in our experience. The distinction between knowledge and the real never passes into an existential continuity of content. 'Knowledge is unequal to the real'; it is relational, and not inherently self-complete; it is not self-sufficient; it is an 'appearance' of the Absolute. Hence by reflective knowledge the Absolute cannot be expressed. But just as psychologically there is an infra-relational level of feeling-experience out of which knowledge arises, so there is the development of the distinction of the 'what' from the 'that', so there is a supra-relational level of experience which transcends knowledge. This supra-relational level is akin or analogous to the infra-relational level, in that positively there is in both a direct continuity of experience, and negatively both are realized apart from the distinctions which characterize the infra-relational thought. But, while the former has the sense of a unity, the latter consists rather of mystical insight or intuition. At this highest level the apprehension of the Absolute as such is possible and is attained. It does not abolish the distinctions determined by the procedure of relational thought; it retains them, not, however, as distinctions, but as constituents in the unique acts which characterize the intuitive apprehension of the whole as such. Hence, while the Absolute is thus beyond knowledge and knowledge, it is not beyond conscious experience at its highest level. It gives us the Absolute with and in its appearances, and not apart from them.

The general objection to this view of the relation of knowledge to the Absolute is its emphasis on the discontinuity between relational and supra-relational 'thought.' It seems to refuse with one hand what it gives with the other. A supra-relational thought transcending the conditions of that critical reflexion which works by distinctions, lays itself open to the attack of sceptical negation by its very attempt to transcend it. Either it is justified or it is not. In the former case it cannot adopt the methods of systematic reflexion to defend its position; in the second, there is nothing to distinguish its attitude from caprice and mere dogmatic assertion. Moreover, even the apprehension of the 'higher unity' must prove itself inadequate and coherent, while the parts distinct from one another and claiming recognition as distinct. The privileges of mere mysticism are inseparable from the dangers of pure individualism. From mysticism, as the confessed negation of knowledge, the transition is easy to sheer scepticism, which makes the same profession.

(2) The nature of the Absolute.—The metaphysical interpretation of the Absolute is determined in the long run by the emphasis laid on the essential factors involved in the problem of construing its meaning. The factors are: subject in relation to object within a unity which holds those ultimate elements in their relation, whatever that relation be. The problem is to determine this unity with the elements which stand thus related. We shall merely indicate the different interpretations given, without developing those interpretations into any detailed system. The systems in all their detail constitute the various metaphysical theories which make up the history of philosophy.

(a) We may take our stand on the subject with its great recesses from the object and proceed to the idea that the object-world falls within the range of the subject's activity, which by implication, therefore, also contains all that constitutes the unity in which object and subject are bound up together. We may accomplish this result in various ways, but the essential principle is the same.

(b) We may so resolve the object into the being of the subject as to destroy even the semblance of distinction, and certainly all the opposition they may prima facie present. This is the position adopted by pure Solipsism. (b) We may again seek to secure to the object its claim to be distinctive, but may endeavour to show that the ground of that distinctiveness which possesses consciousness, and the latter consists rather of mystical insight or intuition.
is here conceived in a much wider sense than that involved in the case of the external world. It embodies all those objects which are of other things, of other selves, and society, as well as the ‘outer world’ found by perception. The last, in fact, is merely a particular realization of a more fundamental objectivity which we meet with primarily in the subject world. The more thorough-going and more comprehensive expression of Subjective Idealism is found in Fichte.

(b) Again, we may start from the basis of the object-world and resolve the whole of nature into, and with that the unity containing subject and object, into the forms and processes of the object-world. Everything will here depend on what constituents of the object-world are regarded as ultimate and primary. This will determine the form assumed by the interpretation. The strongest case historically has been made for the theory which takes physical matter and physical energy as the fundamental elements with which we have to deal. The developed expression of this view takes the form of what is called variously Materialism, Naturism, or Physical Realism.

(c) Once more, we may start explicitly by laying stress neither on the subject nor on the object, but on their unity as such. This may take different forms. (a) We may take subject and object to be, from the point of view of their interdependence, of equal, and hence significant in its constitution.

The unity being neither specially, is as such equally indifferent to each. But since these, nevertheless, are all it does contain, it is per se indeterminate; it is the indifferent neutron in which both merely subsist. So far as any interpretation of it is to be given, we can express its nature either from the side of the object or from the side of the subject. Either point of view is equally valid, since a neutral unity, which is indifferent one factor as much as the other, is equally both. It must be expressible in either way, for, if it were neither, it would be nothing. This is in the main the position of Schelling.

(d) Again, we may start from the unity and develop an interpretation of it by taking the unity to be one factor more than the other. In this case there is for the unity an inequality of value between the two elements which constitute it. It is therefore not one as much as the other, and is not indifferent to either. It is one more than the other. It is thus not a colourless neuron, but a concrete whole, of which each is a phase or a different level of reality. It is not, as all interpretation of it is to be given, we can express its nature either from the side of the object or from the side of the subject. Either point of view is equally valid, since a neutral unity, which is indifferent one factor as much as the other, is equally both. It must be expressible in either way, for, if it were neither, it would be nothing. This is in the main the position of Schelling.

(e) But we may also conceive the problem in the same concrete way, and take the subject factor as primary, and the object reality as subsidiary. Here we shall have to consider another category, and by another method of connecting the elements involved. We lay stress, not on the impersonal attitude towards objectivity, which characterizes the physical and mathematical consideration of the object-world, and which dissipates the subject life into its processes, but on the personal attitude, which is found in its highest expressions in morality and religion. In these the object-world, so far from being primary, is subsidiary to personal or spiritual ends. We shall therefore take the principle to be, not Nature, but Spirit. The ultimate category will be not ‘Substance,’ but ‘Subject.’ The essential method of establishing connexion with the whole will be not external necessity, but internal necessity, the necessity of ideals and purposes, the necessity which is Freedom. The process of connecting the factors inside the unity of the whole will be that which, accepting the ethical and religious insistence on the subordination of the object-world, shows the latter to be in its essence an imperfect realization of the nature of Spirit, and that therefore, at once arising out of, rising above, realizing and so retaining the true significance of Nature. This will be done by showing the content of the whole in its different moments to be simply the logically necessary evolution of the one final principle; which would not be itself unless it manifested itself in varying degrees of completeness of expression. These degrees form distinct and seemingly separate aspects of reality, but to the one supreme Reality they are merely stages in the realization of its single and self-complete spiritual existence. Such an interpretation, expressed essentially in the same general form, is that which shows Spirit to be the most vital and fundamental category in the history of man’s spiritual life, and amongst them seem to exhaust the possible interpretations of the ultimate unity of experience. It would be out of place here to try to consider this method of connexion, which is not concerned to give a metaphysical theory of the Absolute, but to indicate what theories have been propounded.

The various ways of construing the meaning of the Absolute are the supreme test of the supreme place in the history of man’s higher spiritual life, and amongst them seem to exhaust the possible interpretations of the ultimate unity of experience. It would be out of place here to try to consider this method of connexion, which is not concerned to give a metaphysical theory of the Absolute, but to indicate what theories have been propounded.
ABSOLUTE (Vedantic and Buddhistic).

In India a broad conception of the Absolute is first met with in the Upanisads, compiled about B.C. 500. There Brahma, the All-pervading Being, is described as the One Reality, or the Absolute, who is self-supporting and self-existent.

'He has no hands or legs, but He can catch and move; He has no eyes or ears, but He can see and hear; He knows all, but there is none who knows Him; He is called the Good and Great Being. Upon Him the sun cannot shine, nor the lightning. Wherever the sun shines, there are flowers; how can the fire? They all reflect His radiant light, and through Him they shine and act.'

Since B.C. 500 the doctrine of the Absolute has been considerably developed in the Vedanta and Buddhist systems of philosophy. In the Brahma-sutras, the first work of the Vedanta philosophy composed (c. 500 B.C.), the Absolute is spoken of as the pure 'Being' who, associated with the principle of illusion (mâyá), is enabled to project the appearance of the world, just as a magician is enabled to produce illusory appearances of animate and inanimate beings. When the veil of illusion is withdrawn, the phenomenal world vanishes, and Brahma asserts himself in his true nature, which is nothing but the self-existent Absolute. Absolute is also called Brahmân, the Alpha and Omega. The doctrine of the Absolute is styled monism (advaita-ëva). It underwent further developments at the hands of Saṅkarāchārya (A.D. 785), Śaṅkara-vācya, and Śāntideva, the Buddha-Seer, who flourished about A.D. 500. In the Sutta and Abhidhamma paññâkāsas of the Pâli Scriptures, supposed to have been delivered by Buddha himself, the doctrine of the Absolute is designated as the philosophy of the Void (śūnyatvâ) or the Middle Path (pariññâ paradoxâ), according to which the world is neither real nor unreal, nor both, nor neither. In the Sanskrit works of the Mahâyâna Buddhists, such as in the Mahâbuddhakārikâ-Sutra (of Nâgârjuna) and the Lankâvatâra-Sutra (about A.D. 400). Lalitavistâra (about A.D. 100), Prâjñâpâramitâ (about A.D. 200), etc., the doctrine has been further developed, and has often been styled the 'phenomenal doctrine' (vâsanâratvâdâ), or the 'middle ground' doctrine (antar-bhûmikâ). In order to understand the Buddhist doctrine of the Absolute, we may suppose that Indian philo-
sophers are mainly divided * into three classes: (1) Realists (âstika), (2) Nihilists (âsatika), and (3) Absoluteists (advayâdâ). Some sections of the Chârvâkas, who maintained that the world is neither real or not real, and not existing,—that is, who emphasize the negative aspect of the world,—are designated Nihilists or Negativists. The proponents of the six orthodox Schools of Hindu philosophy, viz., the Sâkhâyika, Yogi, Nyâya, Vaiśeṣika, Mâyâvâsa, and Vedânta, who maintain that the world is somehow permanent, real, and existent,—that is, who emphasize the positive aspect of the world,—are designated Absoluteists. According to them, there is at least one reality on which the whole world stands. Thus the Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika hold that the material atoms, sky, space, and time, are the permanent entities in the external world, while the souls are the eternal realities in the internal world. The Sâkhâyika and Yoga maintain that nature (prakṛti) is the permanent reality in the external world, while the souls (puruṣa) are the eternal realities in the internal world. The Vedânta school affirms that Brahma, the All-pervading Being, is the one eternal reality in the external as well as in the internal world. So we find that the various theories of the Rationalistic, in spite of their mutual differences in other respects, agree in maintaining that there is at least one permanent reality on which the whole world hinges.

The Buddhists, who maintain that the world is neither real nor unreal, that it is neither an existence nor a non-existence, but transcends both,—that is, who emphasize neither the negative nor the positive aspect of the world, but go beyond both,—are designated the Transcendentalists, Absoluteists, Phenomenalists, Voidists, Agnostics, or the Followers of the Middle Path.

The world, according to the Buddhists, is an aggregate of conditions or relations. Things come into existence in virtue of these relations or conditions. There are infinite kinds of relation, such as the relation of substance and quality, part and whole, cause and effect, etc. Taking the relation of substance and quality, we find that the substance exists only in relation to its qualities, and the latter exist only in relation to the former. Take, for instance, a table. It has a certain weight, colour, taste, size, etc. But the table is never regarded as the repository of these qualities, and the latter exist only as inherent in the former. We cannot conceive a table which has no size, weight, colour, etc., nor can we think of size, weight, etc., apart from the table in which they inhere. Arguing in this way, we find that the parts exist only in relation to the whole, and the whole exists only in relation to the parts. So the eye exists in relation to the colour, and the colour exists only in relation to the eye. Similarly, the fire exists in relation to the fuel, and the fuel exists in relation to the fire. Proceeding in this way, we find that the whole world is resolvable into infinite kinds of relation or condition. The relations or conditions themselves are dependent upon one another. The very notions of 'existence' and 'non-existence' are interdependent, for the one is possible only in relation to the other. Origination and cessation, persistence and discontinuance, unity and plurality, coming and going—these are the eight principal relative conceptions which are the fundamental faults of ignorant minds, which perish with them and wrong judgments arise. People think that the law of coming and going actually operates in the world, that there are in reality persistence and

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** Absolute as a Philosophical Principle.**—(a) Discussion of the term. "The Absolute" is a concept of the relation of the Absolute to knowledge, but it was first developed in the West in the abstract science of Logic. See also Laurie's "Synthesis," vol. II, p. 82ff.


(b) **Interpretations.**—Aristotle, Metaphys.; Bradley, Appearance and Reality; Fichte, Wissenschaftslehre; Hegel, Encyclopædia; Plato, Timaeus, Republic; Royce, World and the Individual; Schelling, Transcendental Ideenans, Naturphilosophie; H. Spencer, First Principles; Spinoza, Etica. For further literature see Baldwin, DIJII, ii. pt. ii. p. 507.

1. **Absolute (Vedantic and Buddhistic).**—In India a broad conception of the Absolute is first met with in the Upanisads, compiled about B.C. 500. There Brahma, the All-pervading Being, is described as the One Reality, or the Absolute, who is self-supporting and self-existent.

"He has no hands or legs, but He can catch and move; He has no eyes or ears, but He can see and hear; He knows all, but there is none who knows Him; He is called the Good and Great Being. Upon Him the sun cannot shine, nor the lightning. Wherever the sun shines, there are flowers; how can the fire? They all reflect His radiant light, and through Him they shine and act."
discontinuance of things, that things do really undergo the states of origination and cessation, and that they are really capable of being counted as one or many; but they are wholly unconscious of the fact that all those ideas are limited, relative, conditional, and therefore not the truth, but merely the production of our imperfect subjective state. Therefore, we should discard in those ideas the principle of misery, and as the people cling to them, their life is a perpetual prey to the changing feelings of exultation and mortification.

Being is nothing but an aggregate of conditions. Now, the conditions themselves are not self-existent, but are dependent upon one another. Those which do not possess self-existence are not real, but merely illusory. Therefore the whole world, as an aggregate of conditions, is a mere illusion. To look upon the world as real is mere folly on our part.

Where conditionality is, there is no truth; truth and conditionality are incompatible. Therefore, to attain to truth, conditionality must be completely cast aside. The eight conditional notions mentioned before must be thoroughly removed, and we should try to see the world as free from all conditionality, and when conditionality is purged from the taint of conditionality, our ignorance will vanish away and the serene moonlight of 'Such-ness' or 'Transcendental Reality,' otherwise known as the Middle Path, will illumine us.

Here questions may be raised as to whether there is actually anything called 'Such-ness,' 'Transcendental Reality,' or the 'Absolute.' In answer to these questions, the Buddhists have said that 'is' and 'is not' we must be satisfied with describing it in our imperfect language as 'Unnameable' and 'Unknowable' (avatthya and anujjñaptiva).

The Nihilists, we have found, say that there is no permanent reality underlying the world. The Realists, on the other hand, affirm that there is at least one eternal Reality from which the world has emanated. The Buddhists, who abhor all sort of dogmatism, the Nihilists and Realists are the holders of extreme views. The philosophy of 'is' or Being and the philosophy of 'is not' or Non-being are equally false. As the Buddhists avoid the philosophy of 'Being' as well as 'Non-being,' and choose a middle path, their ethical doctrine is often called the Middle Path Doctrine.

The Middle Path is to be understood from four standpoints: (1) the Middle Path in contradistinction to one-sidedness, (2) the Middle Path as the abnegation of one-sidedness, (3) the Middle Path in the sense of the absolute truth, and (4) the Middle Path as unity in plurality.

The doctrine of Being held by the Realists and the philosophy of Non-being held by the Nihilists are both of them one-sided and therefore imperfect, because neither the Being nor the Non-being is possible, independently of the other. The doctrine of the Middle Path in contradistinction to one-sidedness, as it repudiates and avoids the two extremes of Being and Non-being. This is the first aspect of the doctrine.

A Middle Path reveals itself when the two extremes are completely out of sight; in other words, the higher conception or idealization of the Middle Path leads to the perfect solution of existence. Neither the philosophy of Being nor the philosophy of Non-being should be adhered to. They condition each other, and anything conditional means misery. Therefore, conditionality of the Middle Path constitutes the second aspect of the Middle Path.

But when we forget that the doctrine of the Middle Path is intended for the removal of all intellectual prejudices, and cling to or assert the view that there is something called Middle Path beyond or between the two extremes of Being and Non-being, we commit the fault of one-sidedness over again, by creating a third statement in opposition to the two. As long as the truth is absolute and discards all limitations, clinging even to the Middle Path is against it. Thus we must avoid not only the two extremes but also the middle, and it should not be forgotten that the phrase 'Middle Path' has, from the deficiency of our language, been provisionally adopted to express the human conception of the highest truth.

The fundamental concept of the Middle Path is that it does not lie beyond the plurality of existence, but is in it underlying all. The antithesis of Being and Non-being is made possible only through the conception of the Middle Path, which is the unifying principle of the world. Remove this principle, and the world will fall to pieces, and the particular will cease to be. The Middle Path doctrine does not deny the existence of the world as it appears from all contradictions, or the contrary, the doctrine which clings to the conception of Absolute Nothing. What the doctrine most emphatically maintains is that the world must be conceived in its totality—in its oneness, that is, from the standpoint of the Middle Path.

Nirvana, according to the Vedantists, is the absorption of the self into the Absolute. The Absolute, we have found, is something which is free from all contradictions, and which cannot be expressed in terms of 'is' and 'is not.' As soon as one reaches the Absolute, conditionality vanishes. This state is called Nirvana. It is the harmonization of all contradictions. In this state, unity is harmonized with plurality, origination and cessation are accomplished in one and the same way, persistence is unified with discontinuance, and one and the same law operates in the acts of creation, maintenance and dissolution. Therefore, the Middle Path is against the idea that an unconditional condition in which Being and Non-being are unified. All conditionality having disappeared, our veil of ignorance is withdrawn. The fabric of the world, including that of the self, breaks up, leaving us to be identified with the Infinite, the Eternal, the Uncreated, the Unconditioned, the Formless, the Void. This is the state of Nirvana. The finite mind altogether fails to comprehend this state, and no language can give adequate expression to it.


SATS CHANDRA VIDYADHUSAN.
ABSOLUTION (religious and ethical value of).

1. The idea of Absolution, as it appears in the Christian Church, is closely connected with two other ideas—the idea of sin, and the idea of the Church as a society. It is maintained, and may be true, that many of the practices and associations connected with Absolution took their origin in a state of mind to which ceremonial solemnity seemed the thing most to be dreaded; but this fact, if it be a fact, does not affect the Christian view of Absolution. To the Christian mind, absolution is required when sin has been committed; why, or to what end, and with what condition, it has been given to a moral law, which expresses the will of God, and the breach of which tends to separation from God. A soul, when it has sinned, requires to be forgiven; otherwise it remains in a permanent condition of alienation from God; and the authoritative declaration of its freedom from guilt, and reconciliation with God, is its absolution.

2. It is important that this should not be confused with the consciousness in the sinner that his sin is forgiven. The declaration of his freedom, however conveyed, may fail to carry conviction to his mind; or, again, he may have the strongest possible sense of forgiven sin without a declaration. Such absolution, however, is not necessary; it may do so, but it is not necessary that they should.

3. Though we have considered only the relation of the individual soul and God. We have imagined the soul standing, as it were, alone in the world before the eyes of God, and receiving from Him the declaration of absolution. We have abstracted altogether this one pure and unbroken condition from all its concomitants, the nature of sin, the ground of forgiveness, and the like. But it is plain that this abstract isolation is not the normal condition of any human soul. Every soul has an environment, which it affects, and by which it is affected; and no question of guilt or innocence, forgiveness or condemnation, is limited to the individual by himself. This truth, which goes far back into the history of man's ideas about himself, is emphatically presented in the Bible. Thus Ps 51, which gives expression most poignantly to the sense of personal guilt, also represents the sinner as pleading the righteousness of God. Isaiah (6) is conscious not only that he is a man of unclean lips, but that he dwells among a people of unclean lips. Not only is sin a personal act of rebellion, but it produces a sinful atmosphere, a condition of alienation from God. In like manner, the absolution or declaration of freedom from sin cannot concern the individual alone: it must have an eye also to the society in which he lives and to his relations towards it.

4. We are not here concerned with the nature or process of forgiveness, or even with the conditions of it as regards God. The idea of Absolution brings forward only the place of sin and forgiveness in the Christian Society. It is not hard to illustrate this from the NT. We may notice, at once, the following points:—(1) It can scarcely be questioned that the Christian Society set out with an ethical purpose, and a sense of sin; within which the remission of sins; and those who had become members of it were expected to lead a new life, abstaining from the sins which beset them in their former lives. Admission to it was by repentance, and by submitting to the rite which figured forth the remission of sins; and those who had become members of it were expected to lead a new life, abstaining from the sins which beset them in their former lives. (2) It is not less plain that the existence of a baptismal sin forced a problem upon the attention of the Church with which its representatives were not slow to deal. In doing so, they doubtless rested for their authority on the words of Christ, such as we find in Mt 18:18-19 or Jn 20:23. The Epistles of St. Paul give instances of directions on disciplinary matters (1 Th 5:10, Ro 16:17-18, 1 Ti 4:14-16, and the like). St. Paul clearly contemplates the action of the Society in repressing evil, and even excluding evil-doers. But, of course, the clearest, and most fully described case is that of the incestuous man at Corinth (1 Co 5). Here we find that the Corinthian Church had at first shown laxity in leaving the sin unrebuked. St. Paul, in the most solemn way, announces his decision in the matter (1 Co 5:2 disagreeable to me; the Corinthians clearly give effect to it in some way not recorded; and St. Paul (2 Co 2:10) exhorts them to comfort and restore the offender on his submission. The language used by St. Paul is not free from ambiguity. Though absent, he claims to act as if present at Corinth in association with the Church as a whole. And his judgment is to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord' (1 Co 5:5). It is not clear what exactly is meant by this delivery to Satan, either here or in 1 Ti 1:20; but in both cases it seems to have been intended for discipline—for reformation with a view to restoration, not a final severance from the Society. Though, therefore, we cannot give any detailed description of the disciplinary measures of St. Paul, it is perfectly clear that he claimed to exercise such powers, that in so doing he assumed the co-operation of the Church, and that he regarded his judgments as valid: they are not merely strong expressions of reprobation, but judgments which will have consequences.

5. It has been necessary to approach the subject of Absolution indirectly as a special case of the exercise of discipline, because there is no direct discussion of it in Scripture, and the actual word never occurs. We do find, however, cases in which the Society exercises functions of discipline, such as those above alluded to, and these, when they take the form of an authoritative declaration or absolution, correspond with the idea of Absolution. With these in view, it becomes necessary now to ask, what indications there are, if any, as to its meaning and validity. In answer to this we think that the following points may be safely asserted:—

(1) The acts of the Society in discipline, and so in the exercise of Absolution, are spiritual acts, and have validity in the spiritual world. So much as this appears to follow from such words as Mt 18:18-19 and Jn 20:23: what is bound on earth is bound in heaven: whosoever sins the Society renits or retains, they are remitted or retained. It is true that the overt indication in the world of this disciplinary power consists merely of the confirmation or the withdrawal of the privilege to use the advantages of membership of the Society, to participate in the sacraments and so forth. But the functions of the Society cannot be limited to this. It is a spiritual society formed of persons held, in Christ, in certain close spiritual relations: not a loose aggregate of people individually in union with Christ, and casually connected in an outward social sense. Such a division of inward and outward relations of men in Christ is not Scriptural: the Church is a spiritual society of which the acts take place in the spiritual world: they have efficacy upon the spiritual world of the same kind, because they are already spiritually valid, not vice versa.

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ABSTRACTION—ABSTRACTION

(2) The view of sin which makes the whole conception of Absolution possible is ethical and not logical, like the Church understands as requiring Absolution not merely overt acts which carry legal consequences in the State, but inward conditions, of which there is nothing more to be said than that they imply a tendency to rebellion against God. But, like the Church, confining the gate of persons on its outward and social side, it could have no more concern with these things than the State: it claims that inward sins of the heart must be put away before the man can enjoy its privileges, because it is a spiritual society acting in the spiritual world.

(3) The exercise of discipline upon such conditions as these depends upon the voluntary acquiescence of the individual in the purpose of the society. The Church is, no doubt, at liberty to say that it will not permit membership except upon condition of such acquiescence, and will punish any disloyalty to the principle. But it must trust ultimately to the unrestrained and uncontrolled power of the individual to obey the rule. The mode in which the rule is administered may vary widely from time to time: it is carried out by a general formula of confession and absolution, but in abnormally exigent cases, it may be provided for by abjuration by an accredited minister, or by open individual confession and absolution in the public service of the Church. But the Church cannot, so long as it claims to be a spiritual society, demand or relinquish responsibility for the spiritual condition of its members.

It lies outside the scope of this article to consider the various canonicical questions which have arisen in the course of history over this matter. We will only add here the following remarks: (1) It is in no way conflicts with the view here adopted that absolution may be, and has been, fraudulently administered. The whole problem of the visible Church is, and has always been, to make the outward order correspond with the spiritual reality it expresses: and it has always been impeded by sin. The individual who seeks absolution without penitence, or the priest who fraudulently declares him absolved, commits a great sin; just as Anas and Sibylle of Zinnoe communicated a great sin. But the fact that insincere penitence or fraudulent absolution has occurred in the Church no more disturbs its general character and principles, than did the fraud of Anas and Sibylle or the base motive of Simon Mago. The action of the Church and the persons affected by it are not therefore necessarily judged by the action of such disorders in the outward history of the Church.

It is to be denied that the great errors have come from the misuse of the disciplinary power of the Church, especially of one particular mode of administering it: and the existence of such is not sufficient to make such errors into disrepute. At the same time, it is difficult to read the Epistles of St. Paul, especially those written against those who withdraw from the internal conditions of the early Society of Christians, without feeling how largely the Church depended for its advance upon a strong discipline, fearlessly exercised over its members. The case at Corinth, to which we have already referred, was, we may hope, exceptional. Yet a very serious situation would clearly have arisen if it had not been for St. Paul's action. The sin was one which public opinion among the pagans condemned (1 Co 5), but the machinery of the Church, as it was, provided apparently no means of dealing drastically with it: St. Paul's strong denunciation was required to meet the case of Corinthians to the necessary severity. It is easy to see from this, and the impression is continually confirmed by early Church history, that a weak discipline implies a feeble consciousness of the Church's moral standard, and allows the existence within its pale of whole schools of men and more worldly ideals beside it own. It would be difficult to deny that the almost total absence of discipline of any kind in modern Christian communities bears a similar implication.

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J. B. BAILLIE.

ABSTINENCE—See Asceticism.

ABSTRACTION (abs-trah'-shun, 'to draw off or separate') is the separation or detachment of one part or element in a total experience from the whole to which it belongs. To abstract is thus to isolate any portion of the content of experience from its setting, and to consider it for the time being as it is in itself, 'loose and separate' from the structural and functional relations which belong to it in the concrete conscious life. Psychologically, Absolution is the necessary condition and accompaniment of Attention (which see). To attend to one object of experience implies the withdrawal of the attention from the members to the rule of the object.

Professor James (Princ. of Psychology, 140) says: Attention 'is the taking possession by the mind, in clear and vivid form, of one out of several simultaneously present objects, stimuli or trains of thought. Focalization, concentration, of consciousness is of all the relations of the mind to, and the abstraction by, an accredited minister, or by open individual confession and absolution in the public service of the Church. But the Church cannot, so long as it claims to be a spiritual society, declare or relinquish responsibility for the spiritual condition of its members.

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structure, but with its function or purpose in the development of the intellectual life. This distinction of standpoint does much to clear away the difficulties and confusions which attended the older discussions of the subject. For example, it puts in a quite different light Berkeley regarding the existence of abstract general ideas. It is possible to grant Berkeley's contention that abstract ideas must exist psychologically as particulars, without at the same time maintaining that as functions of the knowledge-process, i.e., as logical ideas, they necessarily transcend their individual mode of existence and are real universals.

The question then arises as to the relation of the knowledge-process to the ideas viewed as psychical content. Can the psychological states of consciousness be regarded as the original form from which the logical idea is derived by abstraction? This has been very commonly maintained. Mr. F. H. Bradley tells us that a logical meaning "consists of a part of the content (original or acquired) cut off, fixed by the mind, and considered apart from the form on which the abstraction is based." The whole trend of modern logic (including Mr. Bradley's own work) shows conclusively, however, that it is impossible to begin with 'mental states' and pass by way of abstraction to ideas. Logically, the cognitive side of consciousness, as at first made up of particular images or ideas, is now acknowledged to be a fiction. And similarly we must reject the quasi-mechanical account of the formation of general ideas which is based on this fiction, according to which we are said first to abstract the common element from the particular images and then proceed further to generalize it, thus in some mysterious way transforming it into a logical idea. But we cannot derive knowledge from an introspective process, and therefore must postulate that consciousness is from its first beginnings a process of interpretation and generalization. It starts from a content that is a vague presentation continuous, lacking both differentiation and integration, and, as such, not yet either particular or universal. It is the work of intelligence to transform this into a coherent system of parts. Now it must constantly be borne in mind that it is within this total knowledge-process, and as contributory to it, that abstraction finds its function and justification. It is not the end or essence of thinking, but a process or method of the development of its own ends. The purpose which it fulfills is closely related to that of Analysis, though the specific method of abstraction has its own differentiation from the respective idea which guides it," says Bosanquet, "is the equivalent in general knowledge of the mathematical axiom that if equals be taken from equals the remainders are equal. But, as within any real whole the withdrawal of one part never leaves the other parts unaffected, the guiding idea of abstraction is only provisional. It amounts to no more than this, that within known wholes known changes may appear to leave remainders known as 'abstract.'"

Abstraction as a specific process is thus only a provisional expedient, and, unless corrected by a more adequate conception of the nature of the whole, it is likely in most fields to lead to error. But thinking proceeds both by generalization and abstraction, and these two moments are never entirely distinct and separate. Aristotle, and the formal logicians following him, have seemed to oppose Abstraction (Logik, ii, 222) and Generalization (praksheya). When, however, we emphasize the unity of the intellectual process within which both these functions operate, we see that the opposition can never be more than relative. Abstraction and Determination, like Analysis and Synthesis (within which they may be said to be included), imply each other as complementary moments of real thinking. The goal which thought seeks is not to be gained by passing to the highest abstraction; for this is the emptiness of all thought. Nor can it be reached by the determination of a plurality of particulars. But the methods of abstraction and determination must unite in defining experience in terms of a concrete universal. It is against the totalitarianism, against making isolation and mutilation the same thing as thinking, and thus neglecting the organic wholeness and unity of things, that Hegel's criticism is chiefly directed. The process of abstraction is for him never an end in itself, but only a means in the progress towards greater unity and concreteness.

[The rest of the text contains a detailed discussion of various philosophical ideas and their implications, but is not transcribed here due to its length and complexity.]
ABUSE, ABUSIVE LANGUAGE

said, disturbed the performance of the rites of Siva on the hill. Visvánitra, another sage, appealed to the gods, who proceeded to the spot, and out of the Agrikuda, or fire-pit, in which the first sacrifice was performed, created the four Agrikulad, or 'fire-born' septs—Chauhan, Parisara, Solanki, and Parmara, who destroyed the Daityas, and restored the cult of Siva. Both these legends seem to indicate some early conflict of rival cults, the nature of which is unknown.

The chief Hindu religious sites are, first, the crowning peak of Guru Sikhar, where in a cavern are to be seen the images of the three Dātarvija, presided over by some dissolute-looking Ganapati priests, and those of Rāmānanda, the great apostle of the Vaishnava cults. At the temple of Achala Deva, which is now, according to Consens, in a state of deplorable decay and neglect, is shown the toe-nail of Siva in a cleft of the rock. His female counterpart is worshipped as Adharā Devi and Arbuda Mātā, the Mother-goddess of the hill. The sage Vasiṣṭha is honoured at a shrine called Bostojji, or Gaurukotta, 'Cow-mouth,' or said Cousens, man's blacken Lat. the nature and sacrifice coining to indeed. The shrines to Bastojji, or Vasiṣṭha, are described by Fergusson as 'unnerving for certain qualities by any temple in India.' The first was built by Vimāla, a merchant Jain prince, about A.D. 1632, two years after the death of that arch-raider Mahāmid of Ghazni, who desecrated the older temple. It is dedicated to Rishabhadeva, the first Jain arkat, or saint. The original image was destroyed by the Musalmāns, and that now in the temple is the second or perhaps the third in succession. The second great temple was built by the brothers Tejapāla and Vastupāla between A.D. 1197 and 1247. It is in honour of the 23rd arkat, Pūsvanatha, the only one that can be really identified by the manifestly headed serpent's hood which rises above him. Both these temples are built of white marble, though no quarry of this material is known to exist within 30 miles of the spot, and the stone could have been conveyed up the rugged slopes of the hill only by incredible exertions and at enormous cost. Both these remarkable buildings have been fully described by Fergusson, whose account is complemented in part corrected by that of Cousens.

Abū was once the haunt of a colony of those loathsome asetics, the Aghoris, but they have long since disappeared.

LITERATURE.—Todd, Annales of Bojashān, Calcula reprint, l. 202 ff.; Travels in W. India, 131 ff.; Fergusson, Picturesque Illustrations of Architecture in Hindustan, 351, Hist. of Indian Architecture, 1871, ed. 32, J. G. Fergusson, Progress Report, Arch. Survey of W. India, 1901, p. 2 ff.; Rowland, Indian Antiquary, ii. 292 ff. In the editor's note to the last article, Aghori is erroneously given as a supplement to those recorded by H. R. Wilson, Asiatic Researches, xvi. 294 ff. The place has been well described by Major C. A. Baylay in Jolyntana Gazetteer (1890), iii. 129 ff., to which this article is largely indebted.

W. CREW.

ABUSE, ABUSIVE LANGUAGE (Gr. λαοτασία; Lat. contumææ officere, conciviciari; Ger. schimpfen, lätzer; Fr. maudire).—Abuse in general denotes an evil use of a thing caused by excess or injury, but, in particular, denotes the use of authority, or abuse of confidence; 'abuse of privilege,' 'abuse of legal process,' in all of which the use is assumed as determined by corrective public opinion. In all this class of abuse, either in the way of defect or excess, from the mean laid down by corrective justice. In this article we are concerned, however, only with a narrower signification of the term 'abuse,' which it covers, the use of the improper use of language, and yet more narrowly with such an improper use as tends to the injury or harm of another human being. Abuse in this narrower and collective sense, is all that class of injuries which are inflicted on others by the means of language, under the sway of passion or any other motive opposed to the principle of justice, or of love, or of both. It ranges from blasphemy at one end to the 'jesting which is not convenient' at the other, and varies according to the spirit which produces it or the means adopted for its manifestation. It is usefully classified by Aquinas under the heads of contumeliously, detraction (detraction), backbiting (insinuus), ridicule (derision), and cursing (malodietu).

1. Contumely is an injury inflicted in words, whereby some one is said to be denied a quality on account of which he is held in honour, or whereby some concealed fact to his discredit is unnecessarily and uncharitably made public. If, for example, it is said of a man that he is blind, this is an abuse of him. The laws, however, were charged with being a thief. Another and more venal form of abuse is to reflect needlessly on a man's defect, as, e.g., that he is of low birth, or what he has been badly educated, or that he spent a wild and profligate youth, such things being said in order to deprive the person of whom they are said of some honour he has won for himself by virtuous conduct or public service. Such language is to be placed under the general head of contumely, as a form of abusive language which has its root in anger and has pride for its foster-mother. It is a kind of revenge, and is indeed the readiest and easiest form in which revengeful feelings find expression.

2. Detraction differs from contumely both in its object and in its source. It does not seek so much to rob a man of his honour as to blacken his reputation from envy rather than from anger. It effects its purpose (1) directly by bringing a false charge, by exaggerating a fault, by revealing a hidden defect, or by imputing an evil motive; and (2) indirectly, by depreciating, or accusing, of what is meritorious. 'He that slithers from me my good name robs me of that which not enircles him, and makes me poor indeed.' The words used may not be contumelious—in the case of Iago they included both contumeliums and detraction—but they are abuse, and abuse of the worst kind.

3. Backbiting, whispering, or innuendo is another form of abusive language, which has for its object the separating of friends. The detractor abuses language by saying what is evil about his neighbour simpericus; the whisperer injures him simulium quid, viz. by saying of a man what will alienate his friend and its opposite neighbour is so much the greater as the less injury is inflicted, and the loss is the greater as the good taken away is greater. But the loss of a friend is a great loss, and the whisperer is a great whisperer.

4. Ridicule, when apart from love, is a further abuse of language. The three forms of abuse mentioned above tend to deprive a man of some external good, such as honour, reputation, or friends. This abuse, however, denotes the use of inward peace, the testimony of a good conscience. It is to be classed with contumeliously, de-
traction, and whispering as abusive language, but it differs from them in this, it holds a man up to scorn for some evil in him or some defect, and springs from contempt for him,—a contempt which is rooted in pride and finds enjoyment in the contrast between the person and the milchfeet, and which is this special form of abusive language which is condemned by Jesus Christ in the sayings (Mt 5:21) in which He forbids contempt for a man's intellectual qualities (expressed by mous), or for his physical frailties (expressed by eheus). 5. Cursing is abusive language whereby evil is pronounced against a man in the imperative or the optative mode. Words which inflict deserved punishment (as in the case of Gehazi, 2 K 5:27), or state a fact (as in the case of Adam and Eve, Gn 3:6), or express abhorrence of evil in itself (as David and the mountains of Gilboa, 2 S 19:9), or are used symbolically ('Dominus malabilis jaculorum in significatione Judaeon'), do not come under this definition, and are not, therefore, of the nature of abusive language. To curse is 'to pronounce against anyone, in the name of religion, or under the impulse of contempt, a sentence of condemnation or of punishment.' God's name is either explicitly used, or lies implicit in the current forms, especially those in use among the more uncultured classes. To this end, it seems necessary that in these classes sexual processes or aberrations are largely drawn on for the purpose of supplying the vocabulary of abuse, a fact which serves the purpose of demonstrating incidentally the close connection between sensual indulgence and contempt or hatred or scorn of our fellows. The peevishness which finds expression in abusive language directed against others is at bottom a deep-seated discontent with self.

The subject of blasphemy (q.v.) is beyond the scope of this article, and the only remark to be made here about it is that cursing any creature as a creature comes under that head.

Abusive language, when it is used in the hearing of several persons in a public place (even when the name of God is not uttered, but words importing an imprecation of future Divine vengeance only), may constitute profane swearing, and is a nuisance, at any rate, in common law. Blasphemy and profane swearing differ at law only in this, that blasphemy is a word of larger meaning.

LITERATURE.—Thomas Aquinas, Somme, h. ii. 13 and 75-76; Alexander of Hales, Tract. de causis et effectibus, t. v. 'Schlimmen'; Migne, Etym. tom. xxxiii. col. 236 ff.; American and English English of Law, i. & ii. 'Abuse'; Prideaux Orth. Act., 1745; Stephen, on the law of England, iv. 193-194; Town Police Clauses Act, 1834. 185.

W. F. CDR.

ABYSS (σπηραζω).—The Greek word, of which our 'abyss' is a transliteration, occurs in the classics as an adjective signifying 'bottomless,' 'boundless.' It is composed of the intensive ι, and βασκε = Baske, 'depth.' In the LXX it represents τΩθων (των) and ουληθ (ουληθ). Most of the passages in the Bible where it is employed belong to the poetical books, and are of late date. See also that the Pentateuch was the first part of the Bible to be turned into Greek, we must regard Gn 15 as the earliest instance of its use, so far as our investigation is concerned. What, then, is the meaning of τΩθων (των), the word for which it stands? The answer must be sought outside the limits of our extant Heb. literature. Dillmann and others have, indeed, been inclined to derive it from hו (e), 'to roar or rage'; but it is so obviously connected with the τΩθων of Bab. cosmogony that we must look on the τ as part of the root. Jensen's suggestion (adopted in KAT '442) that it is the root of YITOH (τΩθων), 'to stink.' The Oxy. Heb. Lex. argues that τΩθων is probably the root, 'in view of As. τσαντι, ταντι.' In any case, TΩθων, like TΩθων, was a proper noun, 'Deep,' 'the deep.' Frequent as are its appearances in the OT, it is almost invariably without the article. Turning now to that Babylonian conception, of which the Heb. is, if a derivative, 'the abyss,' we find that TΩθων was the dark and watery chaos, the primeval undifferentiated matter, out of which gods and men, heaven and earth sprung. Berossus (c. 275 B.C.) conveys the idea (νωταθων του καιλου), and Wis. 11:7 has the same in view (υνα του καιλου). Such a chaos is postulated in the myths of Egyptians, Phoenicians, Indians, and Greeks. Hesiod, e.g., Theog. 115, asserts: παρα μεν πρωτωσα κτων καιλων ετη ετη Χελατων. The well-known Babylonian legend with the streams and rivers, turn all things into chaos: only when spring returns do land and water take their separate places. This idea reached the Hebrews through the medium of Phoenicians and Canaanites, and was reinforced by a similar Egyptian idea of a boundless primeval water (Νωτος), which filled the universe and contained the germ of all existence. We may therefore say, with Trevis (1308), 'The primordial and lyre of the world in the beginning of the world by not disregarding by certain fourme is called Abyssus.' In it were the potencies of the life that would hereafter appear. The process, according to Gn 1, was one of evolution; according to Gn 1, it was determined wholly by the creative fiat of God.

The memory of the original abyss was kept up by the 'seas' and 'abysses,' which were common in the temples of Babylon. Urinâ of Lagna (c. 400 B.C.) set up a greater and a smaller οπαθ (Gunkel, pp. 28, 153). Argum (c. 17th cent. B.C.) placed a ταντον, or sea, in Marduk's shrine. This was, no doubt, a large basin or 'laver,' similar to the brazen sea of Solomon's temple which stood upon twelve oxen (King, Bab. Bel. (1899) p. 109).

The recalcitrancy of matter and the struggle of darkness against light are portrayed in the myth of TΩθων, as a dragon-like monster, fighting with Marduk, but slain by him. Out of one half of his body he constructed a vault (the earth), the two ends of which rest on the ocean (οπαθ). A similar picture of the position of the earth is preserved in the Heb. poet's mind when he declares that he sent to the Heb. poet's mind when he declares that he sent to the Heb.
Jahweh has ‘founded it upon seas and established it upon floods’ (Ps 24). The disc of the earth rests on the all-surrounding ocean, and the ‘waters under the earth’ are called τῆς οἰκουμῆνας (Gen 1:8; 2:12, 13; 2 Esdr 3:24). Am 7:4; Pr 3:18, 24), whose fountains are broken up at the Flood, from which well up the sources that fertilize the land and (Ezk 31) refresh the trees. It is in this sense that Clem. Rom. (I. xx.) speaks of the inscrutable depths of the abysses (ἀβυσσόν, τὰ ἀνέχεσθαι). Tresivy also says: ‘Abyssus is despesse of water vnsce, and thereof come and springe wellles and ryvers.’

Τῆς οἰκουμῆνας (Gen 1:8; 2:12, 13; 2 Esdr 3:24) is a frequent designation of the oceans and seas, without any reference to their being ‘under the earth.’ And although there is no trace of the refractoriness of matter in the narrative of Gen 1, this comes out strongly in many references to the sea (Is 52:8, 11; Jer 5:5; Ps 77:104; 106:12; 107:13-14; 89; Job 7:1; 26:13; 32:8-9; Sir 43:2, Pr. Man. 3, En 60:2, Rev 21:1).

The question has been raised whether the τῆς οἰκουμῆνας of Ps 24:2 should not be corrected to τῶν ἀλόγων (cf. Ps 63:10, 134, Is 44:2). However that may be, the LXX has ‘abysses’ (ἄβυσσος), which word, either in the sing. or the plur., became one of the names for Hades. In the classical terminology the οἰκουμήναν of the invisible world, from which the persecuted are to be brought back again. The Bab. scheme of the universe also locates the abode of the dead in the heart of the earth, making the entrance thereto lie in the extreme west (KAT 1365), designating it ‘the country whence none return,’ dividing it into seven zones, corresponding to the seven planetary spheres (Lenormant, Child, Magic, 165, 169); cf. Mt 12:30, Pr 23:18. Enoch (175) sees in it the great streams and the great flood, and enters into the great darkness [of Hades], into which all flesh comes. In the only classical passage where ἄβυσσος is a noun, it is employed for Hades (Diog. Laer. Epig. iv. 27, χοῦς κατάθη, εἰς ἀλόγων Πλοῦς ἄβυσσον οὐκ). To take yet another step is easy. εἷς ἄβυσσος (Job 41:17) is represented in the LXX by τῶν ἀλόγων τῆς οἰκουμῆνας. This is a free translation by an Alexandrian Hellenist, who knew his classics (Svete, Introd. to OT in Greek, pp. 256, 318), and remembered that Tartarus was a prison, a murky pit, into which Zeus threatens to cast any god who may ‘vim contemnere’ (st. 4, 11-16), as far beneath Hades as this is below the earth (cf. Τάρατρα τ’ ἑβρεόντα μηχὸς χήρως εἰρωνεύει, Hes. Theog. 120; Now at Job 38:14 Shool is at the bottom of the sec, and we here (41:17 LXX) find hell in the same locality, for the sea-monster Leviathan considers the Tartarous of the abyss his captive. The Book of Enoch often speaks of the abyss as a place of punishment. The traveller reaches a deep abyss, in which are lofty pillars of fire, into which they prostrate (181-19). Here is the prison of the rebellious angels; he sees a place with a cleft of chaos (χασάρα) running down into the abyss. Uriel informs him that the angels are imprisoned therein; just as the sun, moon, and stars, which were found guilty and cast into an abyss full of fire (960). English writers have freely used the word as an equivalent for ‘hell, 187. The abyss,’ ‘great abyss’ (On Ro 10). ‘Ipsa anima fuit in abysso’ (Ambrose). The impression con-

voked by St. Paul’s language is of the vastness of that realm, as of one that we should vainly attempt to explore. The abyss communicates with our earth by a pit or shaft (φάραγ), Rev 9:13, with which is connected the βασαρά of En 21:1 should be compared. Accord-
ing to the Tractate Sukkah of the Talmud, the mouth of this pit is under the foundations of the temple, and can be closed by magical formulæ: ‘Qui habes in fossa, bene explicavest abyssum mundum submersum. Dixit David: Estne hic, qui sciat, an lecet testes inseribere nomen inerfile, et projeciesse illum in abyssum, ut quasiesset?’ (Boussct, Die Offen-

barung Johannis, p. 251). When the φάραγ of Rev 9 is opened, there issue from it poisons, stinging locusts, which cause exquisite anguish to men. Over them is a king, ‘the angel of the abyss,’ whose Greek name, Ἀπολλων, represents pretty accurately his Heb. title Adadlon. This is a different point of view from that of En 20, where Uriel is designated the holy angel who presides over both the angelic host and Tartarus. At Pr 15:25-27, and may be the reason why the two Bibles make it a name of the lowest pit of hell. The abyss, then, in the present passage, as in Lk 8:31, is the abode of the ministers of torment, from which they go forth to torment. In the Babylonian documents, demons and spirits of disease proceed from hell: ‘They, the productions of the infernal regions, On high they bring trouble, and below they bring confusion.’ (Lenormant, Child, Magic, p. 30).

The Rabbis, too, represent Sammael and his angels as emerging from abysses (Eisenmenger, Dämonologie, ii. 339 f.). The abyss of Rev 11:17 is put in the same light: a beast which occasions calamities to the saints arises out of it. The dragon, ‘that old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan,’ is shut up therein, (Rev 20:2) and the mouth is sealed for a thousand years. The language in which this is set forth should be compared with Prayer of Manasses 3: τὸ κεφαλή τῆς θλίψεως τοῦ ἄγγελον τοῦ νεροῦ τῆς θλίψεως; τὸ κεφαλή τοῦ εὐβοίατος καὶ τὸ κεφαλή τοῦ ἐλάχιστον ὠραίων τοῦ ἄγγελον τοῦ καθαρίσματος. In the Ritual Haggadah, part of the formula of Exorcism runs: ‘Cede Ergo Deo + qui te, et multum num in plasmate, in absursum, et per Myosen servum suum in abyssum demersit’; with this cf. Jubilees 48:4.

The Gnostics, as might have been expected, made an alegorical use of the concept of the abyss of ἄνοιξας. Their special name for it was Bobis, Bythus, and by this they meant the Divine first principle, the fountain of all existence, the infinite, unfathomable, inscrutable abyss of Deity: ‘A vast, unfathomable sea.

Where all our thoughts are drowned.’

Ἀγαθας γε τοι εις· εν δωδεκα και οκτακατεχομενους υψιματα τελονικοι λιμναιοι προεδριας των δια και [προαρχα αι] προστασιας και βασιλων καλωσιως (Iren. adv. Hær. i. 1: 1: 1: For that they say in the invisible and nameless heights there is a certain perfect, pre-existing Ξεω. And, they call him the first principle and pro-

gentor and Bythus). Hippolytus (vi. 57) bears the same testimony: speaking of Valentineus, he says: ιενεκατηυσα των πλατων οικοσια δη το Πλατων, οιου πατρια και βασιλων και [παραρχαν] των ξεων αιωνων (Asia from Plato as the title of King of all this man postulated as father and Bythus and first principle [2] of all the eons); The Valentinians held that by a process of self-imitation the Bythus evoloved a set of beings of cosmic, natural, and temporal any of which may be called the pleroma, the latter name being also given to the whole series taken together, which then stands to the Bythus in the feminine relation, as Témis did to Apollo. But Gnostic Bythus fashioned a homogeneous body of opinion. There were, as Hippolytus warns us,
nay varying opinions concerning the Dybbus itself. According to some thinkers, he was outside the pleroma: others held him to be within it, but separated from the rest by Hronia (Opar), a personified boundary (Lightfoot, Coloss., p. 322). There were some who actually deposited him in his place at the head of the series, and made him follow the first egg捣. Some thought of him as unwedded, and neither male nor female; whilst, others again gave him the Sibyl role as being kept by the two powers Thought and Will (Hippol. loc. cit.). The relation of Gnostic speculation on the Dybbus to later philosophical thought is perhaps sufficiently indicated in one sentence of Ireneaus, ep. Epiphani. xxxii. 7: 'Or μη γράφειν ἤδη ῶγγυς Νεώτης, μη εἶρεν, μη θέλεις, μη ἔσων οτα ν. τ. ('For some say that he is unwedded and is neither male nor female, nor, in fact, anything at all'). He was exalted above all contrarieties—the Absolute, identical with Nothing, the Being of whom even existence might not be predicated. No wonder that the Mystics took up both the thought and the term: 'I saw and knew the being of all things, the Bythus, the Abyssinia, the Holy Trinity, the descent and original of the world and of all creatures through the Divine wisdom' (Jacob Behmen, quoted by James, Varieties of Rel. Experience, p. 411).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned above, see Jensen, Kritische und historische Untersuchungen, 1847; Smythie Palmer, Τόμος and Τόμος, 1897, and art. in Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte, 1904; Driver on Genesis, 1897; Driver on Genesis, 1897; Driver on Genesis, 1897; Driver on Genesis, 1897; Driver on Genesis, 1897; Driver on Genesis, 1897. Hymn, Hist. of the Christian Church, vol. 11. (for the Gnostics); New English Dictionary (for the words 'Adam,' 'Abyme,' 'Abys,' 'Abys' in Eng. Literature).—JOHN TAYLOR.

ABYSSINIA.—The peoples of Abyssinia belong to the distinct races, viz., the African aborigines, the Hamites (Cushitic) tribes, and the Semitic immigrants.

(a) The African aborigines are now found only in the western and north-western part of Abyssinia; they are called by the other Abyssinians Shangalas or Shangola. Originally the name of a certain tribe, this has come to be a generic term for all non-Semitic or non-Hamite peoples of probably negro origin. The largest aggregation of these Abyssinian ' negroes' are the Kumas and Sambisa, who live in the Baria, whose languages also are entirely different from those of the Cushites and the Semites. They inhabit the country around the Tukkazé and the Galla of Ogaden, which must have been inhabited by the Eritrean. The Christian Abyssinians call them sometimes by the derogatory term 'mouse-eaters'; bərə in Amharic means also 'slave,' because these aborigines are taken as slaves all over Abyssinia. This part of the population is, to a large extent, pagan; others, like the Baria, have become Muslims; some of them, especially the slaves among the Christians, have adopted the Christian faith.

(b) The Hamite or Cushitic tribes form the stock of the population of Abyssinia. They immigrated into that country at some remote period of which we have no records. Some of them are scattered in Abyssinia where the Semitic tribes are not, because their language almost everywhere, did not intermingle with them. In the south the Semitic blood was almost absorbed by the Hamite; in the north the Hamitic tribes seem to have been kept a little more separate. The main tribes of the Cushites or Abyssinian Hamites are the Somalis and the Gallas in Southern Abyssinia; the Afar (called by the Arabs Ağa or Aga, because they speak a Cushitic language) in the east; the Agaro (with several subdivisions) all over the centre; the Hahauen in the north-east, the Bogos (also called Bilin after the name of their language, of Aga origin), finally, the Beja in the north, who extend into the Egyptian Sudan. The Gallas, or Oromos, are very numerous, and are divided into many tribes, some of which extend as far as the equatorial lakes. Their language is a Hamitic one, and the Abyssinians make a distinction between them and the Shangalas. Since many Gallas whom the writer has seen (in Northern Abyssinia) have pronounced negroid features, it may be that a part of this nation is of negro origin and has adopted a Hamitic language. However, such cases are very frequently, as, for instance, with the Celts in Bavaria, who speak German, and the negroes in the United States of America, who have adopted the English language. The Gallas are partly pagan, partly Muslimand. Some of them became Christians, but the wholesale baptism of Galla people by King Theodore I. (1853-1868) met with little success. The Somalis and the Afar are practically Muslimand; the Hahauen and the Bedawin are Muslimand; the Bogos partly Christian, partly Muslimand.

(c) The Semitic population of Abyssinia is strongest in the north, i.e. in the region of the ancient Kingdom of Aksum. There it is highly probable that these Semites came to Abyssinia from Arabia. The bulk of them may have come within the last cents. B.C., but the Semitic immigration never stopped. It was rather, as Regnell has said, a 'Semitisation,' and even in our days an Arab tribe, the Rashaida, has crossed to the other side of the Red Sea and is beginning to be nationalized in Arab; they still speak Arabic, but have commence to use the Tigre language as well. The Semitic tribes have, beyond doubt, the civilizers of, or at least the bearers of some civilization to, Abyssinia. They founded an empire, they built temples, palaces, and entire cities, as well as dam, or reservoirs; they originated and carried on the only literature that Abyssinia ever had. When they came they were, of course, pagan, but after some centuries they became Christian; and, whatever their Christianity is, or may have been, it has always tended to a higher state of morals and religion than that which native Africa, south of Egypt and the other countries along the north shore, has ever been capable of producing. The Semitic language which was first written (after the Sabean) is the Ethiopic or Ge'ez. A few pagan and Christian inscriptions and almost the entire Christian literature are committed to writing in this language, which has been called out beyond the limits of Abyssinia. At present there are three main Semitic languages in Abyssinia: Amharic, Tigrinia, and Tigre. Amharic is the language of the south and the centre; Tigrinia that of the region of the old Aksumite Kingdom; Tigre is spoken by the half-nomadic tribes of the north, and has been adopted by many of the Hamites of that region. The majority of those who speak Amharic and Tigrinia are Christian; Tigrinia is often called 'sanzu kebdulan (in Tan) or hodé kebdulan (in Tö), i.e. the language of the Christians. The Tigre tribes are now mostly Muslimand, but about half of the Mansa tribe have retained Christianity.

We have therefore something to say of the religions of Abyssinia, to deal with Paganism, Islam, and Christianity. Paganism is at the bottom of all of them, and even the religious ideas of the common people in Christian and Muslimand districts are more like pagan superstitions than like the ideas of the founder of Christianity or of the prophet of Islam. We may here dispense entirely with official Islam. It will suffice to record the following facts: Islam in Abyssinia is Sunnite, the Muslimands living in Christian surroundings are called Djabarti, the people who do missionary work there at present are mostly of the Senussi order. The Confession
of the Christian Church of Abyssinia is that of
Jacobus Baradecus,—in other words, the Abyssinians are
Monophysites. A few remarks on the history of
Christianity in this country will be found below.

Abyssinia is the country of many races, languages, and
religions,—viz. Judaism. There are a number of Jewish
communities, mainly in the region between Aksum
and the island called T'ebischas, and the Falashas, and the
former speak an Agno dialect; their books are in Géez.
Their origin is altogether unknown to us. Ac-
cording to Abyssinian tradition, the Queen of
Sheba, who was a princess of Aksum, was at
Jerusalem instructed in the Jewish religion by
Solomon and then introduced it into her own
country. This is, of course, legendary, for the
oldest inscriptions prove—if we need any proof—
that the official religion of the Aksumite kingdom,
before it became Christian, was pagan. But this
curious legend seems to reflect some historical
events of which no other records have come down
to our time. For a number of OT practises and
ideas are integral parts of Abyssinian Christianity,
and, what is more significant, the Aramaic loan-
words in Géez, mostly denoting religious ideas and
objects, are probably of Jewish-Aramaic, not of
Christian, origin.

I. PAGAN ABBYSSINIA.—I. PAGAN RELIGION
OF THE AFRICAN ABORIGINES.—As far as we know
the religion of the Kunamas, it may be character-
ized as animistic or as ancestor-worship. For the
spirits or the souls of their forefathers play the
most important rôle in their religious life. Above
all spirits there is the unknown Great Spirit, with
whom man comes little into contact. This idea of
one mysterious, almost supernaturally being seems
to pervade almost all pagan religions. The Great
Spirit is far away, the other spirits are near, and
are in a way mediators between mankind and the
Great Spirit. He it is that gives rain, the most
important and vital thing for the agricultural Ku-
namas, and he is probably the god of heaven, just
as Wág is among the Gallas (see below). To him
only the chief of the tribe may sacrifice. At the
beginning of the ploughing season the chief has a
revelation bidding him immolate a red goat and
a white sheep, and in return promising abundance
of rain. The animals are killed, the blood is
sprinkled on the ground, and the chief says:
"May the gods of the blood that now give us rain.
 After that, the chief and priest eat the meat in communion with the spirits, where-
upon mankind and spirit world are reconciled and
free.

It is only upon important occasions that the priest
or chief enters into action: the religious affairs of
dayby-day life are in the hands of sorcerers and
witches, i.e. men and women who are believed to
have communication with the spirits, or even to be
possessed by them. Sorcerers and witches are in
contact with, or in the service of, either good or evil
spirits. The latter form no separate caste; cer-
tain persons are believed to be possessed, or to have
the evil eye. Against their power the people take
refuge, or protect themselves by using a branch of
the 'ghost-tree.' Naturally, members of the
sorcerers' caste sometimes make ill use of their
power,—and then the same people are used against
them; but generally their work is that of
prophecy, healing, and doing other miracles;
in general, mediating between the people and the
spirits.

The sorcerers wear women's clothes, decorate
themselves with necklaces, bracelets, anklets,
rings, beads, and pearls of many colours. They
receive offerings from the spirits, ferret out dis-
seases, and ordain the anger of the gods.

Remedies against the influence of malevolent
spirits are incantations and the twigs of the ghost-
tree. The spirits and the tree have the same name,
and in this identity of name lies the power of the
latter. For instance, at the time of childbirth
the tree is placed crosswise over the door of the house to protect the child. The first
night after someone has died, all the spirits visit
the house of the dead and drink mead: the living
sit outside, with the magic twigs around the neck
or the arms. Again, the next day, when a libation
is offered at crosswise, or sprinkled on them. In
the same way. Other trees or bushes are used to
protect the cattle or the crops. The spirits of the
ancestors rule and regulate the entire life of these
people. Around them is established the domestic
and political life; in other words, these laws are
based on tradition and custom. For this reason the
spirits watch over the laws and punish trans-
gressions,—above all, the omission of taking blood-
vengence.

2. PAGAN RELIGION OF THE HAMITES.—The
pagan religion of the Hamitic tribes of Abyssinia
does not seem to differ essentially from that of
the aborigines. According to our sources, how-
ever, it appears that the Gallas, who nowadays
are practically the only pagan Hamites in Aby-
sinia, have outgrown the stage of crude animism,
and have developed a sort of polytheism with one
highest god, and that with them, partly at
least, true religiosity has taken the place of torpid
fear and awe. That highest god is called Wág (or
Wa'gayo), and many say he is their only god. This
being seems to be 'deity' or 'name' in general,
in a way to be compared, therefore, with the Semitic
'god.' The noun waq originally means 'heaven,' and
thus the god Wág is also named Qurás—a word
which, as an adjective, denotes 'dark-blue,' and as
a substantive, it signifies 'a subtle principle.' He is
the god of heaven, but he is omnipresent; he is every-
where in nature; he lives on mountain peaks, in high
trees, near springs, in rivers, and in caves. In all
these places he is worshipped with special prayers.
There are various kinds of offerings, but it
seems most natural to assume that the communion
between men and their god is the main idea of
these offerings. This communion is effected by
(a) the blood covenant; (b) the sacrificial meal.
The blood is, on the one hand, poured out for the
deity; on the other hand, it is smeared on the
doorposts and on the forehead of the offerers (in
a line or crosswise), or sprinkled on themselves.
The sacrificial meal is shared by deity and men: for
a part is burned, the rest is eaten by men. The
sacrificial animals are cattle and sheep; we even
hear of 'expiatory cows.' There seems to be a recep-
tion of blood sacrifices among the people. The
libations consist of milk and mead. All sacrifices
are offered by the pater familias,—the head of the
family,—who is at the same time their priest. On
special occasions the chief of the tribe takes his
place. After the animal is killed, the Ogisea,—the
wise man,—the kurupaxe, comes in order to inspect
the entrails and to interpret the omen. These
wisecounsel of the tribe, and officiate at all important political affairs; they
also interpret the flight of birds; they are hari-
spices and aromatics at the same time. Of course, they consider themselves much better than the ordinary sorcerers. There seem to be certain sects among them, e.g., the sect of Abba Murh, who lives in a mysterious pagoda with a serpent to which all men are made. When the members of this sect make pilgrimages to the famous cave, they tear women's clothes, let their hair grow, and perform some well-known religious duties. An example of a gulla prayer is the following: "The corn must make the corn to grow, and shown to its eyes; the hungry man beholdeth it and is consoled. When the corn is ripening, thou sendest caterpillars and locusts into it, locusts and pigeons. Everything cometh from thee, thou allowest it to happen: why thou dost this, thou knowest."

Besides Wàq, there is a host of lesser deities, who fall into two groups, viz., the 'good spirits,' named ayána, and the 'evil spirits,' named ayána. The ayána live in all places where Wàq lives, especially in rivers; but they also comprise the house-gods (penates) and the souls of the ancestors (sires). Even in a newly built house there is an ayána, and cramps are thrown on the floor for him when the people first enter the house. Individual members of this class of gods are Rilála, the god of war and of the winds; and Adülfe, the god of the dead. In the lands of the Ilìthia, it seems that even the personified Sabbath, called Sambata, is known as a goddess to the pagan Gallas, who must have borrowed her worship from the Phalakos. Among the 'evil spirits' the buda, or the devil of the evil eye, is the most feared. It is well known that this superstition, so common over all Southern and Eastern countries, is particularly deep-rooted in Abyssinia. Other evil demons seem to be the monsters of the gods and bylgun. The former is the wolf, a demoniac animal among various peoples; the latter is explained as 'man-eater.' A special caste of sorcerers has to do with these evil spirits. Among them there are different degrees and specialists, some of whom predict the future, others cure diseases by driving out the devils, and others know the art of making good weather and of producing rain.

Sacred animals are, among others, the hyena, the snake, the crocodile, and the owl. The hyenas eat the dead, and thus the souls enter their bodies; hence, they are honored by both the living men, and men—especially blacksmiths, who know magic art—change into hyenas. The snake is worshipped by almost all primitive peoples. The crocodile is sacred because it lives in the sacred rivers. Again, a certain owl is believed to be the bird of the dead; these owls are the souls of people who died unavenged. Life after death, according to the belief of the pagan Gallas, a shadow-like existence in a sort of Hadèscalled sherol, called chérà (taken from the Arabic al-şârîh, the other,' evil world, but adapted to Gallà ideens).

3. PAGAN RELIGION OF THE SEMITES.—What we know about the religion of the Semitic conquerors of Abyssinia is very little indeed—scarcely anything more than a few names. Our sources are the ancient inscriptions and native tradition. According to the famous Greek inscription copied at Adulis by Rennet A.D. 1735, and by Budge, King of Aksum, who had this inscription written (1st cent. A.D.), sacrificed ´ῆρα Δήλινος and ῾Ἀρτέμις and ῾Ἡρακλέων and erected a throne in honour of his god Ὄρθρος. The next earliest document is that of King Azanu (8th cent. A.D.), who made a large stele in carved in Sabaean, Greek, and Old Ethiopic. The Greek part speaks only of the god Ὄρθρος, the Sabaean of Mahrem, 'Astar and Beher, the Old Ethiopic of Mahrem, Antah, to which office is adduced. A Greek fragment from Abbâ Pantealeon, a Christian shrine near Aksum, built over an ancient Sabaean sanctuary, mentions the Ἄρταξος ᾿Αρτεμίδος of Aksum. But in only one case are all these gods found together, viz., in the first inscription of Tâzânà, written perhaps about A.D. 400. There the throne is dedicated to 'Astar, Beher, and Medr; and thanks are rendered to Mahrem, the god 'who begat the king.' From this it appears that the Semites who came from South Arabia to found the Axumite empire worshiped the ancient triad of Heaven, Sun, and Earth. 'Astar in Tigré means 'heaven,' and Atat-Samāni (Atar, i.e. 'Astar in Aramaic, of the heavens) as well as Istar belit Samâ (Istar Lady of the Heavens) are known in Semitic mythology. Thus 'Astar is the Axumitic god of heaven translated into Greek by Zeus. Medr is the Ethiopic word for 'earth,' and hence must necessarily mean the god (or goddess) of the earth.

Now, if the Axumitic inscription mentions Poseidon together with Zeus, the conclusion is unavoidable that Beher is the god of the sea, in spite of the fact that the Ethiopic word beher means 'land,' and is even used in this sense in our inscriptions. We must connect it with the word bohr ('sea'), and assume that, being a proper name, it retained its ancient meaning even after the common noun corresponding to it had received a different meaning of its own. The Median Ares—Mahrem, the tribal or ancestral god of the kings of Aksum, was worshipped. Since they fought many wars to establish their empire and to protect their dominions, we may assume that they should identify Mahrem with Ares, the war-god.

From the inscription of Tâzânà it seems that bulls and captives were sacrificed to this god. From other texts it appears that 'thrones' and statues were erected to him and the other gods. (Drawings and photographs of the thrones will be found in the publications of the German Expedition to Aksum.)

In a way Mahrem-Ares may be connected with the native tradition. For the Axumites tell that before their ancestors adopted King Solomon's religion they worshipped a dragon, and that this dragon was their king. According to Greek mythology, Ares bogat, in a cave near Thbes, a dragon, his own image. It is therefore not impossible that a similar association existed between Mahrem-Ares and the dragon, but of this no record has come down to us thus far. (A study of the Axumitic dragon legends was published in the writer's Bibliotheca Abyssinica, v. pp. 17-31.)

Another hint with regard to the cult of the ancient Axumites may be taken from the great monuments of mankind which they have been called 'obelisks,' but they should rather be termed 'steles.'—Stela is tru to be seen from the illustrations in the late Mr. Rent's book, The Sacred City of the Ethiopians, and in the publications of the German Expedition. The stele is an interesting proof of the Semitic tomb, and there is a certain mysterious connexion between the stone and the personality of the god. The name of the stele is called nephesh ('soul'). If, then, at Aksum we find a large number of such steles, and among them huge highly decorated monoliths, ranging in height from 16 to 30 metres, and in front of them, or rather around them, huge slabs representing, in all likelihood, altars, we may conclude, with a certain degree of probability, that these monuments served for 'ancestor-worship,' that form of religion which, as we have seen, is at the bottom of the pagan religions of Abyssinia.

II. CHRISTIAN ABBYSSINIA.—Christianity became the religion of the Axumitic empire about A.D. 400. The king (Tâzânà was the Constantine of Abyssinia; for in his first inscription he called himself, in the second he is Christian. In the latter he speaks of only one god, the 'Lord of Heaven,' or the 'Lord of the Land' (Vega beher,—in Ethiopian this word for the first time is used). It appears here was an attempt by Adulis to gain him and gave him victory over his enemies. But in the king's own mind this 'Lord of Heaven' was probably not very different from 'Astar. We have no contemporaneous records of the first appearance of Christianity in Abyssinia; but we know whether the Jewish communities were older, or whether they had anything to do with preparing Abyssinia for the Christian faith. However this may be, the Christian kings seem to have acted as the protectors of the new faith, and when
the Christians in South Arabia were persecuted by a king who had adopted Judaism, a king of Aksum fought against the latter, although his main object was probably to regain his kingdom. South Arabia had been partly Christianized by Syrian missionaries, and it is most likely that Abyssinia, too, received its Christian religion from Syria. The first missionaries are said to have been Frumentius and Elenius from Antioch, and the 'nine saints,' who about A.D. 500 strengthened Christianity, probably came from Syria. They may even have influenced the style of church architecture, since remains of churches are to be found in some of the ancient churches of Abyssinia. The ancient shrines were now changed into Christian sanctuaries, the high places were dedicated to saints, and the sacred sycamore trees to the Virgin Mary. Within the first centuries of its history Abyssinia, Christianity probably did not spread beyond the borders of the kingdom of Aksum, and it scarcely reached as far south as the Tana Lake. In the 7th or 8th cent. great political changes must have taken place; but the history of Abyssinia, from about 650 until 1270, is shrouded in darkness. During this time many wars must have been fought between Christians and pagans, and also between Christians and Muhammadans. The outcome was that political conquest and missionary activity spread far to the south, and that the centre of the empire was transferred to the south of Abyssinia. The legendary history tells of many miracles performed by the saints who converted the pagan Hamites and negroes. Among them Takla Haimanot (Plant of Faith), and Gabra Manfas Qeblis (Servant of the Holy Ghost), were the most famous and popular. Meanwhile Abyssinia had been cut off from South Arabia, which had become Muhammadan, and had sought and found close contact with the Coptic Church of Egypt. In the Abyssinian empire itself Christianity has been the official religion ever since, and many conquered tribes have been forced to be baptized. But outside of these limits Islam made rapid progress, and at present the Christians are surrounded by Muhammadans on all sides. Many Muhammadans even live among the Christians, although the building of mosques is not allowed. The country has seen many internal quarrels concerning dogmas, ecclesiastical power, and limits and has witnessed repeated struggles against Roman Catholicism (about 1550–1635). The greatest dangers that the Church experienced were the wars waged by Muhammad Gräh, the Muhammadan conqueror who overran Abyssinia from 1555 to 1559. From these perils Abyssinian Christianity was finally saved by the Portuguese.

The Christian religion of Abyssinia became more and more degenerate, the more it was shut off from the rest of the civilized world, and the more the Semitic element was absorbed by other races. From time to time a king or a patriarch who was more enlightened and energetic than his fellow-countrymen tried to introduce reforms; but although they did their best, it was not very much. An altogether exceptional case is that of the monk Zara'Yaq'ub (1599–1662), who evolved a rational philosophy in the line of the Egyptian philosophy (polis, and tr. by the present writer under the title Philosophi Abyssini, Paris and Leipzig, 1904).

In conclusion, it may be stated that at present there are three main divisions in the Ethiopian Church: one that adheres to the Canaanite (the 'son of the flesh') or the Semitic divine, i.e., that Jesus was in the flesh Son of Mary only, not of God, and that the Divine nature was later infused into Him by God, but not by God with Christ's Divinity, an Abyssinian; (b) the Monotheists or followers of the gebat ('union'), who profess that Christ, when He was anointed with the Holy Ghost in the Jordan after His baptism, became a participant of Divinity, even as man; (c) the true Monophysites or followers of the tawâlîdî (unity) doctrine of Jacob of Qondah. Possi"
dog, drives every other animal away wherever it goes.

It deserves to be mentioned also that among the Tigre tribes, tales about the doings of certain stars—especially the Moon—were greatly cherished, and may possibly reflect ancient star-worship. The remnants of moon-worship among the same people are more pronounced.

A very conspicuous remnant of paganism is the idea of a nether world, where the shades live until the Day of Judgment. The shades or 'people of below' (anb tahat in Tigre) often appear to the living in dreams, or they punish a man by beating him, if he does not fulfill his duty of blood-vengeance, or is niggardly enough not to offer the proper sacrifices to the dead. The souls of those who die unavenged or before they have attained their desires, are changed into a kind of owl (gows in Tigre), and howl and screech until they are avenged, or until some descendant or relative carries out their designs.

LITERATURE.—Nilsson in Varia Lips. (Nordisk Missions Kalender) for 1883, pp. 199-204; Einar Poulشرn, 'The Norden-Afrika, also Herzog; Cecchi, Die Zeitschrift für vorzeitliche del Cairo'; Diliman, 'Über die Anfänge des Aascorell als Geschichte der syrischen Religion in vierten seiner Jahrhunder't (Zb. 1880); Müller, 'Ephragmistische Denkschriften aus Abassien' (Abh. d. K. d. W. 31); Bassett, Les Apotheosei Ethiopie ; Littmann, 'The Princeton Ethnographic Magic Scroll' (Princeton University Bulletin, 1933-1934), also Arnold, 'Die Religionen des Bodst'; Bong, 'Zur Frage der Religionen', etc. Other material will be found in the Publications of the German Ethnographical Society (p. 257, 1906), edited by the present writer, and in the Publications of the Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia, by the same.

E. LITTMANN.

ACADEMY, ACADEMICS.—The Academy ('Ακαδημία, older form 'Εκαδημία, later 'Ακαδημία), so called from the local hero Academos or He- kaemos, was one of the three great schools to which the walls of Athens, the others being the Lyceum and the Cynosarges. It was situated less than a mile from the Dipylon Gate, off the road which ran N.W. through the outer Ceramnies, among the olive groves below Colonus Hippos. As a gymnasion it already existed in the time of the Pisistratids, but it was Cimon that laid it out as a public park with shady avenues of plane trees (Plut. Cimon. 13). Here was the precinct of Athena, with the twelve sacred olives (παντοκήρυγα), near the ancient pedestal (άγγελα βαςιν) with representations of Herakles and Prometheus, which formed the starting-point of the torch-race at the Lampe- dussian Games, and the entrance of the gymnasium. This last worship gave rise to several features of the Prometheus myth.

It was in the Academy that Plato founded the first Athenian philosophical school, the idea being doubtless suggested to him by the Pythagorean and Egyptian traditions of several schools, as those of Thebes and Phlius (cf. the Thando), and possibly by that of his friend Enclides at Megara. The school possessed a shrine of the Muse (μουσηία), at which votive statues (άρισταμα) were dedicated (Diog. Laert. iii. 25, iv. 1, 19), and Antigonus of Carystus (απ. Athen. xii. 547¹, 548) spoke of a 'sacrifice' (ιεραίον) and an 'attendant of the Muse' (Μουσηφόρος) as officials of the school. From the monthly common meals (μουσηία) as religious acts (φυλακτήριον τοῦ δεδομένου). From all this it has been inferred by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Plut. Unser. iv. 250) that the legal status of the Academy was that of a religious association (θιάσος). That, indeed, was the only form which a corporation could take at Athens, and it was of great advantage to the members, as the legal rights and privileges of such associa- tions was open to others than Athenian citizens.

The original property of the society was a house and garden, in which Plato and most of his successors lived. It is not quite certain whether the garden was a bench (εξεδρα, sestio) still existing in Cicero's days, which was at least as old as the scholarchate of Polemo (Cic. de Fin. v. 2, 4). It is not certain whether the scholarchs (αρχάρτοι) were elected or selected by the members, or were their successors. The official title seems to have been diadochus (διάδοχος, 'successor'). After the siege of Athens by Sulla (86 B.C.), the suburbs became uninhabited, and the control was moved into the town; but the house and garden remained in its possession to the end.

From an early date it was customary to distinguish the Old and the New Academy, though Philo (see below) objected to this (Cic. Acad. i. 15). The Old Academy includes the immediate followers of Plato, the New begins with Areocles, who introduced the sceptical doctrine for which the school was best known from the 3rd to the 1st cent. B.C. Later writers speak of three Academies, beginning the Middle with Areocles and the New with Carneades. Others added a fourth consisting of Philo and his followers, and a fifth consisting of Antiochus and his (Sex. Ep. terr. i. 220). All these divisions only mark stages in a continuous history.

The 'Old Academy' carried on the discussion of the problems which Plato had raised in his oral teaching. In the main, these were mathematical, and were concerned with the distinction between continuos and discrete quantity. The former Plato calls in the Philothesis the 'unlimited' (δέκαποτο), but we know from Aristotle that in his oral teaching it was called 'the great-and-small' (τὸ μεγάλον καὶ μικρόν). The problem was to show how discrete or 'ideal' numbers (εἰδικοὶ ἀριθμοὶ) could arise from this, and similarly how 'magnitudes' (μέγεθος) could arise from continuous and infinitely divisible space by the introduction of limits. If once we get to magnitudes, it may be possible to give at least a tentative mathematical construction of the 'elements,' and even of the things of sense.

The true glory of the Old Academy is the impulse which it gave to mathematical science by the study of these problems. Solid geometry, trigonometry, and conic sections all took their rise from this source, and the new conception of continuous quantity led to the solution of many old difficulties.

Endoxus of Cnidos and Heraldides Ponticus, both members of the Academy in Plato's time, attacked the problem of the solar system with extraordinary boldness, and prepared the way for Archelaus' discovery of the sun's central position by Aristarchus of Samos (c. 150 B.C.). It is unfortunate that most of our knowledge of the Old Academy comes from Aristotle, who was not in sympathy with the mathematical movement of his time.

Plato was succeeded by his nephew Speusippus (scholar 347-339 B.C.). Xenocrates and Aristotle at once left Athens, the former returning later to succeed Speusippus, the latter to found a rival society.

Speusippus regarded number as arising from the union of unity (τὸ ἕν) and plurality (τὸ πολλά), but he made no attempt to derive magnitudes and other forms of reality from numbers. He explained them instead as parallel series formed on the analogy of number. Magnitudes, for instance, arose from the union of 'something like unity' (ᶏv χαίον) with 'something like plurality' (tò χινώς), and on with souls and sensible things (Arist. Met. 1025b, 9ff., 1075b, 37ff., 1085a, 31ff., 1090b, 13ff.). His most characteristic doctrine, however, was his denial of the identity of the Good (tò ἀρετή) in the beginning (tò ἀρχόν), but reveals itself (ἐναλειπόμενον) in the process of development. As in the case of plants and animals, it is only in the 'full-grown' (tò ἔσχας) that we see the Good (Arist. Met. 1025b, 9ff., 1075b, 37ff., 1085a, 31ff., 1090b, 13ff.). Speusippus is thus the originator of the 'teleologi-
cal' (derived from τέλειος, 'full-grown') or evolu-
tionary view of the world, and this explains the
fact that he wrote chiefly on biological subjects.
We know from the quotations of Athenaeus that in
his 'Simulia' (A.D. 197) he discussed
shellfish and mushrooms. It is in accordance, too,
with this evolutionary standpoint that he regarded
sense-perception as rudimentary science (ἐπιστη-
μονή αδιπρόσκολος), and that he defined happiness
(εὐευγνωνία) as the 'full-grown state' (ἐξίς τελεία)
of those in a natural condition (ἐς τοῦ κατὰ φύσαν
ἐξερχεται). It was not pleasure; for pleasure and
pain are two evils, opposing but conformable.

The most distinguished head of the New Academ-

y was Carneades of Cyrene (214-129 B.C.), who threw
himself whole-heartedly into the attack on Stoicism
as represented by Cato and Scaevola. He
tried against all theories which admitted a 'criterion' of truth.

Carneades died in his eighty-fifth year (129 B.C.),
and was succeeded by Cithamachus of Carthage,
who was succeeded by Philo of Larissa. During
the Mithridatic war (88 B.C.), Philo took refuge at
Rome, where he had Cicero as an enthusiastic student.

The discipline of Antiochus of Ascalon broke with the tradi-
tion of Carneades altogether, and even with the
teaching of Philo, whom he succeeded. He
held that all Stoic doctrines were to be found in
Plato, and that the differences between the Peripatetics
and Stoics from the Academy were merely verbal.

After Antiochus the history of the Academy is a
blank for many generations. Neoplatonism did
not originate within it, and was not introduced
into it till the 5th cent. A.D. by Plutarch of Athens
(+ c. 430 A.D.). His successor Proclus is an import-
ant figure in the history of philosophy and religion,
but he does not concern us here. The school pro-
duced in its last days some distinguished com-
mentators on Plato and Aristotle, notably Simplicius
the Cilician and Damascius the Syrian. Damascius
was the last scholarch; for, in 529 A.D., Justinian
closed the school and confiscated its revenues,
amounting to 1000 gold pieces, of which Plato's
garden brought in only three. Damascius, with
Simplicius and some others, took refuge at the
court of Justinian, who was himself inclined
to be devoted to philosophy. They were dis-
appointed in him, however, and returned on the
conclusion of peace, when Chosroes made it a con-
dition that they should not be molested in their
religious studies, which was fulfilled (Hil. Hist.
30). Simplicius speaks with excusable bitterness of
Christian theology; but the best of Platonism,
as then understood, had already been absorbed by
that very Christianity which we of the Academy
had rejected; at least for the time. When Justinian
closed it, it had lasted over nine hundred years.
ACCEPTANCE—ACCEPTATION

JOHN BURNET.

(1) There is the wide sphere of religious experience which the worship of God by sacrifice may be said to cover; of which Gn §23 may be taken as a type. Of Noah’s sacrifice it is said: ‘The Lord smelled a sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man’s sake.’ This language shows the favour with which this sacrifice was regarded, and the effect it had upon the future course of the world. It was an act which consecrated a new world. Similar phraseology is frequently used, both in the Song of Songs and in the Apocalypse. Of the New World, and of the result of which it effected in procuring favour for the worshipper. Whether all worship in the earlier ages was expressed by sacrifice or not, it is obvious that sacrifice constituted the central and essential feature of it, and genuine piety would naturally seek satisfaction in the faithful observance of all prescribed forms. This tendency exposed the worshipper to the danger of excess, and of the discrediting and isolation, in the eyes of religious consciousness in its OT form was based on the thought that sacrifice was the appropriate form for acknowledging God and meditating His favour. In the NT the new thought and practice are in a ritual appropriate to each, the Law provides for a wide variety of religious need; and in the faithfulness of what the Law had prescribed, the true Israelite could assure himself of acceptance in the presence of Jahveh.

(2) To what extent and character of the worshipper was an essential element in acts of sacrifice in early times, it is not easy to determine. It is not likely that the religious acts even of primitive men in all relation to their religious life. With the advance of culture, however, increased importance would come to be attached to the spirit of worship as contrasted with the form. And once it became clear that the two might be used only different but even opposed, as was manifest in the time of the Prophets, then the call would be made for mercy and not sacrifice, for righteousness in life and conduct rather than multitudes of sacrifices. Yet the maxim that obedience is better than sacrifice (1 S 15:22, 1 S 15:22, Mie 6) was not new in the time of Israel. It was an element in the regulation of worship from the first, and its importance increased with a deepening meaning sense of the inner character of the old Testament, and shows that sacrifice was unsuitable as a general and universal medium of worship. That the Prophets were against all sacrifices, wherever they might be offered, cannot be made out. Yet the old corruptions of the high places, which had invaded the Temple in their day, gave point to their loud rebukes and increased the longing for a new and better time. It cannot be said, however, that the Prophets taught indifference to sacrifice as such. In any case, the worth of the latter as a religious act was always dependent upon the moral state of the worshipper, and this circumstance explains their insistence upon moral conditions, open ‘clean hands and a pure heart’ as necessary to acceptance with God.

(3) The broad principle of acceptance in its widest universality may be inferred from the spiritual nature of God, as in Christ’s words to the woman of Samaria (Jn 4:24 ‘God is spirit, and they that worship him must worship in spirit and in truth’). It is well expressed by St. Peter in the case of Cornelius (Ac 10:34-35). Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him’.

(4) But, while the broad principle of acceptance is contained implicitly in the revealed character of God, and was boldly proclaimed by the Prophets, it is never realized as a living experience except in the life of faith and obedience, in the life which, based on the redeeming work of Christ, seeks for and accepts all available helps both to know and to do the will of God.


A. F. SIMPSON.

ACCEPTATION is a term which, like many others, has passed from Roman law to Christian theology. According to its derivation, acceptatio means ‘a reckoning as received,’ acceptum being the proper name for the credit side of the ledger. In Roman law, however, the term had a special and technical use. It meant the discharge of debt by the use of a solemn and prescribed form of words, in which the debtor asked the creditor if he had received payment, and the creditor replied that he had—no real payment, however, having taken place. Gains consequently says that acceptation
resembles an imaginary payment. This method of discharge was proper applicable only to obligations contracted verbally by stipulation, i.e. by the use of a similar solemn form of words, in which the creditor asked the debtor to own his debt, and the debtor did so. Obligations contracted in other ways could, however, be transformed into verbal obligations by the use of a special stipulation invented for the purpose, named the Aquilian, and could thus be made terminable by acceptance. See Gaius, Inst. iii. 169; Justinian, Inst. iii. 29. 1 and 2. Digest. 1 de Acceptatione', xlv. 4.

ACCESS. 'Access' is the term used in the NT to denote the privilege and right of approach to God which men have through Jesus Christ. The term occurs in three places (Ro 5, Eph 2\(^2\) and 3\(^2\)), and in each of these as the tr. of προσ-\(\dot{a}\)γωγία. The importance of the conception may be inferred from the fact that it accompanies the term in two of these instances, indicating that the thing spoken of has an acknowledged and familiar place in Christian faith.

In classical usage, προσ-\(\dot{a}\)γωγία is by far the more common; and several commentators of note maintain that it should be so read in the texts cited. It would thus = introduction, and, so taken, the term will have a narrower meaning than that associated with 'access.' The usage of courts in which access to kings was obtained through a προσ-\(\dot{a}\)γωγία or sequent, if taken to explain our 'introduction' to the Father, does certainly suggest something less than seems implied in the above given texts.

It is quite true that the word is often used both of persons and things in the sense of leading up to or towards, and this much at least Jesus accomplishes for us in bringing us to God. Yet the introduction which we have in Him implies not a passing event or incident at the beginning of the Christian life, but something which is always valid, and which establishes and securces for us an open way of approach together with all the privileges inherencient of God. Even if we use it strictly for the transitive meaning of the term, we must so explain it as to imply the larger idea as well. This, indeed, is the fact, as it brings and secures; and this Meyer readily does. This consideration has doubtless induced most commentators to favour the introduction of the word and to understand it as a term of description. This use of προσ-\(\dot{a}\)γωγία, though rare, is not without support (see Pflatarch, Philol. 1. 20; Polyb. x. 1. 22; etc.). We may then take this view; the RV adhering to 'access' of the AV; and the same view appears in some of the older English versions.

To date however, it is more in line with faith, or even with prophecy, or with the apocalyptic, and with the Epistle to the Hebrews, and with the text and with the text of the Church. The Hebren version, like the RV, adheres to 'access.' Luther and various German versions render by Zugang, similar in meaning to 'access'; and this term is now consecrated by long usage in English, and could not easily be supplanted by another.

Though the passive aspect of the conception is more prominent in 'access,' as the active is in προσ-\(\dot{a}\)γωγία, there is in the associations of the word a blending of the two which must be kept in mind in order to realize the full force of the Apostle's use of it. The essential points in the conception are obvious in the three texts where the word stands.

(1) In Ro 5\(^2\) it is used of the entrance upon, or the introduction to, the state of grace, or the Christian state, which in the context is described as that of justification, of acceptance, of full communion with God. This state of grace is that which God which is established and constituted by the Redeemer's gracious and atoning sacrifice, the benefits of which are immediately secured by faith. These benefits embrace all the privileges of Divine grace, and the great waxes eloquent upon the fallacies involved in such usage (Defensio Fidei Catholicae de Satisfactione Christi, cap. iii. Oxon. 1657). The only explanation of the language of Grotius seems to be that he had misread or misunderstood a passage in Socinus where he can scarcely have misread the word 'acceptation' in explaining St. Paul's doctrine of imputation (de Jesu Christo Servatore, Pars Quarta, cap. ii.).

The Socinian theologian Croll points out the mistake in his Responsa ad Grotum (ed. Brux. Bibliothece Fratern. Polonorum, 1650); it is he who tells us that it was Beza whom Socinus had in view. Croll, however, did not succeed in preventing the general impression that Socinus taught a doctrine of acceptance. We still find Turrretin saying (de Satisfactionis Christi Necessitate, Disp. xx. cap. x.) 'We admit no Socinian acceptance'; though his Disputations on the Satisfaction of Christ did not appear till 1666 (enlarged edition, 1687; see Turrletin's Works, Edin. 1848, vol. i. p. xlii).

ROBERT S. FRANKS.
Our access to this state has been established through the incarnation and death of the Son of God, who bears away the sins of men and gives them power to become sons of God. This is not merely a matter of one man living an actual leading life, but men into this blessed state by One who takes them in hand and conducts them into the blessedness and peace of the Divine kingdom.

Our access to the Divine presence in the consecrated and transformed elements, are the two points in which access to Deity now present in the Holy Sacrament, the Eucharist, and itsfruits. In this sense the term is apt enough, as it expresses the work of the Supper which is already latent in the old Liturgies and is seen fully developed in the Roman Missale, Liturgiae Orientalis and Western, Chevalier Press, 1874).


A. F. SIMPSON.

ACCIDENT (accidenta, συζυγηѣς).—I. One of the five Predicables (accidentia predicabile).—According to Mill, under accidenta are included all attributes of a thing which are neither involved in the signification of the name, nor have, so far as we know, any necessary connection with attributes which are so involved (Logic, vol. i. p. 149). This, allowing for the Nominalist standpoint of Mill, is the same view as that contained in Aldrich's definition, 'that which is predicated as contingently joined to the essence,' as contrasted with that which is predicated as necessarily joined. Some such definition or its equivalent is given by most writers on Logic, and is, according to Mansel, (Aldrich, 4th ed. p. 24), found in Albertus Magnus (de Predicat. Tract. i. cap. 1).

The view taken by Aristotle is different. The attribute of a triangle, that its three angles are equal to two right angles, which on the ordinary view would be a proprium, is by him regarded as an accident (Metaphys. iv. 30). The distinction between property and accident in Aristotle turns on the convertibility or non-convertibility of the essence to the attribute. It is essential to the Aristotelian property (生產) that it should be present in certain objects and in them alone. If present in other objects, it is either identical with the genus, or it is not. If not, it is an accident. The test of an accident is that it is common to heterogeneous things. Aristotle at the same time recognizes that that which, simply considered, is an accident may become in a certain relation and at a certain time a property. He gives two definitions of 'accident': (1) 'that which is neither defined nor property nor genus, but is in the thing'; (2) 'that which is able to be in and not to be in one and the same individual' (Top. i. 5). Porphyry gives a third definition: 'the Aristotelian accident, or absent without destruction of the subject' (Isagoge, v.).

Aristotle recognizes two classes of 'accidents': those which are necessarily connected with the essence and deductible from it (αταρακτικά κατ' αὑρὰ); and those which are not (cf. Ueberweg, Hist. of Philos., Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 155, and Grote's Aristotle, vol. i. p. 142 note). Sanderson in his Logic (Works, vol. vi. p. 10) distinguishes the separable and inseparable accident thus: Separable—that which can be actually separated from its subject, as cold from water; Inseparable—that which cannot be separated except in the intellect, as water from water. Aldrich gives a similar distinction. Mansel and most logicians define the inseparable accidents of a class as those accidents which, though not connected with the essence either by way of cause or consequence, are a matter of fact found in all the members of the class; the separable accidents as those found in some members of the class and not in others. The inseparable accidents of an individual are those which can be predicated of their subject at all times; the separable only at certain times.

2. Accident, Folly of.—This fallacy is generally considered to be when we infer that whatever agrees with a thing considered in itself agrees with the same thing when qualified.
ACCIDENTALISM—ACCIDENTS

by some accident. Aristotle's view of the fallacy was different. He defines it as arising 'when it is held that anything belongs in a similar way to a subject and to the accidental of the subject.' The definition does not mean merely that the attribute is assumed to exist along with both subject and accident, but that the mode of attachment is the same (Soph. Elench. v. 3). This condition of valid reasoning which Aristotle here lays down, is precisely the same as Herbert Spencer (Psychology, vol. ii. ch. v.) has in view when he speaks of 'connature.' Aristotle regards the nine categories which exist in the existence of accidents, and the classification itself may be regarded as a classification of 'connatures.'

3. Accident in relation to substance.—Sir W. Hamilton (Lectures, vol. i. p. 190) says 'accident' is employed in reference to substance as existing; the terms 'phenomenon,' 'appearance' in reference to it as known. The Scholastics distinguished 'accident' in this sense as accidents praeedicentales or categorical accident from accidents predicabilia or logical accident (Aquinas, Summ. Theol. i. q. 77, a. 1–5). The former is the wider term. 'Accident' in this sense is defined as ens entis, or ens in alio, substance being ens per se. This is the view of Aquinas (ib. iii. q. 77, a. 1), which says the proper definition is not actual inherence in a subject, but aptitude to inher. The chief reason of this definition is that in the doctrine of Transubstantiation the accidents of the new substance are the substance unchanged. The substance of the body and blood cannot be affected by the accidents, therefore these must be capable of existing apart from their substance, being supported by Divine power. This has led to a distinction of three kinds of accidents: (1) metaphysical, accident which, although we may conceive the substance without it, is nevertheless identified with it. There is a distinction rationis praedicabile between them. Opposed to this is a physical accident, which, if different from the substance itself as thing or entity, is (2) absolute or real, as quantity, motion. If it signifies merely a state of being, as to sit or stand, it is (3) a modal accident. It is for the absolute accidents that the capacity of being miraculously sustained in the Eucharist is claimed (Zigliara, Summa Philos. l. 411; Pesch, Institutiones Logicales, Pars ii. vol. ii. p. 13), and properly sustained, the real dignity and condition of absolute accidents from the substance of both mind and matter. (For list of opponents with regard to mental faculties, see Sir W. Hamilton, Lectures, ii. pp. 5–9. The question is still disputed by Roman Catholic theologians). Leibnitz supported the view of Aquinas ('System of Theology, tr. by Russell, pp. 112–114; Opera Philosophica, ed. Erdmann, pp. 650, 656, etc.). He distinguishes mass as an absolute accident from substance ('System of Theology, p. 115).

Accidents, according to Locke, are qualities which are capable of producing simple ideas in us (Essay, bk. i. ch. xxiii.).

According to Kant, accidents are the determinations of a substance which are nothing else than its particular modes to exist; or the mode in which the existence of a substance is positively determined (Kritik der reinen Vernunft, vol. ii. p. 160).

In Hegel, accidents are the determinations which unconditioned Being has in so far as it has immediate existence ('Philosoph. Propädeutik, p. 106).


A. Accident in the sense of that which happens by free-will (Metaph. x. (xi) 8). Elsewhere ('Metaph. iv. (v.) 90') he gives, as illustration, finding a tree grown from a seed, as that which occurs neither always, nor from necessity, nor for the most part (Metaph. x. (xi) 8). Elsewhere ('Metaph. iv. (v.) 90') he gives, as illustration, finding a tree grown from a seed, as that which occurs neither always, nor from necessity, nor for the most part (Metaph. x. (xi) 8).

LITERATURE.—Aristotle, Organon, Metaphysica; Petrus Hispanus, Summulae Logicales, with exposition of Versoria; Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica; Sanderson, Logik (Works, v. 3.); Dunkon, Lectures on Aristotle's 'Arts Logic Rudimenta'; J. S. Mill, Logic; Schopenhau, Elem. Theol. Dognmatik.

G. J. STOKES.

ACCIDENTALISM.—The theory that events may happen without a cause. This is a view of the world which characterizes a pre-scientific period of thought. With this view the scientific method and spirit all events come to be regarded as connected in a causal manner, and no single event whatsoever is conceived as possibly falling without the closed circle of cause and effect relations. Chances, according to this view, is not to be considered as opposed to the idea of causation, so that it could be possible to say, 'This event happened by chance, but that event was evidently the effect of some cause.' There is no such antithesis, for every event is caused. The accidental event is merely one whose cause is so complex that it cannot be determined, and, therefore, it affords no basis for any exact prediction of the re-occurrence of the event in question. It becomes a matter of treatment according to the theory of probability. Chance, in the theory of probability, means always a complex combination of possible causes which may be present and produces a certain event, and sometimes fails to produce it. The interacting causes may co-operate and reinforce, and, again, may oppose and neutralize one another, and therefore the resulting combination may be described as a scientific view of chance, which is not free in any sense of the law of causation.

In the early Greek philosophy the idea of a certain kind of accidentalism in the world of events was a very persistent one. It appears in Plato, and even in Aristotle; and it was not until the Stoics emphasized the scientific view of the universe that the unscientific nature of accidentalism became fully recognized. Aristotle held that single events may be referred to universal laws of cause and effect, but he did not commit himself to this conception wholly without reservation. He ascribes something to a causal order 'for the most part' ('φιλοτεχνα των'), and insists upon the contingent in nature, that which is without cause and without law ('Met. 1065a, 4). Plato finds a place for chance in the economy of the universe. God governs all things, and chance and opportunity co-operate with Him in the government of human affairs ('Loves, iv. 709). And yet among the Greeks there was an instinctive shrinking from the idea of chance as the antithesis of cause and effect. The Fathers were, after all, the daughters of Necessity. Of them Plato remarks: 'Lachesis or the giver of lots is the first of them, and Clotho or the spinner is the second of them, and Atropos or the unchanging one is the third of them also; and she is the pre-animal of the things of which we have spoken, and which have been compared in a figure to things woven by fire, they both (i.e. Atropos and the fire) producing the quality of unchangeableness' ('Lotes, xii. 900). This quality of unchangeableness is opposed alike to the caprice or whim of a goddess, and to the chance control of the destinies of man. Moreover, accidentalism in the field of ethics appears in the theory of Theocritus. For instance, regards the uncaused will of man as analogous to the accidental devation of atoms from the direct line of their fall. The uncaused event and the uncaused will both present the same general difficulties also.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

ACCIDENTS (from the theological point of view).—Accidents, to a teleological theology, which must be engaged only in that they are to logic, viz., occurrences which do not fall under a general law of nature. The laws of nature are, from the teleo-
ACCIDENTS—ACCIDIE

logical point of view, rules expressing the purposes of a conscious Being, and accident will be occurring to fulfill such purposes.

The theologian who adopts the theory that conti- ngency in the natural world is an illusion due to our ignorance of general causes, must hold that there is no event conforming to Divine design; the very illusion of contingency must itself be the result of purpose. The difficulties that attend this subject are the same as surrounds the problem of Evil (see below). Practically, the belief by which his interests in the world thwarting the Divine design is an incitement towards activity; the opposite doctrine—that accidents are, after all, part of the Divine purpose, gives consolation in failure. On the whole, Christian thought tends to maintain that the solution of so many difficulties falls outside the province of reason, and does not attempt such a synthesis of contradictory opinions as constitutes the Hegelian treatment of the contingent.

G. R. T. Ross

ACCIDENTS (Injurious).—Accidents, in the general sense of the term as popularly employed, may be looked upon as mischances in human experience. Obviously the accidental character of events will thus be relative to the knowledge and reasoning power of different individuals. In order to mitigate the consequences of injurious accidents, the laws imposing liability are more or less effective. By this means the consequences of an injurious accident, in so far as they can be expressed in terms of money, may be entirely de- prived of their momentary and future effect by a previous economy, much less in most cases than would be necessary to equalize, as a sum of payments, the damage sustained. Not only so, but the diffusion of the evil results of contingency over a considerable period, and their transference to a corporation, prevent them from having that cumulative effect which may lead to further disaster of new and increasing nature.

Injurious accidents may lead to legal action, wherever the occurrences so styled are the result of the agency of at least one individual other than the sufferer, and that other agency can be distinguished from society in general.

(a) In the first class of such suits—actions for damages at common law—the first plea to be established by the prosecutor is substantially the proposition that the occurrence, which relatively to him was accidental, was not to the defendant, but fell within the limits of the latter's foresight. But there are numerous circumstances which might neutralize the effect even of the establish- ment of such a contention.

(b) Claims for compensation may be brought in cases where the injurious accident occurs in an enterprise concerning which there was a previous contract or agreement between the litigating parties. In numerous classes of such joint enter- prise the extent to which the risk of accident is borne by either party is laid down by law. For each species of relation a different rule may obtain. Thus in British law the liability for damage to goods entrusted to their care differs in the cases of warehousemen and of common carriers. The relation involving joint enterprise to which Parliamentary enactment has most recently extended delimitation of the risk of the contracting parties, is that of employer and employed. The experience of the Workmen's Compensation Acts of 1897, 1900, and 1906, in a great number of industries, and not merely in those involving an unusual amount of danger, not conforming to employers now bears no risk of injury to his workmen. Every workman may claim compensation from his employer for injury through accident, unless the accident be caused by his own serious and wilful misconduct.

The result of these enactments is practically to make the employer bear the cost of the injury of his employees against accident. It is only to be expected, however, that, though the immediate consequence will be a diminution of the revenue of employers, in time the expense of accident systems will fall partly upon the workmen, in the shape of a diminution or absence of increase in wages.


G. R. T. Ross

ACCIDIE.—The obsolete 'acciadie,' from accidie, incursus, torpor (Hippocr.), through med. Lat. accidie (as if from accedere), was once current as one of a quality related on one side to sloth, which has superseded it in some lists of the principal vices. Chaucer in the Parson's Tale, diluting upon the 'Seven Mortal Sins,' Superbia, Scleroris, Ira, Accidie, Avaritia, Gula, Luxuria, writes of the fourth: 'Agayns this roten-herted syne of Accidie and Slouthe sholde men exercise hem-self to doone gode werkes, and manely and vertuously eechen hire gerege well to don the syngale, (Scant, Student, p. 709). In Dante see acie and adj. accidioso (Purg. xvii. 132; Inf. vii. 123). The Patristic uses of accidie rest upon the Old Testament. The earliest of them is not noticed by the authorities mentions below. The corrupted form of accidie is acedia. Bp. Hall is quoted for 'acedy' (1623).

'Accidia, acediae are found as below in the LXX.: the render- ings in brackets are from the Vulgate. (1) Ps 119:15 'agarios [Gr. ἀκαθαρσίαι] πραξιν χρίσαται οἱ διεθνείς. (2) 111:18 ἀκαθαρσίας [μισθωτάς] μην ἔχετε. (3) Sir 39:2 ἀκαθαρσίας ὁ λόγος ἀκαθαρσίας. (4) Ps 60:14 ἀκαθαρσίας [ἀρτοῦ] τοῦ λόγου. (5) Ps 101:9 ἡ ἀκαθαρσίας τοῦ λόγου (τοῦ σωτῆρος). (6) Ps 128:1 ἀκαθαρσίας τοῦ λόγου μην ἔχετε ἀκαθαρσίας. (7) 150:9 LXX. ἀκαθαρσίας γεμίζων τὸ ποιητικόν. (8) 21:2 ἀκαθαρσίας (και διαθεματικά). (9) Sir 22:13 ἡ ἀκαθαρσίας (συν οἰκονομίας). The phrase 'spirit of acedy' is from (2) above; Antioch. Hom. 26 alludes also to (1), (4), (6), (8); and (9), (10) in the Latin are cited by Alardus Gazeus on Cassim.

In Vit. iii. of Hermo Pastor it is explained that the Church appeared first as old, because your spirit was aged and already failed and powerless from your sallings and doubts. Step for the aged, having no hope any more to renew their youth, expect nothing but their last sleep; so ye, being weakened by worldly affairs, yielded yourselves up to acedia (sic accidia), and cast not your care upon the Lord, but your spirit and your heart, and ye were worn out with your griefs (λύπους). Thus acedia is associated with sadness (ναρπα), one of the four plus eight principal vices in Sim. ix. 15; which is more wicked than all the spirits, and destroys the power of prayer (Μανδ. v. x.). The parable of the Unleavened Spirit which takes to it seven other spirits more wicked than itself (Mt 12:43 serves as a proof text for the number eight (afterwards seven) of the principalitas vilis. Nilus of Sinai calls them the 'Eight Spirits of Wickedness' (Zöckler, op. cit. inf. p. 65).

In Cassian’s Colat. v. ‘De octo principibus vitiiis,’ which embodies the teaching of the tradition, the eight vices are said to be Gastroinomia, Fornicatio, Philargyría, Ira, Tripletia, Accidia sive tedium cordis, Cenodoxia, Superbia. They are referred to in Lk 11:39, and they correspond with the like number of nations hostile to Israel. Why eight vices, when Moses enumerates only seven such nations? (Dt 7). Egypt, corresponding to the first vice (Nu 14), makes up the number; the land of Egypt was to be forsaken, and the number of the seven taken. Acedia, the besetting sin of the monk, was of two kinds: it sent him to sleep in his cell, or drove him out of it. The same vices
accommodation

attack all men, but not all in the same manner and order. This remark forewarns the disagreement of later moralists in their accounts of the vices, which are all more or less subjective.

Cassian, in Canon. Inst. x. 'De Spiritu Aedifici' (cf. Ehr. ap. Zöckler; Antioch. Hosp. 29), details the history of the custom, but notes that certain men are quoted Greek ἡμερῶν vocant, quam nos tedium sive anxietatem cordis possumus mune-

1 It is akin to Tristitia; is most felt by recluses, and attacks chiefly along the sixth hour, so that it has been called the 'midday demon' (Ps 99). Then, heated and flustered, the monk is as if wearied by long travel or toil, or as if he had fasted two or three days. Unpatient for the repast, he leaves his cell again and again to look at the sun, which seems to 'hasten too slowly to its setting.' Through 'not-caring' he is remiss at his tasks, and finds it a weariness even to listen to the voice of the reader. Solitude impels him to gird about visiting the brethren or the sick. Discon-
tented with his surroundings, he vainly imagines

that he would do better in some distant monastery.
To replace the complex acidity by sadness or sloth is the activity. In Seneca's octet it is distinct from Tristitia and different from mere

pigritia. Briefly, it was the state of mind of a monk who had mistaken his vocation: the natural effects of the 'religious' life, with its fasting from food 'and from the world.'

LITERATURE.—Oxford New English Dictionary, a.s.; Engs. Brit. art. 'Ethics' (by H. Sidgwick); E. Moore, Studies in Dante, vol. 2 (1929); O. Zöckler, Die Tugendlehre des Chris-
tianstums (1904); F. Paget, Spiritist science of Religion (1903); C. J. Vaughan, Authorized or Revised? (1908); T. B. Strong, Christianity, Greek, Ethos (1908), 221, 231, 254; O. Hammon, Chris-

ACCOMMODATION (in Biology and Psychology).—The process of organic or psychological adjustment understood in an individual and func-
tional sense. The concept of accommodation has arisen in the group of genetical processes by a process of growing specialization of problems. The old problem of 'adaptation' (q.v.) was one concerned with the adjustments of organisms to their environ-

ment, understood in a very static or a genetical way. Each adaptation was looked upon largely as a

definite structural arrangement whereby the organ-

ism responded effectively to the conditions of the world. The theory of evolution, and with it that of individual development, has conceived a

more functional statement of the whole series of

probls involved in the notion of adaptation. The description of the 'organs' involved and the

'ends' they serve—as in the case of the eye—has given place to the functional problem of the re-

actions and evolving functions through which the organ has come to be part of the endowment of the organism. This has given rise to a distinction between 'adaptation' proper and 'accommoda-

tion.' Adaptation is, by the terms of this dis-


tinction, restricted to the congenital adjustments for which the organism inherits structures adequate and fit; accommodation is applied to the adjustments which the organism, in the lifetime of the individual, achieves and perfects. Instinct in the animals is, in many cases, an adaptation; accommodation is applied to the proper

stomach of the appropriate stimulations are likewise adaptations: such processes, on the contrary, as modifications of instinct to meet special conditions, the special reactions learned by the individual, such as handwriting, together with the effects of evolution in the environment upon the organism, are accommodations.

The importance of the process of accommodation is seen in Biology in all cases in which the

courage corn is made to interpret the influence of individual behaviour and individual modification upon the organism and upon the next and follow-
ing generations. As early as the work of Lamarck, this factor was made very prominent in evolution theory, in the Lamarckian hypothesis that the

results of accommodation—of 'use and disuse'—were transmitted to future generations by Darwin, as subsidiary to his main principle of Natural Selection. Weismann and the neo-Dar-

winians reject this direct influence of the accom-

modation process or hereditary transmission, but still admit its importance as a constant process in successive generations of essential learning, whereby the individuals of each generation grow up to be competent and fertile—this position being known as 'Intra-Selection' (Weismann).

A more recent theory, called by the present writer 'Organic Selection,' discovers the importance of accommodations in directing the line of evolution. It is pointed out that, even though the modifications due to accommodation are not inherited, they still so effectively aid and protect individuals against the action of natural selection, that certain lines of adaptations and correlated characters are pre-

erved, and consequently the trend of evolution, the trend of evolution is thus in the lines marked out in advance by accommodations, natural selection following up and clinching the results first secured by the processes of accommodation.

The effects of accommodation on the structure of the organism are technically known as 'modifi-
cations;' they are contrasted with 'variations,' which are differences of structure of the 'adaptive' and congenital sort. Individuals are born different by variation; they become different during their lives by modification.

In Psychology the theory of accommodation is of even greater importance. The remarkable range and importance of the learning processes are never made matter of question. The problem of accom-

modation becomes therefore in Psychology—as also in Biology—that of the possibility of learning any-

thing new. Thus stated, the fact of accommodation is set over against that of 'habit.' If we call all those functions, of whatever sort, that the indi-

vidual is already able to perform, his 'habits,' it then appears necessary to explain the process by which habit is modified, cancelled, and added to:

this is accommodation.

The present solutions of this problem are in line with the requirements of genetic science as science of facts. It is found necessary that an individual may simply, by an act of will, do a thing that he has not learned to do; only certain fixed instincts work in that way, and that because they are fixed as habits by the gift of heredity. No muscular combination is possible, even when it involves the voluntary muscles—as, for example, those for moving the car in man—

that has not been learned, and the process of learning is a slow and effortful one. The theory of the moment current, and having the greater weight because held by both biologists and psychologists, is that known as 'theory of excess discharge,' of 'trials' and 'errors' to the 'adaptation.' In effect it considers any act of accommodation or learning as due to the excessive and varied exercise of habits already formed, the element of learning arising from the modifications that the trial and error, the successful imitations, the pleasurable results, etc., of the muscular or other combinations thus set in movement. The writer has illustrated this in many ways, treating of the acquisition of handwriting as a typical case. Mental Development in the Child and the Race (1903).

Spencer and Bain worked out a similar conception. In Biology, in the movements of unicellular organisms, as well as the accommodations of grosser function
in higher animals, are being fruitfully interpreted in accordance with this view (see L. Morgan, *Animal Behaviour*; Jennings, *Behaviour of the Lower Organisms*).

In the higher reaches of psychic function, the analogous problem is that of 'Selective Thinking,' together with the theory of adjustment to various motives. There is the social life, to which each individual must be accommodated; there is the environment of truth, to which all our processes of thinking selectively must conform. This carries us into the realms of Social Psychology, Ethics, and Theory of Knowledge.

**Literature.**—Besides the works cited in the text, see the general discussions of evolution, such as Conn, *Method of Evolution* (1891); Gallop, *Evolution Social and Individual* (1892); Headley, *Problems of Evolution* (1901). On Organic Selection see Lloyd Morgan, *Habit and Instinct* (1896); and Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology, where lists of selected works are given under *Abstraction*, *Induction*, etc.

**J. MARK BALDWIN.**

**ACCUMULATION.** — *Accumulation* (Lat. *ad 'to,' connuiss 'a heap') signifies (1) a heap, mass, or pile; (2) the process of growing into a heap, etc.; (3) the act of heaping, piling or stowing up, amassing, as in the case—immediate history of the present article—of the growth of capital.

The accumulation of capital is the result of saving. This, however, does not necessarily imply abstinence, privation, or sacrifice, in the ordinary sense. Saving is the act of the great capitalists: it involves no personal abstinence from immediate consumption, nor sacrifice of present gratifications. His immediate expenditure is limited only by his tastes. Often the pleasure of accumulation is greater than that of careless extravagance, and at times the dominant idea is the increase of wealth for the sake of power. 'Abstinence here means abstinence from senseless waste; it is a negative not a positive merit' (E. H. S. Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, p. 320). This must be conceded to Karl Marx and his followers. Hence the neutral term 'waiting' has been suggested as a substitute for 'abstinence.'

In the case of smaller incomes the subordination of present to future utility often involves real sacrifices, forbearance, prudence, forethought. But even here it must be borne in mind that anything the individual does under the term of accumulation far increases the amount which can be saved. 'To increase capital there is another way besides consuming less, namely, to produce more' (J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Bk. i. ch. v. § 4).

Thus, in general, all we can say is that saving implies an excess of production over consumption —a favourable state of balance which, according as it happens to be either favourable or unfavourable, necessarily occasions the prosperity or decay of every nation (Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. iv. ch. iii.).

To say that capital is the result of saving does not mean that it is not consumed. Saving is not hoarding. All capital is consumed in its primary function—the satisfaction of future needs—only in being consumed, that is, used; but it is not immediately consumed by the person who saves it. Saving thus signifies, if anything, the production of power is directed to the satisfaction of prospective or future needs. In general, this is done through saving 'money,' not, however, as a hoard, but as giving. Saving thus simply applies the productive power of directing national industry into particular channels. In this way, saving gives an increase in the productive power, and consequently in the consuming power of the society (see Nicholson, *Principles of Political Economy*, Bk. i. ch. xii. § 4).

In this connexion Mill points to the erroneous nature of the popular idea that the greater part of a nation's capital has been inherited from the distant past in which it was accumulated, and that no part was produced in any given year save that year's addition to that total amount. The fact, he says, is far otherwise. 'The greater part in value of the wealth now existing in England has been produced by human hands within the last twelve months.' The growth of capital is in many respects to the growth of population. Each is kept in existence, and increases from age to age, not by preservation but by perpetual consumption and reproduction. It is only the value of the capital that remains and grows; the things themselves are ever changing (see Mill, *Principles*, Bk. i. ch. v. § 6).

This consideration helps us to understand the, at first sight, amazing capability with which countries often recover from the effects of a devastating war. The material capital destroyed or removed would, for the most part, have required reproduction in any case; while the land and its quasi-permanent improvements subsist. It is indeed this immaterial capital that constitutes our great inheritance from the past. 'The present state of the nations,' says List, the German protectionist, 'is the result of the accumulation of all discoveries, inventions, improvements, perfections, and exertions of all generations that have lived before us; they form the mental capital of the present human race' (*National System of Political Economy*, Eng. tr. p. 149). The economic condition of a country depends far more on the mental and moral qualities of its inhabitants than on their accumulation of dead material capital.

It is thus with reason that Adam Smith includes the acquired skill of the people in the fixed capital of the nation. 'The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or instrument of trade which facilitates and abridges labour, and which, though at a certain expense, repays that expense with a profit' (*W. of N.*, Bk. ii. ch. i.). The successors of Adam Smith, however, lacked his comprehensive grasp of the realities of industrial life; and much of the popular antipathy to the teaching of the English economists of the early part of the 19th cent.—the followers of Ricardo—may be traced to their use of narrow and faulty abstractions, and in particular to their intensely materialistic conception of capital, which ignored altogether the skill of the worker. The force of attention was thus misdirected. Regard was had to the quantity rather than to the quality of labour, and consequently the value of efficiency on wages was overlooked. Every proposed reform, e.g. the Factory Acts, was judged by reference to its probable immediate effect on the accumulation of dead material wealth. It was not seen that the capital of a country may be as profitably invested in the physical, mental, and moral training of its inhabitants as in the accumulation of dead material wealth in the shape of machinery, factory buildings, and the like. To take but one other example of immaterial capital, and that a characteristic product of the mental and moral qualities of the people of these
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islands, the British money market—that marvellous banking and credit organization through which the capital of the country finds its way into the hands of those who can turn it to the most productive purposes—has been described by Bagehot as ‘the greatest combination of economical power and economical docility that the world has ever seen’ (see Lombard Street, ch. i).

Some idea of the relative importance of immaterial capital is given by Professor Nicholson, who estimates the ‘living capital’ of the United Kingdom as worth about five times the value of its dead material capital (see Strikes and Social Problems, pp. 97-110). Enough has been said to show that, for an explanation of the rise and fall of nations, we should look to the growth and decay of their immaterial rather than their material capital.

To return to material capital, the state of the balance of production and consumption, or, in other words, the accumulation of capital—which in a modern industrial society, with its vast and increasing variety of forms and substitutes, is necessarily far from any money-dependent on causes which naturally fall into two groups, those, namely, which determine the amount of the fund from which saving can be made, or, in other words, the power to save, and those which determine the strength of the spending hand, which prompt to saving, or, in brief, the will to save.

1. The power to save is necessarily limited to the amount of the national dividend or real net produce of the society, i.e. the surplus of the annual produce over what is required to supply the efficiency-necessaries of the producers, including those engaged in replacing raw material, requisitions, machinery, buildings, etc., and keeping up the consumption capital (e.g. dwelling houses, museums, etc.). The amount of this national dividend depends on (a) the natural resources of the country, (b) the state of the arts of production in the widest sense, including not only the means of communication and transport, but also the machinery of exchange and production; for under the modern system of division of labour production involves exchange, and thus the state of the credit institutions must also be considered.

The causes embraced under these two heads together determine the amount produced within the community. But the amount of the national dividend is further affected by (c) the state of foreign trade, which determines the amount of imports obtained in return for exports. (d) The amount taken by Government for public purposes, whether in the form of taxes or burdars like conscription, must also be considered (see Nicholson, Elements of Political Economy, p. 80).

These causes determine the annual national dividend or maximum which can be saved. But the amount annually added to capital always falls short, and generally far short, of this, depending as it does on the will to save.

2. To save is the resultant of a complexity of causes, amongst the most important of which are: (a) Security. To induce saving there must be some reasonable expectation that the owner will be allowed to enjoy the fruits of his saving. This involves protection by the Government against force and fraud, which includes the enforcement of freely made contracts; and protection against the Government, e.g. against oppressive and arbitrary taxation. (b) The state of the arts of production. (c) The state of foreign trade. (d) The amount taken by Government for public purposes. (e) The effective desire of accumulation is compounded of many elements, intellectual and moral, including the development of the 'telescopic faculty' (Marshall), the growth of the family affections, the hope of rising in the world, and the
in the United States seem to be wholly absorbed in the acquisition and accumulation of capital, simply and solely as a necessary condition of pre-eminence in the world of business. They know no other goal. In some cases, indeed, it appears that the motive for the end, and the mere accumulation of wealth becomes the mainspring of life; or it may be that the habit of accumulating, acquired in time of need, maintains its sway when the need has passed.

But though the effective desire of accumulation is thus sometimes in excess of what reason would justify, there is much more danger in the other extreme. Nations may be ruined by extravagance, never by parsimony.

The popular idea of the social effects of extravagant expenditure is based on reasoning the fallacious nature of which has often been exposed. Saving is identified with selfish hoarding, while the spendthrift is regarded as benefiting all around him. It is admitted that he may be ruining himself and his family, but it is not generally recognized that he is also injuring the community. The lavish outlay of the spendthrift makes money circulate, and increases the profits and wages of wage-workers, tailors, domestic servants, and others. That is nearly all. What is readily seen is that, had the money not been thus squandered, the capital which it represents would not have lain idle, but would have found its way, through the medium of our banking organization, into the hands of some manufacturer or shipbuilder, say, to be employed by him in productive industry. The spendthrift, then, does not benefit trade, or give employment to labour; he simply alters the direction of the employment of capital, and he renders the nation poorer by the amount of the wealth he thus wastefully consumes. The saving person, on the other hand, creates a fund which, in its consumption, affords an equal employment for labour, and yet is continually renewed (see Mill, Principles, Bk. I. ch. vi. § 3). "Economy, in short, enriches, while extravagance impoverishes, the individual and the nation.

And in this, as in most other cases, good economy is good morality. The accumulation of wealth implies, in the normal case, forethought, self-restraint, energy, and enterprise on the part of the individual, and it is an essential condition of the progress of the nation. But poverty is an essential prerequisite of the highest civilization. It means increased scope for Division of Labour. As the accumulation of stock must, in the nature of things, be previous to the division of labour, so labour can be more and more subdivided in proportion as stock is previously more and more accumulated" (Adam Smith, W. of N., Bk. II. Intro.). It thus means increase in man's power over nature, with consequent economy of human effort in the satisfaction of the primary needs, and increased leisure for the culture of Art and Science and Literature. Nations, like men, may grow rich without a culture, but they are not.

ACHÆMENIANS.—A dynasty which ruled in Persia from B.C. 558 to 330, and whose religion is important for the study of the development of Zoroastrianism. The monarchs of the line were as follows: Cyrus the Great (558-530), Cambyses (530-522), Darius I. (522-486), Xerxes I. (486-465), Artaxerxes I. (465-424), Xerxes II. (424), Sogdianus (424), Darius II. (424-404), Artaxerxes II. (404-358), Artaxerxes III. (358-379), and Darius III. (379-330). The scanty data concerning their religion are contained in classical authors, in the Ptolemaic and Greek, and above all
in their own inscriptions, which were written in Old Persian, with Babylonian and New Elamite translations. The only kings of this dynasty who could conceivably give their name here are Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius I., Xerxes I., and Artaxerxes II. and III.

1. Cyrus the Great.—The material for a knowledge of the religion of this monarch is restricted to the account of Xenophon concerning the disposal of his body and the Babylonian inscriptions. The Cyropedias, as is well known, is a historical romance, and its statements, therefore, can be accepted only with caution, unless they can be controlled by the Avesta or other sources. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that Xenophon had exceptional opportunities for observing the Achaemenian religion, through his long association with Cyrus the Younger, so that under his apparent Hellenic veneer there may lurk some true elements of Achaemenian belief. In this romance Cyrus is repeatedly represented as offering sacrifices, and it is noteworthy that he invokes the assistance of the magi (IV. 5. 14, vi. 5. 57, viii. 1. 20). The deities to whom he rendered sacrifice appear under the Greek nomenclature of Zeus, Helios, Ge, and Hestia (i. 6. 1, iii. 3. 22, vii. 7. 3), and in addition to whom he invoked ‘all the gods’ (the latter phrase is interesting as being a striking, though doubtless accidental, parallel with a phrase of similar meaning in the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius) and the tutelary deities of Assyria and Persia. With this list must be compared the statement of Herodotus (i. 181) and of Strabo (xv. 3. 13) that the Persians worshipped the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, the wind, the Nereid, under the name of Zeus. It thus becomes evident that the worship ascribed to Cyrus by Xenophon was a nature-worship closely akin to the Iranian cult which finds its revival in the so-called Younger Avesta. The deities honoured by him were doubtless identical with Ahura Mazda, Mithra, Atar (the sacred fire), and Anahita (apparently identified with the earth as being a goddess of fertility). The identification of Hestia with the sacred fire receives its confirmation in the rôle ascribed to fire in the sacrifice recounted in Cyrop. vii. 3. 12, but the equation of Ge with Anahita is more doubtful. This goddess is represented by the Anahrite of Diodorus, and the divine personification of earth in Iranian mythology was Spenta Armaiti (Gray, ARW vii. 364-370). If, however, the identification here proposed be accepted, it is strikingly corroborated in the collection of Ahura Mazda, Mithra, and Anahita in the Old Persian inscription of Artaxerxes II. The tutelary deities whom Cyrus is represented as worshipping are none other than the yazatas, who were originally the ghosts of the dead, yet who later came to be protecting gods, and are thus invoked in Yasna, xxiii. 1: ‘I invoke to worship those yazatas, who abode time were of the houses, and of the villages, and of the districts, and of the lands; who sustain the heaven, who sustain the water, who sustain the earth, who sustain the kine, who sustain children in the wombs to be conceived that they may die not.’ In the instructions of the dying Cyrus concerning the disposal of his body, on the other hand (Cyrop. viii. 7. 23), he departed widely from Zoroastrian usage when he requested that he be buried in earth, a request whose accuracy into consideration here is the clearer in view of his tomb as given by Strabo (xv. 3. 7), which agrees strikingly with the so-called Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae. It may be noted in this connexion that the Achaemenian kings were entombed in rock sepulchres, as evidenced by their tombs at Persepolis and elsewhere; while Herodotus (i. 140) states that the Persians, after exposing the corpse to birds or dogs, coated it with wax and placed it in the ground. It would seem, therefore, that the data of Xenophon concerning the disposal of the Achaemenian dynasty are not so valuable as sometimes supposed. They agree remarkably with the statements of the Younger Avesta, which, despite its comparatively late date, doubtless represents in its main outlines the creed of the Iranians before the reform associated with the name of Zoroaster.

2. Cyrus—The religious records concerning this monarch are extremely scanty. Herodotus (iii. 16) mentions his impurity in burning the corpse of Amasis, ‘since the Persians regard fire as a god (Hyton), even as a man burns his house, or that of a man to a god.’ Both in Persia and in the home of the Avesta the desecration of the fire by contact with dead matter was regarded as a most grievous sin (cf. Vendidad, vi. 75-81). The only other document which throws light on the religion of Cambyses is an Egyptian text on a naophoric statue in the Vatican. According to this inscription, the strangers had intruded within the precincts of the goddess Neit at Sais and had placed various obstructions there. In answer to a petition received by him, Cambyses commanded that the fane be purified and that its worship be restored. He himself then went to Sais, restored all offerings to the goddess and also to Osiris, while he likewise ‘worshipped before the holiness of Neit with much devotion, as all the kings had done; he made great offering of all good things to Neit, the god who is lord of all the gods who dwell in Sais, as all the pious kings had done’ (Petrie, History of Egypt, 1905, iii. 301, 302). Though Cambyses was, as is universally acknowledged, a pious monarch in regard to his religion, he was thoroughly in accord with that pursued by Cyrus before him and Darius after him. His stabbing of the Apis bull, on the
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It is evident that the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius represent him as a worshipper of Ahuramazda and as filled with abhorrence of the "lie." One benevolent godling (Arīsta) and one malevolent fiend (Dūṣiyār) are mentioned under the same names in the Younger Avesta. The stylistic parallels which may undoubtedly be traced between the Achaemenian texts and the Avesta, on the other hand, are much enhanced by Bab. inscriptions from which Darius and his successors manifestly drew. His policy towards other faiths than his own was that of Cyrus. In his reconstruction of the kingdom on his accession, he stated that he "restored the place which Gaumata had digged down." (I. 64).

This view receives confirmation from a Greek and an Egyptian inscription of Darius. In the former text, found in 1874 at Dourmūnji (eds. C. Clermont-Ganneau and B. Delitzsch), the king reproves his subject Gudates, who had sought to efface all traces of the religion of his predecessors. Darius expressly states, that of his predecessors, and who had exacted a tax from the priests of Apollo. Who "Apollo" was is doubtful, but both Cos and Croesus, and they are strangely, identify him with Ašar (the sacred fire), who appears in Greeks, as not shown. This parallel is very similar to the Greek divinity Apollo, who in times past had given a favourable oracle to Cyrus, perhaps during his Lydian campaign, and caused a temple to be built to the Achaemenian dynasty. At all events, the inscription is not Zoroastrian in tone.

Still more polytheistic is the stele of Darius at Tell el-Maskhet (ed. Golenischeff, RTAP xxvii. 196-197), which contains the following words: (Darius) born of Nebit, the lady of Neb, image of the god Ra who hath put him on his throne to accomplish which he had begun (master) of all the sphere of the solar disc. When he (Darius) was in the womb (of his mother) and had not yet appeared upon earth, the (goddess Nešit) recognized him as her son... she hath (extended) her arm to him with the bow before her to overthrow for ever his enemies. As she had done for her own son, the god Ra. He is strong... (he had destroyed) his enemies in all lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius who liveth for ever, the great, the prince of princes... (the son) of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian, the mighty. He is her son (of the goddess Nešit), powerful and wise to enlarge his boundaries.

Devout and noble though his inscriptions show him to be, Darius seems to have been by no means a strict monotheist. This statement is corroborated by the old Persian texts themselves, which show that he felt merely that Ahuramazda was, as he himself says, 'the greatest of gods.' A Persian inscription thrice contains the words hašt ēwāštādān ēwāštādān, which were formerly rendered 'with the clan-gods,' but which are now regarded as meaning 'with all the gods.' This interpretation is confirmed by the Bab. itti ērān gābbī and the New Elamite annap. sarpepatu-tašku ('with all the gods') in texts of closely similar content and phraseology. The plural of bērā ('god') occurs in the Avesta only in Yāst. x. 141, which states that Mithra 'is the wisest of gods,' but its eluvi form occurs at least thrice, and abundantly Zoroastrian passage (Denkert, viii. 15. 1) being especially interesting in this connexion, since it speaks of the 'worship of Ahuramazda, the highest of divinities.'

This phrase is strikingly similar to passages in the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes which describe Ahuramazda as 'the greatest of gods.' That such a phrase is not necessarily polytheistic is clear from such passages as the Ormazd inscription of Ahuramazda of Bareš in the New Elamite version, however, occurs the statement, which may be noticed, that Ahuramazda was 'the god of the Aryans.' If stress may be laid on this (a fact which is by no means certain),
it may serve as a partial explanation of the policy pursued by the Achemenians with regard to the gods of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Greeks. This view of Ahura Mazda as a national deity in the eyes of the Persian kings may readily be paralleled from other Oriental nations of antiquity. The adoption of the name of Ahura Mazda in the title of certain Persian monarchs is best explained by the fact that he is 'with all the gods,' of whom he was the greatest. In the light of this, the epithet παράγοιν, applied by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, to Zeus (Ahura Mazda) (above the sacred fire), possibly likewise becomes explicable (cf., however, the same epithet given by Greek poets to Αθήνη, Apollo, Hekate, Hermes, and Zeus; see Bruchmann, Epitheta Deorum graecorum, pp. 154, 156, Leipzig, 1859). Under any explanation it is a far cry from the nationalistic Ahura Mazda of the political Achemenians to the god of the Avesta, who brooks no rivals and urges his follower to 'convert all men living.' (Vayena, xxxi. 3).

4. Xerxes I.—The chief source for a knowledge of the religion of Xerxes I. is Herodotus, who states (vii. 43, 53, 54) that this king, when he arrived at the Hellespont in his expedition against Greece, received as a bood gift to 'Athene Ilium,' and also made a libation to the sun, and gave an offering to the sea. 'Athene of Ilium' seems to be the Persian Anahita, who is mentioned in most of the inscriptions of Xerxes I. and to whom offerings were offered, according to the Younger Avesta (Yatt., v.), 'a hundred stallions, a thousand bulls, and ten thousand sheep.' The correspondence in the number of oxen offered in both accounts is surely not fortuitous. The homage to the sun god and the offering to the sea, as we have seen, are the gods of the Avesta (Mithra) and the waters is too well known to require further elucidation (cf. Strabo, xv. 2. 13). If Herodotus may be believed, moreover, Xerxes sacrificed at a place called Niniveh, to the Persian gods, the most notable of which were his Greek boys and nine Persian girls, and he adds (vii. 114) that it was customary for the Persians to offer victims by burying them alive. In view of the fact that this custom is mentioned nowhere else, and of the deification of the sacred element earth which would, the statement of the Greek historian seems too improbable to be accepted as authentic. A passage of much interest, however, is that in which Herodotus says (vii. 40) that Xerxes was accompanied in his march by the sacred chariot of Zeus, which was drawn by eight white horses, whose driver went on foot, 'for no man mounteth on this throne' (cf. Quintus Curtius, iii. 8–15). The horse was, indeed, the beast par excellence among the Persians, and Ahura Mazda, the national deity, who thus escorted the king to victory quite as Jahweh did in His ark carry Joshua over the Jordan (Deut. 33. 24).

5. Artaxerxes II. and III.—The brief texts of Artaxerxes II. and III. are interesting solely as adding the names of Mithra and Anahita to that of Ahura Mazda. That this was a real innovation seems far from probable, in the light of the religion ascribed by the allusions in the classics to Cyrus and Xerxes. It is noteworthy, in this connexion, that Plutarch, who was by no means unacquainted with the true Zend-Aryan religion, recognizes the testimony of the inscriptions. In his Life of Artaxerxes II. he mentions the king's worship of Anahita, his oaths in the name of Mithra, as well as his coronation in a temple of 'Minerva' (a deity of uncertain identification).

The Achemenians are curiously, and perhaps significantly, ignored in the Middle Persian writings. The theory has been advanced that Artaxerxes I. argued by the Achemenians with regard to the Palmi texts under the name of 'Ardashir the Kayan, whom they call Voluman, son of Spend-dad,' who, according to Behman Yast, ii. 17, 'separates the demons from men, scatters them about, and makes the religion present in the whole world.' This hypothesis lacks all foundation. The Zoroastrian Artaxerxes was the son of Spend-dad; the Achemenian was the son of Xerxes; al-Biruni rightly distinguishes between them, and the identification of the two in the Shah-Namah and other sources is improper. The confusion of these two is due to the accidental coincidence that the grand- father of each was named Darius. Again, according to the Denkvert (iv. 25), 'Darai, son of Dari, ordered the defilement of the sacred fire of the whole Avesta and Zand.' This Darius, who was the son of Darius, is identified with the Achemenian Darius III. Codomannus, who was the son of Arsanes. Al-Biruni once more carefully distinguishes between the two, and it is not un- likely that he is right in so doing (cf. Nödeke in Geiger-Kuhn's Granddiss der Iran. Philologie, ii. 141), even though other Oriental sources identify the two. At all events, the equation is too doubtful, with the data now available, to serve as a basis for any hypothesis, either for or against the Zoroastranism of the Achemenians.

In any case, however, no proof has been made of the very plausible hypothesis of the Paris scholar Desno, who supposes (Mémoire sur la religion des Perses, etc., 1893) that this Darius and the late Greek predecessors of the king to whom the one dynasty is the other by the Pahlavi writers 'in their attempt to sway off some of the last kings of the Achemenian house menaced with a new dynasty, and successors of king Gustasp.' It may be accepted (and it is by no means unprobable), it would readapt the names of course that the undisputed Zoroastranism of the dynasty of Vishtaspa should be attributed to the added kings, whatever their own faith may have been. The lack of agreement between the monographs recorded in the Pahlavi texts and the dynasty of the Achemenian past, however, be taken into account in any attempt to solve this problem.

In the light of what has been said, it would appear that the Achemenians were pre-eminent worshipers of Ahura Mazda; they did not refuse to recognize other Iranian deities, such as the sun, the fire, and the waters, or even hesitate to honour the divinities of other countries, rebuild their temples, and restore their cult. Ahura Mazda was to them a purely national god, surrounded by subordinate deities who were clearly nature-divities. Numerous parallels may be drawn, both in concept and in phraseology, between the Old Persian inscriptions and the Avesta, although it is most significant that these coincidences are with the Younger Avesta, with its probable recrudescence of the pre-Zoroastrian nature cult, rather than with the Gathas; and it must also be observed that scribal and dialectical variations in the cognates exist between the Old Persian and the Assyr.-Bab. texts. The Old Persian inscriptions must be supplemented by all available sources, whether Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, or Elamitic. From a careful study of all these documents, it becomes clear that the only conclusion which can safely be reached concerning the religion of the kings of this dynasty is that they were Mazdaismans, not Zoroastrians.
ACHELOUS—ACILITIES

ACHELOUS. — The name of the greatest river in Greece. Flowing from the watershed of Pindus in a southerly direction, it forms in its lower waters the boundary-line between Etolia and Acarnania before falling into the Ionian Sea. The river-god who presided over it was reputed the son of Oceanus and Tethys (Hes. Theog. 340); he was the eldest of 3000 brothers and supreme amongst them, in power second only to Oceanus himself (Aeschylus fr. 11a, Frumg. Hist. Gr. i. 101).

Other legends, after the manner of Etaeus, represent him as a man in consequence of whose sorrows the river first rushed forth as a divine solace (see, e.g., Prop. ii. 25, 33).

Tradition regarded him as the king of streams, from whom are derived the waters of all other rivers. In certain localities, such as he was worshipped throughout the Greek world, from Athens and Oropus as far as Rhodes and Metapontum. Thus it is not surprising that smaller streams besides the Etolian river bore his name — in Thessaly, Achus, Arcadus, and elsewhere.

Further, we find the word Achelous generalized in the sense of water (Eur. Buceph. 625, etc.); this occurs especially in the ceremonial phraseology of sacrifices and oaths — proving that the identification of the river-god is not a poetical refinement, but the survival of an old religious formula (Ephorus fr. 27; Frumg. Hist. Gr. i. 230).

Again, Achelus is the father of a numerous progeny of water-nymphs, such as Pirene, Castalyn, and Dirso, the guardian spirits of local Hellenic streams.

The appropriateness is less obvious when the Sirens appear as his daughters (Pansan. ix. 34, 2): perhaps they are so viewed in their aspect as the windless calm of the southern seas in summer (cf. Od. xii. 168).

For it has been held that Achelous was not only a river-god, but, as signifying water in general, also the lord of the sea (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Eur. Herakles, i. 29). His name sometimes is equivalent to that of the suitor of Deianeira, who was vanquished by Herakles after a fierce struggle. Like Proteus, he possessed the power of metamorphosis, and in this he is the forerunner of the form of a wild bull (Soph. Trosch. 9 f., 507 f.).

In the course of the fight, one of his horns was broken off by Herakles, and, according to one account, he ransomed it from his conqueror by giving in exchange for it the horn of Amulthia or coracopos (Apollon. Bild. ii. 7, 5). The ancients gave a rationalistic explanation of the story: Herakles represents the growing power of civilization, which reclaimed the marsh-land for agriculture by等方式 and diverting the wild exuberance of the river into a ploughed field. His name, then, seems rather as if Achelous was a name consecrated in primitive rite to express the principle of moisture as the source of life and growth. Further, since to a nation of cowards the development of generative power, the fostering river-god was worshipped in bull form. Whatever be the explanation, it should not be forgotten that the bull shape is a common type among the gods and is often limited to Achelous (cf. Eur. Ion 1261). A symbolical connexion between the two aspects of divinity was found in the horn of plenty, which, as we have seen, was mythically associated with Acheulos.

But Achelous had one other form besides that of the old man with horns, as a sea-serpent with human head and arms and bull’s horns, or as a bull with human face and long dripping beard.

The etymology of the word is unknown, and inferences based upon conjectural explanations of it should be unhesitatingly rejected.


A. C. PEARSON.

ACILITIES was extensively worshipped throughout the Hellenic world. Numerous guesses have been made at the derivation of his name both in ancient and in modern times, but the etymology remains quite uncertain. Nor does it appear possible to attribute to him with confidence any exclusively naturalistic significance, though he has been claimed as a river-god, as a god of light, and even as a moon-god; for us, he is merely the chief of the heroic figures of Greek myth who were defiled by later generations as transcending the normal powers of humanity. Nevertheless, there are certain prominent features in his worship which claim recognition.

He appears most conspicuously as a sea-god, whose temple was placed on promontories or navigable coasts, and was sometimes used as a safe anchorage, or, in time of stress, would assuage the violence of the storm. The contrary winds, with which his spirit visited the Greeks after the capture of Troy, ceased when Polyxena had been sacrificed (Eur. Hec. 199, 1267). In this capacity his name was perpetuated, and honours were paid to him at harbours, as at Tainaron and Skyros. The popularity of his worship amongst the Greek settlers in Asia Minor accords with this; at Miletus a spring was called by his name, and in his temple at Sigeum in the Troad offerings were made to him as a hero. But the most significant testimony to the high estimation in which he was held is the extension of his cult to the shores of the Euxine, where he was honoured as Pontarches (CIG ii. p. 87 n. 2076). To this neighbourhood it seems to have been carried by the earliest Greek navigators in their adventurous voyages of discovery.

His chief temple in this region was situated at Olbia on the mouth of the Hypanis, where a college of priests was devoted to his service (Dio Chrys. xxxvi. 80ff.); facing the narrowest part of the strait was a village settlement which grew up round another of his precincts (Strabo, xi. p. 494).

The most interesting and celebrated of his local cults was connected with the lonely shrine in the uninhabited island of Leuko (or Achilles Island, sometimes confused with Achein Epeiros, which Strabo places at the mouth of the Borysthenes), opposite to the mouth of the Danube (Eur. Andr. 1590; Pind. Nem. iv. 48). Here the only ministers were the sea-birds, and though navigators, for whom the temple served as a beacon, might land to sacrifice, they were obliged to leave at sunset. Here also Hekos and Achilies were believed to consort together; for sounds of high revelry and the noise of arms were heard by night, proceeding from the sanctuary, and filling with awe and amazement those who had been rash enough to anchor near (Philostor. Her. xx. 32–40).

In another aspect, Achelous was recognized as a god of healing (Gruppe, see below). This is inferred from the association of his worship with that of Asklepios, from the healing properties of his spear, from his connexion with healing buildings such as the Medica and Iphigeneia from his detection of the magician and thief Pharmakos, and from his victory over the Amazons. There are also distinct traces of his beneficent power in cases of ceremonial purification; the clearest instance is to be found in Pausanias' account of Poimandros, who successfully obtained his help.
ACOSMISM—ACOSTA

when suffering from the pollution of accidental homicide (Flut. Quest. Gr. 57, p. 290 c–f).


ACOSMISM (Gr. a privative, and eosmos, 'the universe,' in the sense of an ordered or arranged whole).—This term belongs primarily to the field of Ontology, i.e. the theory of the ultimate nature of Being and Reality; but it has ethical bearings also. Several possible differences of theoretical interpretation, the doctrine of Acosmism implies that the universe, as known to human experience, possesses no reality in itself, but is dependent upon, or is a manifestation of, an underlying real being. In a word, the universe must be viewed as a semblance. In the history of modern thought the classical example of the doctrine may be described as the metaphysical parallel to Hume's psychological scepticism. For Hume, Co-gito, ergo videtur esse. And just as he thus fixes illusion upon the experience of the individual man, so the acosmist holds the universe as a whole to be illusory. This conclusion, while defensible, as it shows the extent of the philosophical and historical and speculative conditions of the time, may be contorted on the strictly theoretical side. For it is obvious that the reality constituting the substance of the universe must be regarded as the real; it is no less obvious, however, that the only reality attributable to it must be derived, as concerns human experience, from the universe already declared to be illusory. For example, Spinoza's Absolute Substance—the reality underlying the universe—is known to man in the two 'attributes' Thought and Extension. These in turn differentiate themselves into 'modes,' each mode of Thought being the correlative of a mode of Extension. God is, therefore, at once the 'Thing' which thinks, and the 'Thing' which is extended. Hence (as the conditions of his age prevented him from seeing fully) any attribute of God, whether known to man or not, is a mode of possible substance.

By attribute I understand what intellect perceives of substance as constituting its essence (cf. Ethic. ii. 21, Schol.). Between this conclusion and Hegelian idealism there may be, doubtless, a distinction, but without fundamental difference.

And the reason lies open. Only from human experience can Spinoza, or any one, derive reality and meaning to inject into the so-called substance or mode. Underlying all of either the reality underlying the cosmos is nothing, or it achieves reality just to the extent to which it may be viewed as an effective component of human experience.

One need not do more than indicate the importance of this as bearing upon theological problems, especially those raised by the religions of India, or upon ethical questions, particularly those connected with Quetzal (ib. see)

The feeling of the overwhelming nature of the Ultimate Being tends naturally to Acosmism; so, too, does undue emphasis upon the transcendence of the Deity. In order, the conclusion follows usually from a more or less vague ethical attitude, rather than from metaphysical analysis and logical argument.


ACOSTA.—Uriel (or, as he was originally named, Gabriel) da Costa is an interesting but controversial figure in history. His philosophy is due mainly to the similarity between his life and that of another Amsterdam Jew of the same period—Spinoza. It may even be said that the harsh treatment he received from the Jewish community was the result of the vagaries of Acosta; but there was no real parallel between the two men. Acosta did not possess the strength or originality of character which enables a religious thinker to stand alone, yet he was gifted with enough independence to render it impossible for him to submit to the restraint of authority. Acosta was born about 1590 at Oporto, of a Marano family, i.e. a family of Jewish origin forced to conform to Roman Catholicism. Carefully educated in the new faith, he had every prospect of advancement; but, as he tells us, his studies of the OT left him dissatisfied with Catholicism. Determined to resume Judaism, he left his family contrived to escape to Amsterdam in 1617. Here he lived openly as a Jew; but, as was to be expected, he found Judaism less ideally perfect than he had dreamed. He soon came in conflict with the Synagogue as he had done with the Church, was excommunicated, recanted, again defied the authorities, was again excommunicated, and finally submitted to a public and degrading penance in the Synagogue shortly after which he shot himself. This was probably in 1647; Spinoza was a boy of fifteen at the time.

Gutzkow, author of the well-known drama on the subject, represents Uriel Acosta as a youth at the time of his suicide: he was certainly over 50; and if the dates given above be correct (as is most probable), he was nearer 60. Thus we are not dealing with a persecuted youth, but with a man of over sixty years, who deserves sympathy rather for what he was than for what he endured. His brief autobiography, written just before his death, is indeed a pathetic document. He called himself Eusebius, and it was published in Latin by Philip Limborch on pp. 156–164 of his de Veritate Religiosae Christianae (Gouda, 1637, since reprinted), and in a German translation by H. Jellinek in Acostas Leben und Lehre (Zerbst, 1874). It is as a summary of what we know of his career. He abjures both Christianity and Judaism, expressing himself with peculiar bitterness against the latter, whose teachers he repeatedly terms Pharisees. The only authority that he admits is the 'lex naturalis,' thus placing himself among the Deists. Nature, he says, teaches all human virtue and fraternity, while revealed religion produces strife. He speaks sympathetically of Judaism. Strongly enough, he finds all necessary rules for conduct in the Noahian laws formulated by the Talmudists; these were seven in number; and though the details differ in different Halabbin who live; they all include in God, the avoidance of adultery, murder, and robbery. These Acosta considers to be 'laws of nature.'

As a contributor to religious thought, Acosta was not original. But he belongs to the direct line of rationalists who were seeking by means of reason to so much significance in religious history. He lived in an age when tolerance was little understood even in free Amsterdam, and though his troubles were mainly self-provoked, he must always enjoy the sympathy of those who condemn the attempt of public authority to regulate belief and compel conformity. As a champion of freedom,
ACROSTIC—ACT, ACTION

ACROSTIC.—An acrostic (h) is etymologically an extreme as the first or line or verse, lit. 'row' (στροφή). Acrost. Const. ii. 57 prescribes an antithetical

1. Bickell and others find fifteen complete alphabets or remains of them in the Heb. OrT and Sirach, viz. in the following Psalms or chapters: (1-5)


2. Terms of (LXX 9.)—Remains of an alphabet spell by the first letter of alternate verses (Ps 1-6, 9-10, . . . 10, 14-15, 27, 30, 32, 33.) With ἀναλήμφαμα and ἐπιστευμανθὰ from 107.5 as initial words we should have ἄ to π, as in other cases noted below. The order ἀναλήμφαμα brings somewhat similar letters together.

Ps 9—. An alphabet minūs, with a letter from each verse except that the T is included in the Α. To restore the Β, begin v. 18 with Ἀριστ. (Ps 105). An appended Ἀριστ. makes up the number of the verses to the alphabet, in two series, like Ps 10, La 5, etc., such as can have that number of verses or sections, but are not alphabets (Bickell).

3. Ps 54.—An alphabet like (2), the added verse beginning ἄπειρον. EV and LXX have in v. 10, 'The righteous cry or cried,' for Heb. ἀπειράω. But with 2 to 14 (v. 15, 16) there would be no need to repeat. The righteous.

Ps 57.—An alphabet minūs, formed like (1). To complete 8, read in v. 24 ἀριστητήριον (with dactyl for ἀριστητήριον, the word in brackets for LXX ἀριστητήριον. In v. 29, ἀριστητήριον 1 is given the S.

(6) Ps 111, 112.—Alphabets with their letters from the halves of the verses, of which three at the end are numbered as 2-10.

4. Ps 119.—Known as ἡγίασμα γάρ τινα, 'the great alphabet' (Buxtorf, Lex. s. v. γάρ). Eight verses begin with αἴθρη, eight with τέλος, eight with ἀριστήτηριον. The name of the letters given in the English Bible, but not in the LXX. Note, however, that the Psalm is missing in B; and see the variants from the Psalters R and W.

5. (Ps 145.—An alphabet minūs, with a letter from each verse, beginning ἄπειρον (LXX ἄπειρον ἄπειρον) having fallen out before ἄπειρον (v. 16, 34). Of an alphabet with a letter from each verse; but in LXX B the S verse precedes the ἄπειρον verse.

(6) La 1.—An alphabet like (9), with the letters in the usual order. The LXX gives their names, some of them in B in strange forms. With Toade for 2 cf. Aquila's Greek for 'Sion' in Ps 103.29-30 (Orientalia, p. 51). (11) 13, 15) La 39.22-30. 11-12. Three alphabets, of which every verse gives a letter, that in (12) being of the form ΛΑ, ΒΒ, etc. Heb. 2 before but in the LXX, which here also names the letters, it gives 'Α and Α as wrongly as titles of the Β and Β verses.

(11) Nah 14.—On the supposed traces here of an alphabet arranged 'exquisito artificio,' see Bickell's Carmir, P.T., and art. 'Nahum' in Hastings' DB and in Elia.

7. Sir 39, 40, 41.—An alphabet before the discovery of the Cairo Hebrew, Bickell saw that Ben Sira's poem on Wisdom begins with an alphabet, but he did not satisfactorily determine all the letters. In the LXX R (ed. Swete) supplies materials for the beginnings of all but the odd verse in their right order. In v. 18 begin ἀριστητήριον; in v. 19 ἄπειρον (ἐνέχεσθαι); and supply the odd line from the Hebrew. The other letters may then be found without difficulty. Comparing G, H, and K, the letters indicated in v. 18 are added to the line, but in the Heb. it begins rightly or wrongly with them.

2. Evidently the alphabeticism of a composition is more or less of critical importance: it enables us...

Some find the names Pedalab, Pedalab, Simon in Ps 25.22. 110, 1-4. Pesketh. Esh detects Moes in Ps 25.22 and so from Ps 25 may spell out 11.7. The Midrash knows also of the letter for "mushroom".
we must have recourse to the words 'act' and 'action.' Hence, when we wish to designate the agency of man in its peculiar character, we must prefix the epithet. The peculiar character of human action, as the phrase is ordinarily used, is to mark the distinction from any sort of physical action, is that the former is an expression of consciousness. But in making this broad distinction we must notice, first, that it applies equally to all animal action as distinguished from physical and merely physiological action; and, second, in the discussion of human action the phrase is often used more widely to include unconscious actions exhibited by the human organism. The fact is, of course, that the human organism exhibits all grades of action, physical, animal, and human in the strictest sense. The only physical actions of the organism, however, which concern us in relation to our study of consciousness, are those which are like the latter in depending directly upon the nervous system, but unlike them in not expressing consciousness, whether in the form of feeling or purpose. Of summations of the nervous system, not expressive of consciousness, two grades are distinguished: the simple Reflex action, and the more complex Instinctive action in which a number of movements are associated and in which the division is a simple result—though it should be observed that the range of true instincts is very limited in the case of man. When we say that these actions are not expressive of consciousness, we do not necessarily imply that they have no conscious accompaniments, but only that the nature of the action is not determined by these conscious accompaniments even when present. The reflex action of sneezing is not determined by the sensations which accompany it. And similarly, though an instinctive action may be accompanied by sensation and feeling, the purposive character which it displays is not due to conscious forethought.

Of human actions, in the stricter sense, which are expressive of consciousness—or which, to use the technical term of psychology, are 'conations'—the most obvious type is the purposeful action, in which the performance of the action is preceded by an idea of the thing to be done. But it is evident that such purposeful action cannot be psychologically primitive, since those ideas or purposeful intentions, which are implicit in purposeful action, could have been formed only after previous experience of the same movements brought about in some other way. Consequently, either we must fall back upon reflex actions for a beginning, or we must hold that, in the most primitive phase of conation, a change of sense-perception, or the feeling which accompanies it, finds immediate expression in movement. To the former course, which is apt to be favoured by physiologists, there is the objection that reflexes, even though they may be primitive for the individual in the sense of being inherited nervous arrangements, have not been demonstrated at any time in the experience of the race. In our present experience of the formation of a habit, we can trace the degradation of conative action into action that resembles the reflex type. And it has been customary to assume that our inherited reflexes were originally formed by some similar process of degradation, the beginnings of action are left psychologically inexplicable. From the psychological point of view, then, we must prefer a different course, and regard as the original type of action that in which a change of sense-perception or feeling finds immediate expression in movement (cf. Ward's art. 'Psychology' in *Edr.,* vol. iv. p. 10). And this will appear the more plausible if we remember two points.

First, such 'impulsive' action, as we call it—the terminology of the subject is very confused—although as a rule definite enough in the adult (e.g., in warding off a blow), is by no means as a rule as definitely the result of an idea. We can be certain, as the movements of an infant are in comparison with those of an adult. Second, it is now recognized, and has been shown experimentally, that all movements, contrary to what was formerly believed, are subject to this tendency to affect movement, although in our present experience these motor effects are to a great extent either quite inappreciable or else inhibited (cf. James, *Principles of Psychology* [1890], ii. ch. xxiii.). And the difficulty of a psychological theory of action is thus greatly diminished when we see that action does not begin with particular and isolated definite movements, but that these, whether they be inherited reflexes or acquired impulses, must have been developed by the progressive restriction or specialization of movement that was originally more diffused.

Although it is with purpose rather than impulsive action that the moralist is mainly concerned, it seems a mistake to confine the epithet 'voluntary' to the former, and the practice of those psychologists is rather to be followed who tend to make a distinction between the things that are expressive of consciousness. There are, of course, objections to such a usage. We use the noun 'will' in a much narrower sense. And the term 'voluntary' no doubt seems paradoxical as applied to the simpler expresser movements which are hardly to be distinguished from mechanical reactions. But we have to remember that the impulsive actions of the adult are usually of a higher type. The hasty words of an angry man may burst from him without any previous distinct idea of what he is going to say, and yet there accompanies his utterance a consciousness of its meaning, in virtue of which we hold him responsible for what he has said. The more definite and significant an impulse is, the more it must be regarded as an expression of character. One man will say things in anger which would be impossible to another however enraged. And the very fact that he permits himself to go on, that he is not brought to a halt by the consciousness of what he is saying, shows a basis for the impulse in the man's general character which forbids us to regard the outburst, however impulsive, as involuntary. What we must rather say, then, is that all impulsive action is also in a broad sense voluntary action, but that voluntariness has many degrees. The lower, the less, the higher, the more, the less possible it becomes to distinguish voluntary from involuntary action in character.

Before proceeding to the consideration of purposeful action, we may refer rather briefly to a general conception of human action, which, if true, would profoundly modify the significance to be attached to the element of conscious foresight in man's life. It is a conception which is apt to find a ready acceptance with those who look upon human conduct from the point of view of biological evolution, or, again, from the point of view, not very dissimilar, of a philosophy like Schopenhauer's or v. Hartmann's, which seeks in blind will the ultimate principle of existence. Human action, it is sometimes argued, is not really determined by the transient desires, the petty motives and calculations of interest, of which an introspective psychologist makes so much. All this constant fluctuation and transition from one object of desire to another is only so much surface play. The true forces lie far deeper, in the strong instinctive tendencies of man's nature. It is the real shaping force of life, these that use for their own hidden ends all the superficial activity of
desire and feeling and calculating intellect, to which the reflexion of the individual naturally but mistakenly attributes the direction of his life. Now, such a conception of human life may have an appearance of profundity, but it conveys no real insight. It is not a proper ab- structs, the work of scientific analysis and explanation. To appeal to instinctive tendencies is only to involve ourselves in empty mystery, unless we can definitely characterize these tendencies, and show how they operate, and why they manifest themselves in just such ways as they do. Yet for such concrete analysis we must, of course, return to the very surface processes of consciousness which we had affected to despise, and must seek in their definite modes of interconnexion, and not in the vague and mysterious depths of instinctive ten- dencies, the definite explanation of the course of human life.

When these two conditions are fulfilled, first, that definite movements have begun to emerge from the earlier stage of diffused movement—an emergence which may be greatly facilitated by the existence of life or movement, and second, that images have begun to be formed, then the higher stage of purified action becomes possible, in which the idea or image of a movement to be executed precedes and directs it.

The idea of movement may be prompted by a present object (with whose attainment or avoidance the movement must, of course, have been already associated), and, as so prompting, the object is an object of desire or aversion. But the range and significance of desire are vastly widened when not merely present objects, but objects that are themselves represented only in idea or imagination, are sufficient to prompt ideas of movement. For the idea of movement is the bond of the immediate present, and is enabled both to modify his present situation by the aid of ideas derived from his past experience, and to anticipate the future by present preparation. With the development of such desire-prompted action there is bound to emerge the situation described as a conflict of desires, with its need for a volun- tary decision between them. This decision has often been represented by psychologists and moralists of the Associationist school as brought about in a quasi-mechanical way: it is the strongest desire that prevails, and the conflict is simply a competition of the two desires, as in the case of impulse, so here, if we take desires of a very simple kind, depending as it does merely on their relative strength, seems hardly to mark any essential peculiarity of the process so described. The voluntary decision between two desires of a very simple kind, depending as it does merely on their relative strength, seems hardly to be distinguished in character (save for the fact that the process goes on in consciousness) from the mechanical result of a conflict be- tween two forces. But here, too, we must remem- ber that the simplest type of choice, say the choice of a child between an apple and an orange, is not really representative of the more important choices which the adult constantly has to make. And it is just in proportion as the conflicting desires are not simple or low-grade, but complex and significant, that the choice becomes an expression of character, and becomes therefore in a fuller degree voluntary. Now, the more complex and significant the desires are, the less is it possible to picture their conflict as a mere collision between two forces of different intensities. The man who has been a lawyer whether he will continue the present accustomed vocation or accept a new career that has opened out for him, is not simply dis- tincted between a love of ease and a love of gain. He is deciding ultimately between two complex schemes of life, and to represent such a decision in terms of a simple quantitative difference would be a caricature. The factors which do admit of quantitative measurement in money value may even be the least influential of all.

It is evident, of course, that in an example like this we have gone far beyond the range of the desires that merely reproduce past experience in imagery. We are at a level at which conceptual thinking has long been at work upon the data which memory supplies, a level at which the agent habitually thinks in terms of generalized purposes, to which he refers, and by which he guides, his particular actions. The desires of the adult are nearly always more or less significant. That is to say, the desired object is desired not merely for its own sake, but because it fits in with some wider purpose. And the more intelligent and thoughtful the agent is, the more his desires and purposes will be organized in this way, and rendered subservient to the scheme or type of life in which he sees the complete realization of his powers.

We must indicate the psychological processes involved in this higher development of the idea of movement and action. One practical relation that must soon be forced upon the attention of an agent trying to bring about an ideally represented state of things, is that of means and ends. What is the fuller recog- nition of this relationship among objects of the process of deliberation, in which the agent seeks to discover the means of attaining an end, or to de- termine which of two or more ways of attaining it is the best. In Aristotle's classical analysis of the deliberative process (Nic. Ethics, III., iii.), choice is expressly characterized as choice of the means. Such a view of choice will not, however, apply to all cases without straining. For, although in every choice between two objects, some one of the two objects is chosen and some is rejected, and in every action some end or criterion is implicitly assumed, there is an obvious difference between the case in which the end or criterion is explicit from the start of the deliberative process, and the case in which it emerges only as a balance of advantage at the end. And we must further recognize the possibility, of which Aristotle takes no account, that even where we start with a certain end explicitly before us, our deliberation may, by bringing out other ele- ments of significance in our end which we had not before fully appreciated, cause us to modify or abandon it altogether. In short, the more impor- tant fact is the matter for the discussion, namely, that the choice tend to express, not an isolated desire for a particular end, but the whole character of the agent, or, what is the same thing, his ultimate and all-inclusive desire for the kind of life which is to him best. And the more strenuously a man lives, the more will the unity of his character tend to work itself out in even the simpler actions of his daily life.

It is of choice of a more or less deliberate kind that the term 'will' is often reserved in psycho- logical and ethical discussions. But we must not suppose that the new term denotes a new faculty or energy of mind. The expression 'flat of will' often used in this connection is very misleading. The man who seriously sets himself to deliberate must mean to come to a decision. He starts, that is to say, with some sort of decision already vaguely outlined in the shape of possible alternatives, and the only function of deliberation is to eliminate what is doubtful and make the proper course of action clear. This being done, nothing more is needed: if the man was impatient to act, the obstacles in his way have not been removed, but he will act at once. The general purpose of acting was present all through, and by means of the de- liberative process this general purpose takes shape in a definite volition. A flat of will, additional
and subsequent to the phase of conation in which the deliberative process was complete, would be
noise if it merely gave its consent, and wholly arbitrary if it withheld it. For, if any reason
remained for withholding consent, the deliberative
process could not have been complete, and it is only a sense
of such incompleteness that could make the agent
hesitate and hold himself back from action. Thus,
if, by the question of this conative, or rather of will and
meaning at all, we must regard it as merely emphasis-
ing the last or finally decisive element in the de-
liberative process itself, the thought that clinches the
slowly forming decision and issues at once in action.
In our consideration of the development of cona-
tion in the individual, we have so far been abstact-
ing from those aspects of the individual's action which depend upon the essentially social character
of human life. In point of fact, however, the actions of the individual for the most part do
either explicitly contain or not remotely imply a reference to other persons, and to their agency in
relation to himself as well as to his own agency in relation to them. And just as clearly from in indivi-
dual action manifests itself not merely in the social
content of the action, but in the definite control
which social influences exert over the will of the agent, so, too, we must recognize that, in a particular prohibition or command, than he begins
to experience this social control, which in varying forms is to continue all through his life. At first
it comes to him from without as a constraint upon his desires, but more and more it tends to become
an internal factor in his own will and character, and so not more society's law than that of his own
nature. At first it comes to him in the form of particular injunctions to refrain from particular
objects or to do particular acts, and his obedience is
an obedience given merely to particular persons,
and more and more it tends to take the generated
and impersonal form of rules of action to be obeyed
merely as such. These rules become concrete, of
course, only in the personal claims and expecta-
tions which they warrant, but their control reaches
out beyond every particular case, and pervades the
whole practical thinking of the individual. Hence
the important consequence that action constantly expresses, not a consideration of means and ends
at all, but a simple obedience to rule, and that,
even where it does express a consideration of means, this consideration is controlled through and through by the habitual regard
which we pay to social rules in all our practical
thinking.
We have in our sketch, we may ask as a final
question, how far we can bring the whole develop-
ment of conation and action under a single for-
ma. Various attempts have been made to find
an explanatory formula applicable to action at all
stages. Many psychologists and moralists have
sought such a formula in the connexion of action with feeling, i.e. with pleasure and pain. This connexion has been asserted in two forms which it is important to distinguish clearly from each other.
On the one hand, it may be held that feeling is the
efficient cause of action. This doctrine is applied
over the whole range of human action, and means
that between various impulses, desires, or aims,
that one only always tend to be realized which
gives the greatest present pleasure or relieves the
greatest present uneasiness. And we must, of
course, observe that present pleasure or uneasiness
may be caused not merely by present events and
object but by the mere images or thoughts of
distant events and possibilities. On the other hand,
it may be held that feeling is the end or final cause of action. This doctrine (technically known as
Pleasure for William Paley) is applicable only when
we deal with actions that are defined as not being
of purpose to impulsive action. It means that of various
possible courses of action represented before the
mind, that one will always be chosen which promises
most future pleasure or least future pain, pleasure being
the positive and pain the negative effect of a
particular act of desire. This doctrine is now almost universally
abandoned in psychology and ethics. For it is
quite evident that there is a great deal of pur-
pose in human action that is not determined by calculations of future pleasure and
pain at all. The hungry man seeks food not for
the pleasure of eating, but for the mere satisfaction
of his hunger. The honest man desires to pay
his just debts not for the pleasure of having been
honest, but merely because he is honest and wants
to remain so. The other form of doctrine, accord-
ing to which we do what continues present pleasure or
relieves present uneasiness, is more plausible (cf. the change of view in the chapter on 'The Idea
of Power' in Locke's 'Essay,' Fraser's ed. vol. i. p. 332).
Nevertheless it is open to objection on grounds both of fact and of principle. The objections of fact are
that action often goes on for a con-
siderable stretch in a practically neutral state of
feeling, (2) that we may persist in painful actions
in spite of their painfullness. Now we may, of
course, explain the former by an external
obedience to the greater uneasiness experienced on stopping. But such uneasiness would seem itself
to imply a direct interest of corresponding strength
in the object of our action, and it is simply simpler, therefore, to refer the persistence to this interest
directly. Moreover, as a matter of principle, it
seems impossible to explain in terms of merely quantitative variations of feeling the definite forms
in which action takes. What we have to explain
is not simply varying degrees of one funda-
mental type of action, but many actions of widely
different types, and the particularity of the action
can be explained only by the particularity of the
interest which it expresses. There is thus a good
deal to be said for a view which seems to be find-
ing increasing favour with recent psychologists
(e.g. Stout, Analytic Psychology (1856), i. 224 ff.;
Titchener, Outline of Psychology (1896), § 85, viz.,
that pleasure and pain, agreeableness and uneas-
iness, are not so much factors in the causation of
activity as the feeling-tone which accompanies and
reflects its varying fortunes.
Another form of explanation for action is that
actions are caused not because of the desire for some
object or desire, but because of the desire for
other actions. This idea is, however, more
realizable, for it is possible for many actions to be
conditions of other actions, and the desire for
these other actions may, indeed, be more important.

Literature.—In the text-books of psychology the various phases of conation or action are apt to be treated in detached

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ACTION SERMON—ACTIVITY

ACTION SERMON.—The designation given by Presbyterians in Scotland, and used by Scottish congregrations, for an address which immediately precedes the celebration of the Lord’s Supper.1 The name is derived directly from John Knox’s Book of Common Order and from the Westminster Directory for the Public Worship of God, both of which state that the service the celebration of the Holy Communion is described as ‘the Action.’ The use of the phrase in the earlier document may be traced partly (1) to the Liturgy of Calvin, which was largely the basis of the Book of Common Order, and in which the section entitled ‘Mode of celebrating the Lord’s Supper’ contains this rubric:—The ministers distribute the bread and the cup to the people . . . Finally, en vue d’action de grâce; (2) to the pre-Reformation use of the word actio to denote what was regarded as the essential part of the Eucharist, the Sacrifice of the Mass, wherein ‘Sacramenta coniunctar Dominicae.’ 2 Of course, and those who followed him, while retaining the word ‘Action,’ used it with a different signification, applying it to the celebration as a whole, or to the sanctification and distribution of the sacred symbols, without reference to the sacrament. While Knox’s ‘action de grâce’ was probably the chief cause (although indirectly) of the term ‘Action Sermon’ being introduced in Scotland, the long and popular retention of this term is due, doubtless, to the broader application of the word ‘action’ to the entire sacramental celebration; for the designation ‘Eucharist’ (Thanksgiving) has never been widespread among Scottish Presbyterians.3

The employment of the phrase ‘Action Sermon,’ with a sense almost within living memory declined, owing (1) to the somewhat diminished relative importance now attached to the pre-Communion sermon, as compared with the devotional parts of the pre-Communion service; (2) to the prevalence in towns of additional Communion services (in the afternoon and evening), which are not immediately preceded by any sermon.

HENRY CONAN.

ACTIVITY (Psychological and Physical).—No definition can be given of Activity which does not involve the term itself in some concealed or overt form; we can only (1) indicate the wider class of things or events to which it belongs; (2) describe the general characteristics of its generation, persistence, and the general nature of its expressions or consequences; (3) distinguish one form of activity from another, as bodily from mental; and (4) describe the conditions of our knowledge of that form with which we are concerned.

1. (a) Activity belongs, within the world of existence, to the class not of things and qualities, or substances and attributes, but of events, processes, or changes: an activity has a beginning and an end; —‘Two notable examples of the designation being used may be quoted. (1) In 1674, during the persecution of the Covenanters, John Welsh, great-grandson of John Knox, is stated to have ‘preached the Action Sermon’ at a conventicle held near the bank of the Whitadder, in Teviotdale (see Blackadder’s contemporary Memorials, p. 206). (2) In the diary of Mr. Andrew Savile for 1628, the entry occurs, ‘I addressed myself to write my Action Sermon’ (see Mrs. Oliphant’s Life of Edward Taylor, vol. i. p. 368).”

HANS O. LUHMANN.

ACTION (Latin, a deed) —A form or act, the essence of which is occurring, and the event of which is being produced, as the case may be. Thus, for example, while the term action is generally used in connection with the noun of the same designation, the word denotes a form which is continuously developing; it is used to signify that the form is progressing in a state of being. The action of something, as a thing or thing, is the substance or substance, in or to which it takes place; all change implies something relatively permanent, as Kant pointed out, as a condition not of its being known, but also of its existence. The activity of radium must be referred either to the visible substance itself, or to the chemical analysis of the known chemical analysis (as the form of a chemical reaction) only when the continuous flow of all materials or substances in the world is taken into consideration. For it is not only the chemical analysis of the substances which are supposed to be the materials of the universe which are supposed to be the materials of the universe, but also the material and physical structures of all things, such as a body or a substance, which are supposed to be the materials of the universe. For it is not only the chemical analysis of the substances which are supposed to be the materials of the universe which are supposed to be the materials of the universe, but also the material and physical structures of all things, such as a body or a substance, which are supposed to be the materials of the universe.

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activity or the expression of activity, and the amount to be put forth at any moment (Fechner, Physiognosik, 1869; Höfer, Psychische Arbeit, 1865). The activity is continuous because of the condition under which the organs of the organism receives from the play of the environing forces. It may be doubted, however, whether the term ‘activity’ would be applied, e.g., to the movement of a mill. As will be seen, as in the law of inertia, Dr. Stout suggests (a body tending to continue its motion with the same velocity in the same direction) (Analytic Psychology, i. 146; but cf. 148). Such a body would be described as active only when it impinges upon another body and transmits its own motion, wholly or partially, to the latter. The ‘activity’ in the continuous movement of the first body would be referred rather to the initial impulse of that force which sent it on its way.

(ii) The second criterion is that as to the conditions of activity being within the active body. From this point of view, a body is active so far forth as its changes are determined from within itself, i.e. Condillac’s statue: ‘It is active when it recalls a sensation, because it has in itself the cause of the recall, viz., memory. It is passive when it experiences a sensation, because the cause which produces the latter is outside of it (the statue), i.e. in the odoriferous bodies which act upon its organ.’* (At this stage the statue was supposed to have only one sense—

that of smell). Substantially, Condillac’s statement, that ‘a being is active or passive according as the cause of the effect produced is in it or without it,’ would be accepted to-day. The difficulty would be (1) to determine what is the cause of a given change, and (2) to determine whether the discovered cause is within or without the active being. If, for example, we refer all actions of the body to purely physical causes,—brain and nerve processes and the rest,—and regard the soul or consciousness as a mere spectator or companion of these central processes, without causal efficacy, then there is no such thing as mental activity, but only mental passivity.†

The mind would no longer determine even its own changes, and so be active with respect to them, for the conscious change is always a by-product of certain physical changes. Of theories with regard to the relation of mind and body, neither automatism nor psychophysical parallelism is consistent with the consistent existence of mental activity; the latter is compatible only with spiritualism on the one hand, the interaction theory on the other. The second difficulty—that of determining what is and what is not active being—may be illustrated from the controversy as to the existence of mental or psychical dispositions, or tendencies towards action, as opposed to merely physical dispositions, i.e. special arrangements or structures of the brain. Probably nine-tenths of the conditions of any mental act—an act of seeing, for example, or of hearing; an act of imagination or memory, or volition—lie beyond consciousness, or below the threshold of consciousness. Our visual perception at any moment is determined largely by our own experience in the past and the general direction of our interests: the purely sense element,—what is given,—the affection of the retina, or the feeling of the ocular movements—is insignificant as a contribution to the resultant perception. Yet the latter appears instantaneously and as a single act.

Are the submerged factors wholly physical—the excitation of special cortical arrangements which in their turn are the direct product of past experiences, or in the present, either explicitly present, although out of distinct consciousness, and which are re-excited by the given sensation? (Stout, Manual of Psychology, bk. 1. ch. 2, and Analytic Psychology, ch. 2). The analysis of a complex tone into its partials is given as an instance:

*Dr. Lipps holds that the unanalyzed note is a simple experience. The new tones which analysis discovers are, according to him, not in any sense preexistent in the original tone. The analysis itself brings them into existence, not only as distinctions, but as felt differences. According to him, what is analyzed is not an actual experience, but an unconscious complex mental disposition corresponding to a complex physiological modification of the brain substance* (Analytic Psychology, vol. i. p. 61).

The value of the argument here is to show that our idea of mental activity will differ according as we interpret the disposition or tendencies from which acts of perception, of memory, of association flow as psychical or physiological, or both. If they are physiological merely, as many hold, then, not being in the mind, they cannot be regarded as internal causes of mental changes or effects, and the theory of mental activity is therefore not to be taken so far as their effects are concerned.

(iii) The third characteristic is much more controversial than either of the others. A being is active in popular speech, only so far as the effects of consciousness and its sequences in it are transmitted to other beings; in other words, activity is transient causality, not immanent. In a body moving under the law of inertia, it may be said that the cause of its motion, in a given direction, with a given velocity, at any one moment, is its motion in the same direction and with the same velocity at the previous moment (Stout, Analytic Psychology, i. p. 146). Hence its motion at any moment is self-determined, i.e. both cause and effect are within the same being. And, according to many, mental activity exists only when there is self-determination in this full sense. It may be questioned, however, whether immanent activity in this sense ever falls within the scope of human experience: the continuance of a body under the law of inertia is not activity; it is absolute passivity, the movement as a whole being the effect of the original impulse. In modern science, the tendency is to regard all the intermediate factors, in a case of self-determination, are within the mind. The volition, to recall a name, for example, works itself out only when the necessary physiological substratum is present and untouched. Even the moral revolution must make use of similar physical aids. It does not appear, then, that immanent activity, so far as our experience goes, is ever anything but indirect: the mind does not act upon itself, except by exciting physiological processes, to which presentations correspond. This conclusion may seem to render introspection, internal perception, or self-observation impossible, since it is a form of action. Comte’s arguments against introspection are indeed irrefutable, so far as pure introspection is concerned (cf. Miss Martineau’s edition of the Positive Philosophy, vol. i. pp. 9, 81; but introspection on the basis of experiment is free from these objections, and is, in fact, the first method not of psychology alone, but of all science (Wundt, Philos. Stud. iv. 1886). This introspection is merely the analysis of presentations, sensations, feelings (impressions) and ideas, memory, etc. through repeating the conditions of the experience itself which has given the presentation: introspection is thus in no sense a turning of the mind upon itself, but is a difference from external perception, which is only a more accurate and detailed perception, so as
to bring out elements not previously or directly experienced. Introspection is thus, as a form of mental activity, indirectly immanent; directly, it is an interaction between the mental and the physical. The first effect of the action is a change in the organism, of which the actions react upon the mind, and a new and modified presentation results. All activity is of this type,—a moving body would be described as active only when it effects a change in its environment, which the organism suffers a change, but this change is not that in which the activity is thought to result, or which is referred to the activity. In itself activity is essentially transparent; it is not excluded, of course, the possibility that the highest forms of activity are those which are indirectly immanent, i.e. in which the outcome of the activity is a change in the subject itself or self-determination.

2. The general conditions of mental activity are partly physical and partly psychical. Among the former must obviously be included the nature of the cortical systems present, their degree of nutrition, and the like. Among the latter fall all presold, producing bodily movements which is wholly thus far as its direct presentations are concerned: it may select among them, give prominence to some and reject others, but their immediate condition is always the same. Presentations is true also of feelings and emotions: a feeling represents the subjective side the attitude of the individual as a whole in a given situation, while a presentation is representative of changes in this environment, directly or indirectly affecting him. In both, the mind itself is passively affected, but each may be stimulating or directive of its activity. Feeling especially has been throughout mental evolution the dominant of activity, becom deeper or more intense or more persistent as the presentation side of mental life received greater expansion and greater differentiation. The activity itself has no presentational or feeling-side. Although an element, it is not one of which the subject himself can be directly aware. The immediate effects of mental activity, on the other hand, are cortical and bodily movements, in primitive life diffuse, indefinite, uncoordinated, later, as experience moulds the organism, becoming definite, coordinated, and centralized. It is only through these bodily changes that mental activity produces changes in the mind itself, effecting there the activity, and constitutes, as it were, an organism, new and creative mental syntheses. The formation of a moral character, for example, is impossible without the constant practice of moral actions. The outward actions and religious, in the physical organization, and thereby the mental organization as a whole is modified in accordance with them. Without action, a character cannot be formed; nor, being formed, can it be maintained.

3. The contrast between bodily and mental activity has been already discussed in what has been said above. We have assumed that body acts upon mind, giving rise to presentations, and mind upon body, producing bodily movements which its turn may lead to changes in the cortical system and thus indirectly to changes in the presentational field. Whether there is any real causation in the one for the other is a metaphysical question on which we do not touch.

4. It will follow that mental activity cannot be directly apprehended either through feeling or in any other way. We all that is apprehended is the sequence of conditions and effects of which the latter are represented in consciousness. There is no more ground for assuming a primitive consciousness of activity as the basis of the conception of activity than there is for assuming such in any other case of symbolic knowledge,—for example, that of chemical affinity. There are, of course, primitive experiences on which these conceptions are based, but the conceptions are built upon them, not drawn out of them. The most complete description of the phenomena on which our knowledge of mental activity is founded (below) this in turn:—

"If we try to find for the "striving" in the will, process itself a substrate corresponding in some degree to this expression, we always come to certain feelings, belonging principally to strain and excitement emotions, and which may most fittingly be called feelings of activity." (Physiolog. Psychologie, ii. 249). These 'mediate the consciousness of activity directly from itself to all from self-observation, and which, under whatsoever circumstances we find it, whether accompanying an external action, or an act of attention directed upon the contents of consciousness themselves, appears of a uniform nature' (ib. 322). It may be defined as a total-feeling, composed of partial feelings of tension and excitement, following a regular course from beginning to end, the completion being the sudden conversion one of the partial feelings (that of strain or tension) into its opposite—con-sciousness—its 'appereption,' in Wundt's terminology. During this time we always find, according to him, the above-mentioned feeling of activity. It is the more vivid the more the mental vision is concentrated, and continues until the idea has reached perfect clearness of consciousness. It is more distinct, however, in the state of active thought or tension towards some expected impression or idea. In such a case there are always certain sensation-elements accompanying or entering into it,—those of the muscular strain of accomodation of the sense-organ in attention, which Fechner has described (ib. 557; cf. Fechner, Psycho-physik (2nd ed. 1880), ii. p. 475). There is no such thing as an abstract activity, always the same, but turned, like a searchlight, in different directions, of which, moreover, we are directly aware. What is always the same and is always found, in every case of volition or mental activity, is just the peculiar complex of feelings and sensations referred to. The feeling as a whole is a direct contrast to that which we have when an external impression, or a memory-image, arises, does not harmonize with or correspond to the present disposition of the attention, but suddenly compels it into a direction opposed to that of its activity up to that moment; this feeling is the feeling of passivity. Each as a whole is simple and indefinable, but each belongs, at the same time, to several of the general classes of feeling, of which Wundt recognizes six (ib. 532). It is clear that for Wundt, as for others, the activity itself, the inward act, is not directly cognized at all; the complex of feelings is merely an index or sign by which we infer the activity to be taking place. With Dr. Ward this is still more the case. Wundt recognizes six (ib. 532). It is clear that for Wundt, as for others, the activity itself, the inward act, is not directly cognized at all; the complex of feelings is merely an index or sign by which we infer the activity to be taking place. With Dr. Ward this is still more the case.
the receptive or passive, and the motor or active in the stricter sense; and our experience of those we project in predating the causation of the two halves does not make a whole; so we have no complete experience of effectuation, for the simple reason that we cannot be two things at once: (ib. 53).

All our feeling are present in all states of consciousness, they show no differentiation of parts, possess therefore no marks of individuality by which they may enter into association with other acts of the same or foreign presentation, and as they cannot enter into associations, so they cannot be reproduced or recalled in any sense analogous to that in which presentations are recalled (ib. 44).

It might perhaps be said that, on Dr. Ward's view, activity is a simple unanalyzable phase of experience, but can never be an object or content of experience. Professor James has argued with great force against the conception that there is any peculiar consciousness of activity, more especially in the form of a feeling of innervation as it has been called—the feeling of the current of outgoing energy, in volition or attention or other active states—which is defended by writers otherwise on so fine a line as Dr. Helmholtz and Dr. Wundt (Principles of Psychology, ii. 492 ff.; cf. i. 299 f.). What is in the mind in ordinary volition before the act takes place is simply a kinesthetic idea of what is to be the mental act; it is the act of making up of memory images of the muscular sensations denoting which special act it is. All our ideas of movement, including those of the effort which it requires, as well as those of its direction, its extent, its strength, and its velocity, are images of peripheral sensations, either "remote," or resident in the moving parts, or in other parts which sympathetically act with them in consequence of the diffuse "wave" (ib. 494). Dr. Wundt, himself, at another point, has come to admit that there are no differences of quality in these feelings of innervation, but only of degree of intensity. 'They are used by the mind as guides, not of which movement, but of how strong a movement it is making, or shall make. But does not this virtually surrender their existence altogether?' (ib. 500). The fundamental form of mental activity, according to James, is attention, and the fact of attention is known partly through changes undergone by the idea to which we attend, and partly by muscular sensations, in the head and elsewhere, which accompany the strain of accommodation and mental. Dr. Stout has very rightly pointed out that James here separates activity from the process which is active, and makes it consist in another collateral process. It is, 'the effort of, the feeling of, the motion of, the excitement of, the sense of, the sensation of, with the motion of some other body' (Anal. Psychol., i. p. 163). James does not, however, identify the activity with the sensations by which we become aware of it; they are indexes of something which directly we cannot know. By Dr. Stout himself this is precisely what is denied: an idea must be based upon some direct experience or sentence—'the thought of succession in time must be based on the direct experience of time-transience, as the thought of red colour is based on the corresponding sensation.' 'The cardinal antithesis between mental activity and passivity is not merely a group of relations ideally cognized by the reflective intelligence. Mental activity and passivity are not the same, for activity is energy, and passivity is being felt.' It may readily be admitted that change or transition is given as a direct experience; but an activity is much more than a transition. It involves (1) directness or tendency of the transition towards an end, and (2) some feeling or knowledge of effectuation in the successive phases of the realization of the end. It is impossible to see how either a tendency towards an end, or the effectiveness of a given activity, which can be a direct experience or feeling of the mind. Causality cannot exist in being felt,' and causality is an essential feature of activity. We conclude, then, (1) that there is no direct consciousness of activity; (2) that the consciousness of activity is a symbolic act, based on certain complex groups of feelings and presentations, in which similar elements and arrangements of elements constantly recur.

5. What is the simplest or primary form of mental activity? (ib. 562) The answer is given: (1) Effectionation of physical change, (2) Attention, (3) Apperception. The first identifies activity with sensation simply, of which the lowest form is impulse to movement; the second, the mental element in sensation to the movement of the attention; the third, to the play of apperception. In the first, which is that adopted above, mental activity is self-determination only in an indirect way; the mind cannot act immediately upon itself; it can produce a desired change only by subjection itself to certain physical conditions or circumstances through which the change may be effected. The question of Liberty and Determinism does not turn in the least upon the relation of mental activity to bodily. As has been said, 'Whatever be our opinion about our liberty or our determinism, we accord to the different moments in which perception, movement, and perception are conjoined, upon the nature of the following moments. We consider our actual modifications as acting upon our future modifications.' Even those who feel themselves subject to an inextinguishable necessity, do so not because their will is without efficiency, but, on the contrary, because the efficacy of every idea, every feeling, every volition is such that it does not leave the smallest place to contingency' (van Biema, Revue des Métaphys. et Morals, 1900, p. 284). But an idea has efficacy not in itself, but only in so far as it excites feeling, and thereby stimulates activity or striving. Both Dr. Ward and Professor James, from different points of view regard attention as the primary and fundamental phase of mental activity. 'The effort of attention is thus the essential phenomenon of will' (James, ii. p. 562); but 'this volitional effort pure and simple must be carefully distinguished from the muscular effort with which it is usually confounded. The latter consists of all those peripheral feelings to which a muscular "excitement" may give rise.' The attention is kept strained upon an object of thought which is sought, and the spirit of thought, 'until at last it grows so as to maintain itself before the mind with ease. This strain of the attention is the fundamental act of will. And the work of the moving body practically ended when the bare presence to our thought of the naturally unwelcome object has been secured. For the mysterious tie between the thought and the motor centres next comes into play, and, in a way which we cannot even guess at, the obedience of the bodily organs follows as a matter of course' (ib. 564). 'Consciousness (or the neural process which goes with it) is in its very nature impulsive, ever力求ing change; and the object of intuition, while it is true that its excited or entered into by the idea, the content of consciousness itself, but upon the motor centres by which the physiological process underlying the idea is strengthened or weakened so that the idea itself brought indiirectly into clearer consciousness. As Volkman has
said, 'The willing to hold a presentation fast is not the willing of the presentation to itself, but the willing of the presentation immediately upon the presentation, but must take the roundabout way through renewing the stimulus or keeping up the activity of auxiliary (i.e., associated) ideas' (Volkmar, l.c. p. 194).

With Wundt, the elementary process is 'the apprehension of a psychic content' (I. c. iii. 307), or the bringing of a presentation into the focus of consciousness.

Consciousness, as we have seen, is a unit from the beginning onwards, and external action as a volition-process differs from the internal action of apprehension only in its consequences, not in its immediate psychological nature. Considered as a phenomenon of consciousness, the former consists in nothing but 'the apprehension of an idea of movement' (ib.; on Wundt's 'Theory of Apprehension' see Villa, Contemporary Psychology, p. 211 f.). If we analyze this process of apprehension, we find there are three steps: (i.) the idea is perceived or enters consciousness; (ii.) it acts as a motive or stimulus, through the feelings connected with it, upon the internal will; (iii.) the will, or its sole effect of the will upon the ideas, is to raise them into the focus of consciousness: all that follows springs from the mechanism of the ideas themselves. Volkman objects to the theory that it is the highest inductions of the mind, that are striking in them, but which in itself is wholly inert, — a will which wills nothing, but must wait for stimulation from without (ib. p. 194).

The latter objection holds only if we suppose the perception precedes apprehension in time, as Wundt indeed assumes; it fails if we regard the analysis as that of a single process into constituents which can be held apart only by abstraction, but which have no separate conscious existence. The former objection, is, however, conclusive: a will which acts upon our ideas and affects them directly is non-existent. We conclude that attention and apprehension are alike modes of the non-mental form of mental activity which consists in the response of the mind to a presentation, through feeling, by effecting some bodily change.

6. The essence of moral activity is to be found in that form of mental activity in which an idea is retained before the mind, in spite of its incongruity with tendencies or dispositions already present. In such cases there is a choice or selection of one idea among the possible ones, for realization; to realize an idea is to give it bodily form, or real existence — in other words, to carry out the actions which the idea involves. But it is only when an idea is sufficiently strengthened (centrally or peripherally) that it acquires this impulsive force.

Consent to the idea's undivided presence, this effort's sole achievement. Its only function is to get this feeling of consent into the mind. And for this there is but one way — i.e., to keep it steadily before the mind until it fills the mind. — To sustain a representation, to think, is, in short, the only moral act, for the impulsive and the obstructed, for sane and lunatic alike (James). The consent of which James writes is a medially mythological process — it is a fiat of the mind, a resolve that the act shall ensue (l.c. pp. 501, 567 ff.); a subjective experience sui generis which we can designate but not name, which analysts call 'rationalizing', can show to be not an apparently unattached act of the mind, but a function of the ideas themselves in their relation to the mind as an organized system of dispositions and tendencies. The ethical or metaphysical problem belongs to all who have a soul; it belongs elsewhere; for psychology the problem does not exist.

7. Historical. — The first philosophical treatment of mental activity occurs in Plato's theory of Ideas. The Ideas, as the undivided and eternal realities, have movement and life, soul and intelligible form. The finite soul has both a transient and an immutable causality, the former as the cause of the motion and life of its body, the latter through its facility of knowing, by which it partakes in the life of the Ideas and assimilates their active power. Passivity of mind consists in the affecting of the mind by the body, through its senses; passivity thus comes to mean imperfect, inaccurate, confusing and inadequate knowledge. The soul is most active when detached from the body, and in the ecstatic union with the infinite and eternal Idea of the Good.

'The soul reasons best when disturbed by none of the senses, whether hearing or sight, or pain or pleasure: when she has dismissed the body and released herself as far as possible from all intercourse or contact with it, and, living alone with herself so far as possible, strives after real truth' (Sophistes, 245 A.F., Republic, vii. 528 B, Phaedo, 65; cf. Zeller, Phil. der Geschichte, ii. p. 436).

The dualism of soul and body is already partly overcome in Aristotle: it is not the soul in man that thinks or learns of itself, but man thinks through the soul; it is a passive soul.

On the other hand, the dualism returns within Reason or Intelligence, which is of two kinds, passive and active. All human knowledge depends upon experience, and rational truths are merely the highest inductions of the mind, i.e., the results of experience; the mind is passive in the double sense: (1) that it is dependent upon the body for its material, and even the forms into which the material is moulded, through the agency of the senses; the separate phases of consciousness are transitory and fleeting. On the other hand, the possibility of these empirical generalizations implies the cooperation of an Active or Creative Intelligence which gives the ideas their reality, as eternal, imperishable existences.

This Active Reason is separate from the body, as from all matter, whereas the Passive Reason is merely the essence or form of the body itself: the Passive Reason perishes with the body, the Active Reason is the eternal element in man (de Anima, iii. Cf. Siebeck, Gesch. der Psychologie, l. 2, pp. 64 f., 73). The difficulties of the theory are: (1) that the Active Reason appears to be simply identical with the Divine Consciousness, or itself, by which the finite mind is passively affected, so that there is no real activity of the finite consciousness; (2) that from another point of view the Active Reason is a separate principle, simply Truth, as an ideal system of knowledge, of which our every thought is a partial realization. It has validity, not real existence. Aristotle's theory suggested, however, that the mind is active, the human understanding at work, in all knowledge, from sense-experience onwards. This conclusion was brought out first by Alexander of Aphrodisias — 2nd cent. A.D. — (ib. p. 262). In Plotinus also (3rd cent.) consciousness is not merely the passive spectator of its own experiences, but a synthetic activity, grasping together, holding together and moulding the impressions it receives (ib. pp. 333, 337). Throughout the Medieval Period controversy as to mental activity resolved itself mainly into the relation of soul to body, or the problem of the relation of the finite to the Divine mind. In Avicegnna (A.D. 950-1058) the intelligence is wholly unattached to any bodily organ, and its objects are wholly distinct from those of sense: on the other hand, he distinguishes, with Aristotle, between an active and a passive principle within the intelligence itself. The latter is only in the soul and perishes with it; the former is distinct and separate from the individual soul, is universal, one and the same in all, and it alone is immortal (Stockel, Gesch. d. Philosophie des Mittelalters, ii. i. § 12).
ADAM.—I. The name.—The Heb. שׁנָה (ādāhām) is properly a common noun denoting 'mankind' or 'human being,' homo as distinguished from vir. In Gn 1-28 (P), ādāhām = 'mankind'; in 2-4-26 we have ā-hā-ādāhām = 'the man,' i.e. the first man; in 5-4 it is used as a proper name. The etymology of 'Adam' is uncertain; Gn 2-3; Jehovah Elohim made man (ādāhām) of the dust of the ground (ādāhāmūth) is not to be taken as a scientific derivation. The usual words for 'man' in the Semitic languages generally carry the connotation of 'begetter,' and hence 'ancestor.' Adam, so understood, is connected with Assyr. adum, 'child,' 'one made,' 'created'; with the Heb. root 'ādm, 'red,' the name having originated in a radish race; Dillmann on Gn 1. 2 suggests the connexion with nātham, as in 'the soul is nātham or pleasant;' or an Arab. root = to attach oneself; or so = 'pregnancies,' 'sociable.' Any connexion with Adapa, the hero of a Babylonian myth, is most improbable.

2. Adam in the OT.—The only references to Adam in the OT are in Genesis 1-5, and in the dependent passage 1 Ch. 1. The common noun ādāhām is misread as the name in AV of Dt 32 and Job 31; RV corrects Dt, but retains Adam in the text of Job, putting the connexion after the manner of men for 'like Adam' in the margin. In view of the OT habit of playing upon words, there may be a secondary reference to Adam in Job and possibly elsewhere; but as 'man' or 'mankind' gives a satisfactory sense, there is not sufficient ground for recognizing a secondary meaning.

In the Priestly narrative (P) of Creation (Gn 1-28) Elohim creates 'mankind' (ādāhām) in His own image, in two sexes, makes man supreme over all living creatures, bids him multiply, and gives him the fruits and grains for food. He blesses man. But whereas it is said separately of each of the other groups of creatures, 'He said good,' in this case the utterance concerning man; he is simply included in the general statement, 'God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good.' In 2-28 Adam is the ancestor of the human race; when he is 130 years old he begets Seth 'in his own likeness, after his image.' Afterwards Adam begat other children, and died at the age of 500.

In the Prophetic (Je) narrative (Gn 28-49) Jehovah Elohim woulds 'the man' out of dust, gives him life by breathing into his nostrils the breath of life, and places him in Eden to dress and keep it. Jehovah Elohim also makes the animals out of the soil (תִּתְחִיתוּ), in order that 'the man' may find a helper; 'the man' names them but finds no suitable helpermeet, and at last Jehovah Elohim builds up a woman out of a rib taken from 'the man' while he slept. The woman proves a suitable helpermeet. Jehovah Elohim had forbidden 'the man' to eat of the fruit of a certain 'tree of the knowledge of good and evil' planted in the midst of Eden; but, tempted by the serpent, the woman ate of the forbidden fruit, and persuaded the man to eat also.

In the historical narratives, Adam is given the proper name in three passages, following MT; but in two of these ('Gen. 37, 38) the pointing should be slightly altered, and in the third (40) the word 'e'en' may be inserted, changing it in each case to 'the man.'

LITERATURE.—The following are some of the more important references, in addition to those mentioned in the text:

1853: T. L. L. Etienne, Zur Psychologie der Causalität in Zeit. für Psychol., i.
man to eat. Thereupon Yahweh Elohim drove them out of Eden, and Abel, who was skilled in sheep and goats, came to his death even after the expulsion the man and the woman became parents of three sons; one of these, Abel, was murdered by his brother Cain; while the other two, Cain and Seth, became the pro-
gressors of their kind. *But* there were also two other sons of God, Shem and Japheth; these two narratives differ markedly in form; the Prophetic narrative is frankly anthropomor-
phic, but the Priestly narrative minimizes the anthropomorphic elements. Both are, of course, from ancient Semitic traditions; *but* here again in Gn 1 the mythological element is reduced to language and framework, and is altogether subordi-
nated to the teaching of revelation; whereas in Gn 2-4 the author is evidently glad to retain a picturesque story for its own sake as well as for the sake of its moral. In other words, he uses an ancient tradition as a parable, and we have no right to extract theology from all the details.

The two narratives agree in their pure mono-
theism, in representing man as the immediate creation of God, without intervention of angels, sons, or other intermediate supernatural beings; in the Priestly narrative he is made 'in the image and likeness' of God, and passes that 'image and likeness' on to his descendants (Gn 1:26, 5:3, cf. below); in the Prophetic narrative man's life is the breath of God (Gn 2); in the Priestly narrative man is given the dominion over all other creatures; in the Prophetic narrative the animals are specially formed for the service of man, and receive their names from him.

It is characteristic of the Priestly narrative that its express moral is found in two points of ritual: man is to be vegetarian, and to observe the Sabbath. The Prophetic narrative, on the other hand, is concerned with the moral life; the Priest-
ly narrative, of course, is a perpetually binding, and marriage is spoken of in terms which imply a preference for monogamy. Man is under a Divine law; God has provided for his welfare, and ordained his abode, his work, his food. There is no moral retribution for the disobedience of the man and the woman, wrong-
doing; murder on the part of Cain, are punished; but even while Jahweh Elohim punishes, He still cared for the life of his creatures, and protects Cain from being put to death.

Passing to other features of the Prophetic nar-
avative, we note the inferior position of woman, corresponding to her status in the East, suggested by her formation after man, from his body, and for his service; she is also the instrument of his ruin. Again, man enjoys immediate fellowship with God; and this is not terminated by the expulsion from Eden, for Jehovah converses in the same fashion with Cain as He does with Adam; and the dwelling-place of the first family outside Eden is still thought of as being in the special presence of God. When Cain leaves this dwelling-
place he is no longer the possessor of the man and the woman, and feels that he will be 'hidden from his face' (Gn 4:10).

The original sin of man, the fatal source of all human evil, is contained in the desire to eat the fruit of the tree and partake of it. It is intellectual; the tree is 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil'; the serpent promises that by eating it 'their eyes shall be opened' to know good and evil,' and the woman sees that the tree is 'to be desired to make one wise;' *but* the desire for 'the knowledge of good and evil' is not merely intellectual, it is also a desire for a deeper, more varied, more exciting experience of life, a desire to 'see life,' to use popular language. And as the serpent promises that by eating they shall become 'like gods,' *this desire implies a demand for distinction. In other words, the first sin consisted in defying God by giving the reins to the various impulses which make for culture and civilization. Similarly, in Gn 4:22 progress in civilization is due to the evil race of Cain.

The author of the source which the Prophetic narrator follows regards the life of man as accursed, a life of sordid toil, poorly rewarded, embarrassed by shame arising out of the sexual conditions of human existence, burdened for woman by the pain of travail and by her subjection to her husband. These evils are the punishment of the first sin, the consequences of the ungodly appetite for luxury and culture, knowledge and power. Snell (Abend.- Rel.- Gesch. 121 f.) has pointed out that this conception of life does not control the patriarchal stories or the other portions of the Priestly narrative; hence the author must have taken it over from other tradition, and does not regard it as an all inclusive and complete judgment on life, though he retains it as expressing one side of the truth.

Similarly, there are other theological implications which might be discerned by pressing details; but such implications are not part of the teaching which the Prophetic narrator intended to enforce; such details also are merely retained from ancient tradi-
tion; e.g. the feud between man and the serpent is retained as corresponding to the facts of life, but in the original story it was probably a reminiscence of the contest between Marduk and the primeval Dragon.

Again, the story serves to explain the miserable estate of man and the sense of alienation from God; but it does not profess to explain the origin of evil or of sin. It is indeed implied that sin did not originate in man or from man, but was due to suggestion from outside. Obviously we are not intended to deduce doctrines by combining features of the two narratives, otherwise we should be confronted by the difficulty that the serpent would be included in the human race, and feel that he will be hidden from his face' (Gn 4:10).

In the Priestly narrative the fact of sin is not mentioned till the time just before the Flood, when we are told that the earth was corrupt and full of violence (Gn 6:1); no account is given of the origin of this corruption. It is noteworthy that we are told that Adam transmitted the Divine likeness to Seth (cf. 5:3 and vv. 24-); but no such statement is made as to Adam's other children. Possibly the Divine likeness was a birthright transmitted from eldest son to eldest son, till it reached Noah, but not possessed by other men, hence their corruption; or again this likeness may have been shared by the descendants of Seth, but not possessed by the other races. The Book of Chronicles simply traces the genealogy of Israel from Adam.

3. Adam in the Apocrypha and later Jewish literature.—As the first man, Adam occupies a prominent place in theology and tradition. An immense body of tradition gathered round the brief Scripture narratives. The notices of Adam in the Apocrypha, however, are few in number and have no resemblance to the accounts in Genesis. Thus 2 Es 3:10 is a summary of these accounts, followed in v. 21 by the statement, 'For the first Adam, bear-

* As far as the Fall and Cain and Abel are concerned, only uncertain hints of the original doctrine, indelibly impressed in the manifestations of Western Asia; but the character of Gn 4:22 shows that the author is adapting ancient tradition.
* Not as in R.V. 'desirable to look upon,' cf. Dlmmann.
ing a wicked heart, transgressed, and was overcome; and not he only, but all they also that are born of him. The author does not explain how the immediate creation of God came to have a 'wicked heart'; but perhaps the term is used prophetically to indicate that heart was wicked throughout the Fall. Again, 6:5-6 refers to Adam as the ancestor of the human race (cf. also 7:11-12); and in 7:28-29 Esdras laments the sin and punishment which Adam has brought on millions of the sons of men. It is remarkable that when Jesus ben Sirach sets out to "praise famous men" (Sir 44:50), he passes over Adam and begins with Enoch; then he reviews the series of OT heroes, concluding with Nehemiah, and then (49:14-56) reverts to Enoch and Joseph, and at last by way of Shem and Seth arrives at Adam: 'Above every living thing in the creation is Adam.'

The position of Sir 49:1-3 suggests that this paragraph was either an afterthought of Ben Sirach, or an addition by a later writer who had noticed the absence of Adam and others. Perhaps Ben Sirach felt that the Fall rendered Adam unfit to figure in a list of ancient worthies.

Adam plays a considerable part in the other Apocalyptic literature. In the Book of the Secrets of Enoch (90B); for instance, Adam is made one of the nine princes: his bones from the earth, his blood from the dew, his eyes from the sun, his bones from the stones, his veins and hair from the grass, his thoughts from the swiftness of the angels and from the clouds, his Spirit from the Spirit of God and from the wind. He is 'like a second angel,' endowed with the Divine Wisdom. His name Adam was constructed from the initials of the [Greek] names of the four quarters of the earth: 'Anemos (E.), Teth (D.), Kaps (N.), Mesembria (S.). He fell through ignorance, because he did not understand his own nature.

We read of a Jewish Book of Adam; but it is not now extant.

The other branch of later Jewish literature, Talmud, Midrashim, etc., embellishes the Scripture narrative with a variety of fanciful legends. In the famous Berakha of the Talmud on the origin of the books of the O.T. Adam is one of the ten elders who contributed to the Psalter. Ibn Ezra explains the birth of children to Adam by suggesting that when he found that the permanent mark of the image of God on his own person would be prevented by death, he provided for its continuance by begetting children. Rabbinical traditions also state that the tree of knowledge was a fig-tree, that Eve gave the fruit to the animals, etc. Midrash Explicat. expounds and allegorizes the Biblical narratives in de Opificio Mundi, Sacrarum Legum Allegoriae de Cherubim; pointing out, for instance, that the statement that man was made in the image of God must not be understood in a material sense; it means that the mind in man corresponds to God in the cosmos (de Opif. 23); and the narrative of the Fall is an allegory of the disastrous consequences of lust (ib. 57, 58).

Josephus (Ant. i. 1. 2) merely puts the Biblical narrative into what he conceived to be a better literary form, expanding, for instance, the few words of Jubilees Elohim into a speech. It is noteworthy, however, that he speaks in his paraphrase of some of the Mosaic narratives as being allegorical.

The Jewish development of this subject reaches its climax in the medieval mysticism called the Qabbalah, where the Sephiroth, or emanations by which, as it were, are grouped sometimes as the tree of life and sometimes as Adam Qadmon, the primitive man.

4. Adam in the NT.—Adam is mentioned in I K 3:26 as the ancestor of Jesus, thus emphasizing the Incarnation, the reality of our Lord's humanity. In 1 Ti 2:14 the authority of the husband over the wife is deduced from the fact that Adam was 'first formed,' that he was made to be the image of God who was deceived by the serpent. The idea that Adam was not deceived probably rests on some Rabbinical exegesis, e.g. the suggestion that Adam did not eat the apple Eve had eaten from the tree of life. Jude 14 has the casual reference, 'Enoch also, the seventh from Adam.' Also, 1 Co 11:2-3 supports the current etiquette as to the way in which women wore their hair, and as to their wearing veils, by the fact that the first woman was created from the man, and for the sake of the man, and not vice versa.

But the most important NT passages are Ro 5:12-21 and 1 Co 15:21-28 which state a parallel and a contrast between Adam and Christ. To a certain extent, Adam and Christ stand in the same relation to the human race; in each case the nature and work of the individual affects the whole human race; 'murely a figure to him the first man Adam' (Ro 5:14). But while the one man Adam's one sin introduces sin and guilt and death, the one Christ's one act of righteousness justifies the sinner, and enables them to righteous life. This 'one act of righteousness' is also spoken of as 'the obedience of the one'; the general tenor of St. Paul's teaching identifies this 'act' with the death of Christ (Ro 5:18,19). St. Paul does not make it clear how, or in what sense, Adam's sin became the cause of sin, guilt, and death to his posterity. The statement of Ro 5:12, that 'death reigned from Adam to Moses', even over them that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression', suggests that men were involved in the guilt and punishment of Adam apart from their own sins.

1 Co 15:21-28 is not prima facie quite consistent with Romans; and there is nothing to show that St. Paul had correlated the two sets of ideas. In Corinthians, mankind inherits from Adam limitations; and Christ enables mankind to transcend these limitations. 'The first man is of the earth, earthly, and a living soul; but the last Adam is a life-giving spirit;' and apparently communicates the likeness to Christians, only to the extent of being like their Master, and bear His image. In other words, by the Incarnation human nature was raised to a higher plane. But again it is doubtful how far St. Paul would have been prepared to affirm all that his words imply. The idea of a higher and a lower Adam, of a heavenly and an earthly or earthly man, is found in Philo, in some of the Gnostic systems, and in the Qabbalah.

5. Adam in Christian literature.—The Patristic commentators on the stories of the Creation and the Fall largely follow Jewish precedents; they often allegorize and ornament the narrative by legendary additions; while the Gnostics anticipate and pave the way for the mysticism of the Qabbalah. Adam becomes a Gnostic Archon. The Ephites speak of 'the spiritual seed or 56wvovdras as an ochlun 7hav 5pov eiracov 5twv eiracov d4etov 'Adamotwv,' Greek equivalents of the Adam Qadmon or Adam Elyon which figure in the Qabbalah.

* Franz Delitzsch, in his Brief an die Römer in das Hebräische übersetzt and aus Talmud und Midrash erläutert, quotes from Rashi, Martin, and a Midrash (an early Midrash) which contains the effects of Adam's sin with those of the vicarious sufferings of the Messiah.

1 Harvey's Irenicon, l. 134, n. 2.
2 Dict. of Christian Biog., art. "Cubalalah" by Gomberg. Philo (Leg. Alleg.) speaks of a higher and a lower man introduced into Paradise; the latter is expelled, the higher remains.
3 Harvey's Irenicon, l. 224, n. 1.
4 Harvey, l. 134, n. 2.
ADAM'S BRIDGE—ADAM'S PEAK

To derive these Gnostic ideas from the Qabbalah is an anachronism; both are developments from Rabbinical mysticism. Medieval and Protestant divines, especially Calvin following Augustine, develop the doctrine of Original Sin from St. Paul's terms, 'He (Adam) not only was himself punished... but he involved his posterity also. . . The orthodox, therefore, and more especially Augustine, laboured to show that what was spoken of Adam and Eve was metaphorical, but bring an innate corruption from the very womb. It was the greatest impudence to deny this;'

6. Adam in Islam.—The Muhammadans accept the Christian Scripture subject to the necessary correction into translation; they have also borrowed many of the Jewish legends. Adam, therefore, is an important person in their religious system; and they have adorned his story with legends of their own. For instance, on the site of the Kcśa at Mecca, Adam, after his expulsion from Eden, first worshipped God in a tent sent down from heaven for the purpose; and Eve's tomb may be seen near Mecca; it showed the outlines of a body 175 ft. by 12 ft.; the head is buried elsewhere.

LITERATURE.—Comm. on the Biblical passages: Handbooks of Oriental Mythology, and of Dogmatists on the doctrine of Creation, and Original Sin: H. G. Smith, 'Adam in the RV.' in AJPh, vi. (1903), 753; G. F. Moore, 'The Last Adam,' in LA, xvi. (1897), 185; J. Denney, 'Adam and Christianity,' in Exp. 6th ser. ix. (1904), 107; Hastings' DB, artt. 'Adam,' 'Adam in the OT,' n. in the NT, artt. 'Sita and Ram,' 'Dharmasastra,' Book of, 'Adam Kadmon.'

W. H. BENNETT.

ADAM'S BRIDGE, or Râmaśvām or Râma's causeway.—A chain of sandbanks over 20 miles in length, extending from the island of Râmaśvām off the Indian coast, to the island of Manar off the coast of Ceylon. These sandbanks—some dry and others a few feet under the surface of the sea—were built up to connect India with Ceylon; and this fact has given rise to the tradition that they are portions of a causeway which was constructed by Râma, the hero of the ancient Indian Epic called the Râmâyana.

The story of the Epic is well known. Râma, the prince of Ayodhya or Oudh, was banished by the king, his father, for fourteen years, and came and lived in a forest near the sources of the Godâva. Here he married Sita, the daughter of the king of Kishâma. During the absence of the two brothers from their cottage, Sita was taken away by Râvana, king of Ceylon. After long search Râma got news of Sita, and determined to rescue her over a vast army of monkeys and bears to recover her. It was for this purpose that the causeway across the ocean is said to have been constructed. Râma crossed over with the army, defeated and killed Râvana, recovered his wife, and returned to Oudh. The period of exile had expired; Râma's father was dead; and Râma ascended the throne.

The building of the causeway across the ocean is described at great length in the epic poem. And after Râma had killed his foe and recovered his wife, he is described as sailing through the sky in an aerial car—all the way from Ceylon to Oudh. The whole of India was speeded below; and few passages in the epic are more striking than the bold attempt to describe the vast continent as seen from the car. It was then that Râma pointed out to his wife, who was seated by him in the car, the great causeway he had constructed across the ocean.

1. Institutes, bk. ii. ch. 1. § 6.
2. The translation is connected with Adam cf. Hastings' DB, i. 371. For the legend (as old as Origen) that Adam was buried by Golgotha, see Wilson, Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, 1906, p. 22.
3. Hadji Khan and Sparrow, With the Pilgrims to Mecca, 136, 106.

* See, my love, round Ceylon's island
How the ocean billows roar,
Hiding pearls in caves of rock,
Strewing shells upon the shore,
And the causeway far-extending,—
Monument of Râma's hand,
Râmaśvām unto ages
Shall be the Calabashes deed proclaimed!*

The Hindus regard Râma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the second of the Hindu Trinity—the god who preserves and supports the universe. The island of Râmaśvām, from which Adam is supposed to have crossed to Ceylon over the causeway built by him, is therefore a sacred place of pilgrimage, visited by thousands of pious Hindus every year from all parts of India. This famous temple of Râmaśvām, with its pillarars constituting 700 feet long, is perhaps the finest specimen of Dravidian architecture in India.

LITERATURE.—Râmâyana (Griffith's tr. and Rosemuth's condensed tr.). For an account of the temple of Râmaśvām, see Ferguson, Indian and Eastern Architecture.

ROMESH DUTT.

ADAM'S PEAK.—This is the English name, adopted from the Portuguese, of a lofty mountain in Ceylon, called in Sinhalese Samanâlana, and in Pali Samànta-äta or Samànta-äta. It rises directly from the ocean, at the southwestern corner of the central mountainous district, to a height of 7320 feet. The panorama from the summit is one of the grandest in the world, as few other mountains, though surpassing it in altitude, present the same unbroken view of the sea. But the peak is best known as a place of pilgrimage to the depression in the rock at its summit, which is supposed to resemble a man's footprint, and is explained by different religions in different ways. It is a most remarkable, and probably unique, sight to see a group of pilgrims gazing solemnly at the depression, each one quite undisturbed in his faith by the knowledge that the pilgrim's footprint next to him holds a divergent view—the Buddhist thinking it to be the footprint of the Buddha, the Saivite regarding it as the footprint of Siva, the Christian holding it to be the footprint of St. Thomas, or perhaps admitting the conflicting claims of the eunuch of Queen Candace, and the Muhammadan thinking he believes the footprint of Adam. The origin of these curious beliefs is at present obscure. None of them can be traced back to its real source, and even in the case of the Buddhist belief, about which we know most, we are left to conjecture in the last, or first, steps.

The earliest mention of the Buddhist belief is in the Samànta-äta, a commentary on the Buddhist Canon. Law written by Buddhaghosa in the first quarter of the 5th cent. A.D. This work has not yet been published, but the passage quoted in full, in the original Pali, by Skeen (pp. 50, 61). It runs as follows: 'The Exalted One, in the eighth year after his attainment of Wisdom, came attended by live hundreds of bhikkhus on the invitation of Manilkka, king of the Nagas, to Ceylon; took the meal (to which he had been invited), seated the while in the Intama Mandapa (Gan Pavilion) just up on the spot where the Kâlyâni Dagâga (afterwards) stood, and making his footprint visible on Samânta-äta, went back to India.' Seeing that Adam's Peak is a hundred miles away from the Kâlyâni Dagâga, the charge about Adam's Peak seems abrupt, and looks as if it had been inserted into an older story written originally without it. But it is good evidence that the belief in the Adam's Peak legend was current at Anurâdhapura when the passage quoted was written there about A.D. 435. The whole context of the passage is known to have been drawn from a history of Ceylon in Sinhala prose with mnemonic verses in Pali. These verses were collected in the still extant work, the Dipâmâna, written probably in the previous century. That work (54-589) gives the account of the Buddha's visit to Manilkka. It mentions nothing about Adam's Peak. Ought we not to consider that the legend arose between the dates of the two works? Probably not. The argument ex silicio is always weak; and in another passage of the Samànta-äta, where the Bubble is mentioned, nothing is said about Adam's Peak. Neither can it be an interpolation, for the edition of the Pali (L. 76, p. 7), written about a half century later; also at Amu-

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* Celger, Mahâvamsa und Dipânāma (Leipzig, 1900), p. 78.
† Printed in Oldenberg, Vissâna Pitaka, vol. iii. p. 322.
‡ Sir L. T. Corbett, Ceylon, ii. 136, dates it 'prior to A.D. 391.'
ADAPTATION

had declared they would not absolve him of the crime; the ascetics said they could; so he smeared his body with ashes and adopted their faith, that of Siva. The soma grant, issued by King Kirti Sri of Kandy in 1751, making a renewed grant to the Buddhist Bihakku at the Peak, calls these Saivite faqirs Andiyas. Possibly the Saivite tradition may date from this event. But it may also be a later interpolation. In the Thirukkathaickai, Manniyam, it is said that rivers flowed from the Peak of Siva's foot there. The date of this little work is uncertain, and the present writer has seen only the extract given by Skeen (p. 205).

Whatever opinion they hold about the footprint, both Tamils and Sinhalese consider the deity of the place to be Suman Dewiyo, as he is called in Sinhalese, or Sumana (also Samanta) as he is called in Pali. His shrine still stands on the topmost peak just beneath the pavilion over the footprint, and his image has been reproduced by Skeen (p. 258). Skeen also gives (p. 296) a ground plan and woodcut of the buildings on the Peak in 1880; Tennent (ii. 140) gives a ground plan and woodcut of them as they appeared in 1855; and Dr. Rost, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1895, p. 656, gives a plan in outline and one of the footprint. On the little rock plateau at the top of the mountain—it is only about 30 by 30 ft.—there is the boulder on the top of which is this footprint covering the shrine of Suman Dewiyo, a shrine containing a small image of the Buddha recently erected, and a hut of wood and plaster work occupied by Buddhist Bhiksushas. The four who were there when Rost visited the Peak told him that they had not been down from the mountain for four years. They complained of the cold, but said that otherwise they were quite contented, and had much time for study, and showed him their palm-leaf books. Rost says that the depression in the rock is now 55 ft. long by 22 ft. broad, and that the heel of the footprint is well preserved, but the toes are not visible, being covered by the wall of the pavilion.

LITERATURE.—Tennent and Rost as cited above, and William Skeen, Adam's Peak, Colombo, 1850.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

ADAPTATION.—Almost every detail of inherited structure and congenital behaviour shows fit adjustment to the needs and conditions of life, and may be spoken of as an adaptation. wherever we look, whether in plants or animals, we find illustrations of this in the simplest details of structure and function, in the size, shape, the colour of an organism, the structure of parts in relation to their use and in their relations to other parts, the everyday behaviour and the occasional activities, e.g. those concerned with reproduction,—almost every detail of structure and function is adaptive. The term may be used simply as a descriptive, adjutative, implying that the structure or function in question is fit, effective, well-adjusted, making for the preservation or well-being of the individual or of the species; but in biological usage it has also a theoretical implication, that the structure or function is so to effect an individual accommodation, more than an individually acquired modification—is the result of a process of evolution. It was not always as it is now, it has been, so natural history shows, a process of evolution, whatever these may be (see EVOLUTION).

The structure of a long bone in a mammal is adapted to give the utmost mechanical advantage to the animal's movements; the unique pollen-ball, adapted to attract the bees, is modified to lower away the pollen; the colours and patterns on the wings of leaf-insects are adapted to harmonize with the
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foliage on which they settle; the parts of flowers are often
adapted to ensure that the insect-visitor is dusted with pollen,
and thus to secure cross-fertilization; the leaf of the
Fly-Trap is adapted to attract, capture, and digest flies; the
peacock is adapted to captivate the pen-bird; the mother
moose is adapted to take care of the prolonged pre-natal
young; the so-called ‘egg-tooth’ at the end of a young bird’s
bill is adapted to the single operation of breaking the egg-egg,
— and, so far as we can see, throughout the whole of the animal kingdom. It
is indeed a mistake to dwell upon signal instances of adaptations,
since they are the result of adaptive changes in old species, of
cases, perpetuated instincts, rudimentary or vestigial structures,
and certain ‘indifferent’ characters which are not known to
have any vital significance. Every detail of structure and
function may be regarded as adaptive.

To gain a clearer idea of what is one of the most
difficult and fundamental problems of biology, it
may be useful to consider briefly: (1) effectiveness
of response; (2) plasticity; (3) modifiability, which
lead on to the conception of adaptiveness.

1. Effectiveness of response.—One of the char-
acteristics of organisms, as contrasted with inani-
mate systems, is their power of effective response
on to environmental stimuli. The barrel of gunpowder
can respond to the external stimulus of a spark, but
it responds self-destructively; the living creature,
presenting its organic elasticity to all solicitations of
species-preservation. A piece of iron reacts to the
atmosphere in rusting; it becomes an oxide of iron
and ceases to be what it was; a living organism
also reacts to the atmosphere, every muscular
movement, touch, light, pressure, sound, and
nuance of this and many another change the organism
retains its integrity for a more or less prolonged period.
Its reactions are effective. Not that the organism
responds so as to provide, e.g. to a strong current of electricity, for it is not
able to live anywhere or anyhow, but only within
certain environmental limits which we call the
essential conditions of its life. We cannot account
for this by saying that it is adapted to respond
because it is part of our conception of life.
In some degree it must have been possessed by the
first and simplest organisms, though it has doubt-
less been improved upon in the course of evolution.
Without wrestling words, it cannot be said that
inanimate systems ever exhibit effectiveness of
response. A river carves through a soft rock and
circles round a hard one, a glacier circumvents a
crag, a crystal may bend itself, but it cannot be
said that there is any advantage to river, glacier,
crystal or water in the way it behaves. The biological
concept is plainly irrelevant. The nearest ana-
logues, perhaps, are to flash-fires, in which
response are to be found in automatically regulated
tothes, but the analogy is little more than a
pleasing conceit, since the machine is a materializa-
tion of human ingenuity and without any intrinsic
autonomy.

2. Plasticity.—But in addition to the primary
inherent power of effective response, we must also
recognize that living creatures are in different
degrees plastic. That is to say, they can adjust
their reactions to novel conditions, or they can, if
we seem bound to say, ‘try’ first one mode of
reaction and then another, finally persisting in
that which is most effective. Thus, Dallinger was
able to accustom certain Monads to thrive at an
extraordinarily high temperature; thus Jennings
reports that the behaviour of certain Infusorians
may be compared to a perversity of ‘the method
of trial and error’, so that certain molluscs and
fishes are plastic enough to live for days in frostwater.
How much of this plasticity is primary or inherent
in the very nature of living matter, how much of
it is secondary and wrought out by Natural Selec-
tion, we cannot say, but it is a fundamental fact
which must be measured a matter of opinion. Each case must be
judged on its own merits. It is certain that many
unicellular organisms are very plastic, and it seems
reasonable to suppose that, as differentiation in
creased, restrictions were placed on the primary
plasticity, while a more specialized and secondarily
plasticity was gained in many cases, where organ-
isms lived in environments liable to frequent
vicissitudes. It is convenient to use the term
‘accommodation’ to indicate the giving of functional adjustments which many organisms are
able to make to new conditions. When a muscle becomes stronger if exercised beyond its wont, we
may speak of this temporary individual acquisition as a functional accommodation. See ACCOMO-
DATION.

3. Modifiability.—Advancing a third step, we
recognize as a fact of life that organisms often
exhibit great modifiability. That is to say, in the
course of their individual life they are liable to be
so impressed by changes in surrounding influences and by changes in function, that, as a direct con-
sequence, modifications of bodily structure or habit
are acquired. ‘Modifications’ may be defined as
structural changes in the body of an individual
organism, directly induced by changes in function
or in environment, which transcend the limit of
order and persist after the inducing conditions have ceased to operate. They are often
inconveniently called ‘acquired characters.’ Thus
a man’s skin may be so thoroughly ‘tanned’ by
the sun during half a lifetime in the tropics, that
it never becomes paler, even after a change of
clime, to a far from sunny clime. It is a permanent
modification, as distinguished (a) from a tem-
porary adjustment, and (b) from congenital swath-
isms.

It is admitted by all that both temporary adjust-
ments and more permanent modifications may
make for survival or for an increase of well-being
that favours survival in the long run. But they
may also be indifferent (as far as the organism
is concerned) or even injurious to the organism as a
whole, e.g. when an important organ, in response
to inadequate nutrition or stimulus, is arrested at
a certain stage in its development. In themselves,
however, they seem always in the direction of at
least local effectiveness. It is difficult to bring
forward any instance where the reaction is in
itself in the wrong direction. It may spell de-
genration, when judged by the normal level
attained in other members of the species or in
ancestors of the species, but the degeneration is
in itself an effective response to the condition there-
fore. A growing organism, which has adequate nutrition and the appropriate liberating
stimuli, may stop growing; but while this may be
injurious to the organism as a whole, it may be
actually beneficial, and in any case it is the most
effective response the organism can make.
The change-provoking stimuli may imply conditions
with which the organism cannot possibly cope, but
the parts primarily affected may be said to do their
best within the limits of their modifiability. Even
a pathological process like inflammation, set up
in response to intrusive microbes, is an effective
reaction, and sometimes a life-saving one.

When a mammal taken to a colder climate
acquires a thicker coat of hair, when a plant
similarly treated acquires a thicker epidermis,
when an area of skin much pressed upon becomes
hard and callous, when a shoemaker in the course
of his trade develops certain calloused areas
—and hundreds of examples might be given,—we
call the results adaptive modifications. The changes
are effective, useful, fit,—they may even make for
the preservation of the individual, when the struggle
for existence is keen. And yet these adjustments
are not what are usually meant by ‘adaptations’. For this term (used to denote a result, not a process)
is most conveniently restricted to racial adjust-
ments, that is, to characters which are inborn, not

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acquired; which are expressions of the natural inheritance, not individual gains. It goes without saying that though these adaptations are potentially implicit in the germinal material—in the fertilized ovum—they cannot be expressed without appropriate 'nurture'; that is a condition of all development. But they are theoretically—however difficult the distinction may be in practice—quite different from acquired adaptive modifications which are not imitate through the potentiality of their occurrence necessarily is. According to the Lamarckian hypothesis, adaptations are due to the cumulative inheritance of individually acquired modifications; but as satisfactory evidence of the hereditary transmission of any modification as such or in any representative degree is, to say the least, far to seek, and as it is difficult to conceive of any mechanism whereby such transmission could come about (see HEREDITY), some other origin of adaptations must be sought for.

4. Origin of adaptations.—Within the limits of a short article it is impossible to discuss adequately a problem so difficult as that of the origin of adaptations. Like the correlated, but really distinct problem of the origin of species, it is one of the fundamental—still imperfectly answered—questions which the interpreter of animate and inanimate nature has not to do more than mention to indicate the general tenor of the suggestions which evolutionists have offered.

(a) According to the Lamarckian theory, racial adaptations are due to the cumulative inheritance of individual adaptive modifications. But there is a lack of evidence in support of this interpretation, plausible as it seems; it is difficult to conceive of any internal mechanism whereby a change acquired by a part of the body can affect the germinal material in a manner so precise and representative that the offspring shows a corresponding change in the same direction. Moreover, there are many known cases where any such transmission of modifications certainly does not occur.

(b) The general Darwinian theory is that adaptations are due to the selection of those inborn and heritable variations which, by making their possessors better adapted to the conditions of their life, have some survival value. It is a fact of observation that in many groups of organisms the individuals fluctuate continually in various directions. Certain characters appear as if they followed the law of chance. It is also a fact of observation that some of these variations increase the survival value of their possessors. It is inferred that the cumulative inheritance of these favourable modifications, fostered by selection in any of its numerous forms, and helped by the elimination—gradual or sudden—of forms lacking the variations in the fit direction, or having others relatively unfit, may lead to the establishment of new adaptations. The greatest difficulty in this argument is to account for the origin of the fit variations, and this has to be met by the accumulation of observational and experimental data bearing upon the potential and natural adaptations. It is also necessary to accumulate more facts showing that selective processes—acting directly on fluctuating-variations—do really bring about the modifications actually seen. To meet this difficulty, it appears that more emphasis should be laid upon the power that many animals have of actively seeking out environments for which the variations they possess are adapted. Here, too, it is necessary to point out the probable importance of some of the many forms of ISOLATION.

(c) The work of recent years—notably that of Bateson and De Vries—has made it plain that, besides the natural selection, the individual selection, or directive or guiding selection, which is the process by which the organism tends to keep up the new characters it has acquired, may lead to the establishment of new adaptations. This is due to the fact that variations which appear 'discontinuous' or 'mutations,' where a new character or group of characters not only appears suddenly, but may come to stay from generation to generation. It cannot be said that we understand the origin of these mutations, in which the combinations of genes involved are not in the parts of it seems suddenly to pass from one position of organic equilibrium to another; but that they do occur is indubitable, and their marked heritability is also certain. The modification is a phenomenon of gradual and a rationale of the fact that certain mutations, when once they have arisen, are not likely to be swamped, but are likely to persist, unless, of course, selection is against them. In horticulture, in particular, artificial selection has operated in great part on mutations. If this interpretation be confirmed and extended, it will not be necessary to lay such a heavy burden on the shoulders of selection. But more facts are urgently needed, and how and under what conditions mutations—whether adaptive or non-adaptive—occur, remains an unsolved problem.

(d) In his theory of Germinal Selection, Weismann suggests an attractive subsidiary hypothesis. Supposing that the germinal material consists of a—a multitude—of determinants (the determinants), he postulates that the reproductive cells get their germ-plasm. Supposing limitations of nutrition within the germ, he pictures a intra-germinal struggle in which the weaker determinants corresponding to any given part will get less food and will become weaker, while the stronger determinants corresponding to the same part will feed better and become stronger. Thus the theory suggests a hypothetical internal selection which will abet the ordinary external selection of individual organisms, and it makes the rise, if not the origin, of adaptations more intelligible. Or, to put it in another way, the theory suggests a possible mechanism by which the survival of any form with a favourable variation may influence the subsequent variational direction of that form. The determinants are supposed to be variable—everything living is; for each character separately heritable there are in the germ multiple determinants (paternal, maternal, grand—parental, ancestral): these are not all of equal strength; there is a germinal struggle and selection, the strongest asserts itself in development, and the resulting variations are those corresponding to the victorious determinant. If the character of the resulting determinate is of survival value, those organisms which have that character tend to survive, and their progeny will tend to keep up the character. But while the external selection is proceeding, it is being continually backed up by the germinal selection. Thus nothing succeeds like success.

(e) Various evolutionists—Professors Mark Baldwin, H. F. Osborn, and C. Lloyd Morgan—have suggested that although individual adaptive modifications may not be transmissible, they may have indirect effect in evolution, by serving as life-preserving screens until coincident inborn or germinal variations in the same direction have time to develop. As Lloyd Morgan puts it—(1) 'Where adaptive variation v is similar in direction to individual variation m, the organism has an added chance of survival from the coincidence m + v; (2) where the variation is antagonistic in direction to the modification, there is a diminished chance of survival from the opposition m — v; hence (3) coincident variations will be fostered while opposing variations will be eliminated.' As Groos expresses it, in reference to some instinctive activities—Imitation may keep 'a species alive, but it does not foster the life-preserving tradition.' As Mark
Baldwin states it, the theory is 'that individual modifications or accommodations may supplement, protect, or screen organic characters and keep them alive until useful congenital variations arise and survive by natural selection.'

Finally, in thinking of the difficult problem of adaptations, we must remember the importance of the active organism itself. As Professor James Ward has well pointed out, it may seek out and even in part make its environment; it is not so selected; it selects; it acts as well as nature. And although the details and finesse of this may have been elaborated in the course of selection, the primary potentiality of it is an essential part of the secret of that kind of activity which we call Life.

ADIELAD—ADIPHARISM

ADIELAD—Adelard of Bath (Philosophus Anglicus) occupies a distinguished place among the schoolmen of the 12th cent., as a chief representative of the philosophic doctrine of 'Indifference.' This was one of the mediating theologies in the great medieval conflict as to the nature of universal conceptions (genera and species) and their relation to the individuals comprehended under them. It lies between the extreme Realism on the one hand, which attacked substantiality only to the universals, and the extreme Nominalism on the other, which according to which generic conceptions were mere names, while reality belonged only to the individuals. It tends, however, to the side of Nominalism, inasmuch as it gives up the substantiality of universals, and makes the universal to consist of the non-different elements (indifferentia) in the separate individuals, which alone subsist substantially. Everything depends on the point of view from which the individuals are regarded: according as attention is fixed on their differences or their non-differences, they remain individuals or become for us the species and the genus. Thus Plato as Plato is an individual, as a man the species, as an animal the sub-species genus, as a substance the most universal genus.

This doctrine of Indifference was probably first stated in Adelard's treatise de Bodem et Dicervo, composed between 1105 and 1116. (It has recently been edited by H. Willmer in Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Philos. des Mittelalters, ed. by Cl. Bäumker and G. v. Hertling, Münster, 1865.) Adelard seeks to reconcile Plato and Aristotle, and says:

'Since that which we see is at once genus and species and individual, Aristotle rightly insisted that the universals do not exist except in the things of sense. But since those universals, so far as they are called genera and species, cannot be perceived by any one in their purity without the admixture of imagination, Plato maintained that they existed only in the mind; the mind being beyond the things of sense, to wit, in the Divine mind. The wise men, though their words they seemed opposed, yet held in reality the same opinion.'

The doctrine of Indifference was also represented by Walter of Mortagne (died as bp. of Laon, 1174), who, though he abjured and regarded as its originator, while others again have traced it to a supposed late view of William of Champeaux.

Besides the above-mentioned tractate, Adelard wrote also Questions Naturales. He had travelled widely and acquired that physical learning, especially from the Arabs, out of whose language he translated Euclid. He teaches that the knowledge of the laws of nature should be united with the recognition of their dependence on God's will. He says: 'It is the will of the Creator that herbs should grow from the earth, but this will is not without reason.' Mere authority he compares to a halter, and desiderates that reason should decide between the true and the false.

ADIPHARISM.—Three meanings of this word are given in the dictionaries: (1) the theory that some actions are indifferent, i.e. neither bad nor good, not being either commanded or forbidden by God, either directly or indirectly; so that they may be done or omitted without fault; (2) the theory that certain rites or ceremonies, not having been either commanded or forbidden by God, may freely be used or omitted without fault; (3) the theory that certain doctrines of the Church, though taught in the word of God, are of such minor importance, that they may be disbelieved without injury to the foundation of faith. (Although this use of the word can be found in good authors, it is a question whether it is accurate).

I. Actions.—Very early in the history of the Christian Church the gospel began to be conceived as having the wider meaning. Perhaps the wider meaning of the word 'law' had something to do with this. But it was to be expected that those who had grown up under a system of rigid prescription, not only of rites and ceremonies, but also of domestic observances and the details of personal conduct, prescription, moreover, that had Divine authority, -should be unable to conceive any other method of moral life. It is not strange, therefore, that St. James (19) speaks of the gospel as 'the perfect law of liberty.' To the early Christian there had been heathen; the customs in which they had been bred were abhorrent to a Jew; they were corrupting; and therefore those newly-made Christians had to be taught and drilled in the first principles of morality. In the Early Church, before the books of the NT had been written and for many years afterwards, the OT was the word of God read in their assemblies for worship; and its pre-scriptions for conduct, its rules of common life, and its religious institutions became authoritative. It seems likely that a legalistic conception of Christianity must always preponderate in a community that has recently won from heathenism. All must remain under tutelage, and discipline must be rigidly exercised, until the fundamental principles of right living are wrought into their conscience.

Marcion urged the rejection of the OT Law. As the Church began to spread through all classes of men, and to have part in the whole of their daily life, it began insensibly to accommodate its ascetic rules to the necessities of the case. Gradually there grew up a distinction between a law of morals incumbent upon all men and a higher rule of life voluntarily assumed, but when once assumed, of lasting obligation, and by the observance of which a man might earn a higher reward than was due to the simple observance of the commandments of God (consilia evangelici), and might even deserve enough of God to be able to transfer some of his merit to others (opera supererogativa). An ascetic life was looked upon as holier than the observance of the duties of one's calling in the world. To the commandments of God were added the commandments of the Church.

The Reformation assailed this notion of an ascetic and artificial righteousness. The moral injunctions of Jesus and His holy example are for all alike. The works of our calling are the sphere in which to serve God. No one can fulfil the law of God, much less can any one exceed it. All are
dependent upon God's mercy; and, forgiven for Christ's sake, depending upon that grace and thankful for it, are to go forth to the performance of daily duty, pleasing Him by childlike faith, not by the excellence of what they do.

It has been alleged that the immediate result of the Reformation was a deterioration of morals, especially in regions where the Lutheran doctrine was taught, no efficient external discipline being adopted in place of the ecclesiastical rules and jurisdiction of the older time (see Dollinger, Reformation). A more successful effort was made under Calvin to introduce in Geneva a complete censorship of morals. The Puritans of England revived the conception of the gospel as a law. The Pietistic movement in Germany forbade as inconsistent with the Christian name all mere enjoyment and all the merely artistic activities of life. To do everything to the glory of God forbade all play. There was a revival of asceticism, which was taken up by the early Methodists in England (see Ritschl, Geschichte des Pietismus, 3 vols., 1880-6). In our own day there are many sects, notably the Adventists, who regard the OT Law as still in force in all its regulations, even concerning meat and drink.

To appreciate the answer which Christ gave to this question, we must bear in mind that the Pharisaism which He refuted endeavoured to secure the law of God by 'putting a fence around the Law,' consisting of inferential and artificial rules of life. Those who vigorously observed these the Pharisees accounted meritorious; and they put such stress on these comments and additions that by them they made the law of God of no effect. Our Lord rebuked the substitution of a human law for the simple law of God, and also the exaltation of human rules of life to the same sanctity as belonged to the revealed law. He required the inward service of the heart. Jesus was not an ascetic in the usual meaning of that word. He accepted invitations to the table (Lk 7:33). He honoured a wedding feast (Jn 2:11). He spoke sympathetically of the children playing in the streets (Lk 7:32). He commended Mary's sacrifice of precious ointment (Mt 26:6-13, Jn 12:3). He publicly called a wine-barber and a glutton (Mt 11:19). Neither was St. Paul an ascetic. It is evident that he did not consider it essential to his personal salvation to make distinctions of meats (Ro 14:1-14, 1 Cor 8:8-13), to force the poor to borrow from more affluent ones (Ro 12:8-10), to raise anxious questions about the material of entertainments (1 Co 10:23), or to avoid social pleasures (ibid.) and he could look upon and talk about the games of Greece with no word of censure (1 Cor 5:11). In writing to Timothy (1 Ti 4:1-13) he foretold those errors which would forbid to marry, and command to abstain from meats, which God created to be received with thanksgiving by them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified through the word of God and prayer. 'And if there be some thing forbidden to Jews by reason of conscience; neither, if we eat not, are we the worse; nor, if we eat, are we the better' (see also 1 Co 7:19-34, and cf. He 5:14). It is evident that a sphere is left for Christian freedom, in which a man may, may must, use his own judgment, and in reference to which good men may differ, and no man may condemn his brother. Here we have the justification of what are described as merely aesthetic activities of human life, in which the natural delight of man in simple enjoyment has place, and where the law of beauty is supreme rather than the law of duty. No doubt St. Paul would have barred these out, because of 'the present distress' (1 Co 7:7); but his 'opinion' in contradiinction from 'the com-

mandment of the Lord' allows them, though with the important qualifications we have yet to allude to. They derive a sanction from the constitution of man. Under this category we put the drama, music, art, all recreation. We thus have freedom for the freedom of a Christian. He is not under a positive law which extends to every corner of his life. He does not move in the sphere of a moral necessity. He must exercise judgment, but must be left room and more in knowledge and all discernment, and prove the things that differ (Ph 1:26). It is wrong for him to hinder and lame his conscience either by the culture of such rigid unreasoning law as the adoption of a formal law (Frank, Theologie der Concordienfret, iv. x. 16 f.).

But Christian freedom has its limits. These limits are external and internal. Our liberty may not become a stumbling block to the weak, sinning against the brethren, wounding their conscience when it is weak' (1 Co 8:12). Some things that are lawful edify not (10:23); they contribute nothing (6:15). We are not to live in the moment, wasting the material of everlasting life (7:9). 'All things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any' (6:12, Gal 5:1). To watchfulness on his own account the Christian must add a watchfulness on the account of others.

LITERATURE.—See besides works quoted, writers on Christian Ethics, such as Harless, Wittke, Martensen, Lutherbt. Gesch. der Christl. Ethik; Goldschmied, Gesch. des Christl. Rechts.

P.S.

2. Rites and ceremonies.—If we take up the second definition of our subject, we find that the same causes led the Early Church to believe that its rites and ceremonies had been commanded by God. The ceremonial laws of the OT doubtless do reveal the essential principles of the worship of God. These principles were enshrined in forms suitable to primitive times and prophetic of the realities by which the redemption of mankind was accomplished by our Lord Jesus Christ. But the OT, applied to forms of worship by way of illustration and explanation, became normative; so that gradually the Church came to have a priest-hood, altars, and sacrifices of its own, with vestments and a ritual of feasts and days; the observance of which was regarded as essential to the validity of its sacraments, and therefore to salvation, and the neglect of which was as deadly as a violation of the Decalogue. This view persists in parts of the Church (see the Catechism of the Church in England and the defence of existing institutions and privileges.

The Reformers acknowledged that the Church had a right to institute rites and ceremonies, and even ascribed to the Church the hallowing of the first day of the week instead of the seventh; but they denied that the Church had a right to claim for its institutions the unchangeableness and sanctity of the institutions and commandments of God. Christ left few ordinances—His Word, the two Sacraments, a ministry of the Word and Sacraments, His assured presence with the assembly of His people, the Lord's Prayer, these are all—and for these days (1 Co 5:15). Both the forms of government and its forms of worship to suit the times and places in which it might be found. But what do we mean by 'the Church' in this statement? The clergy only? Or those who have attained to a headship of the clergy? Or, in countries where the State controls the Church, the ministry of worship? Or duly authorized Councils? Or representatives chosen by clergy and laity, expressing their preference by the vote of a majority? None of these. The judgment of the Church may finally decide a matter which has been approved with the concurrence of all these. A rite that once was significant and edifying may fall out of use, or may become harmful in the
A length of time and under changing circumstances. All rites and ceremonies instituted by men are subject to the judgment of Christian conscience enlightened by the word of God.

In the Silver Age of the Reformation a warm controversy among certain theologians was precipitated by the attempt of Charles V. to compromise the differences between the Evangelical Churches and the Roman Church, in the Augsburg Confession (1530). The question of the permissible of a vague formula which might be interpreted in two ways, and the revival of usages which the one side had rejected because they served error, and the other regarded as necessary, was the protagonist on the one side; Melanchthon was the target. The matter and the true position cannot be set forth more clearly than is done in the Formula of Concord, 1580.

"For the settlement of this controversy, we believe, teach, and confess, in one consent, that ceremonies or ecclesiastical rites (which had been neither commanded nor forbidden by the Word of God, but instituted only for the sake of decency and order) are not of themselves Divine Worship or any part of it. For there are (as Galatians 5:13) chapters in the New Testament which are stated to be in force in one part of the Church, and not in the other, for the sake of expediency only (for doctrines the commandments of men)."—(Galatians 5:13)

In times of persecution, when a clear and steadfast confession is required of us, we ought not to yield to the enemies of the Gospel in things indifferent. For the Apostle says (Gal 5:1): "Stand therefore in the liberty whereof Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage;" and (2 Cor 4:1): "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for our conversation is in heaven."—(Galatians 5:13)

For in such a state of things the dispute no longer is about things indifferent, but concerning the truth of the gospel and the promotion and protection of Christian liberty, and how to prevent open idolatry; and the protection of those who are weak in faith against offence. In matters of indifferent doctrine we ought not to yield anything to our adversaries, but it is our duty to give a faithful and sincere confession, and patiently to bear whatever the Lord may lay upon us and not to yield to the enemies of His Word to do to us."—(Galatians 5:13)

"No Church ought to condemn another because that Church observes more or fewer of outward ceremonies which the Lord did not institute, if only there be between them consent in all articles of doctrine and the right use of Christian worship. Well and truly it was said of old: "Disagreement as to fasting and suppers doth not make an agreement in faith."—(Galatians 5:13)

"We repudiate and condemn these false teachings, as contrary to the Word of God, viz.; that human traditions and constitutions are to be made for a people the worship of God or a part of such worship; that such ceremonies and institutions should be conformable to the Church of God as necessary, according to the Christian liberty; that in the Church of Christ has reference to outward things of this sort, the necessary and required, the enemies of the Gospel may be placated by the observance of things of this sort, which are in themselves indifferent, and that it is permitted to agree and consent with them—a thing detrimental to heavenly truth; that outward ceremonies, because they are indifferent, should not be observed, as if the Church of God were not free in Christian liberty, to use this or that ceremony which it may deem useful for edification. (See Planck, Creus, de Fra. Lehrbegriffs, in: Jacobs, Book of Concord, II: Heieck, Das Drecksbreche Interim.)"

There remains the question whether each person has a right to change the ordinances of the Church according to his own judgment and taste, so that anything such as he pleases, and omitting those of which he disapproves. Inasmuch as these rites and ceremonies are things indifferent, he should conform to the Church, lest he be disorderly (2 Th 3:11, 1 Co 11:1). Again, it may be asked by what test a rite or ceremony handed down in the Church is to be estimated. The Augsburg Confession of Faith (iv. 33) states that there are things observed that contribute to unity and good order, and the Apology for the Confession (iv. 33), that the Church of God of every place and every time has power, according to circumstances, to change such ceremonies in such manner as they be most useful and edifying to the Church of God.

A further question may be raised, as to the authority of good taste, of aesthetic canons, in regard to the forms and accessories of Christian worship. In this matter, without declaring, as of more value than artistic merit, and all must yield to the instinct of Christian love.

3. Doctrines.—In order to answer the question suggested by the third definition, a discussion between a 'dogma,' a 'doctrine,' and the 'faith' must be clearly apprehended. Dogmas result from an analysis of the faith, and the word is properly restricted to those statements of Christian truth which have been finally declared by the authorities of the Church and accepted by the Church in its Confessions. A dogma is always subject to examination and challenge. Not even a Council of the Universal Church is infallible. Even the Ecumenical Creeds must justify themselves to the Christian consciousness by their evident agreement with the word of God. Doctrine is an explanation and elaboration of the faith which has not yet been written (Galatians 5:13) or crystallized into dogma.

Dogmas can be understood either in the original sense in which they were approved and confessed by the Church, or in the sense in which they have been apprehended by any age. It is conceivable that a student may discover a deflection of popular and universal faith from the idea which the original authors of a Confessional formula meant to set forth in it. Every dogma must be understood in relation to the entirety of the faith. Each age gives especial attention to different aspects of the faith. The 'spirit of the age,' its conception of human duties and human rights, its philosophical notions, colour its explanations of Divine truth and cause the emphasis laid upon different aspects of it to vary. From its own standpoint every age and clime develops first doctrine, then dogma. That, finally, is recognized as Christian dogma quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditur. Securus judicaret orbis terrarum.

EDWARD T. HORN.

ADIBUDDHA (theistic system of Nepal, including its Buddhist antecedents, Dhyanibuddhas, etc.).—Introduction.—Abel Remusat stated in 1831 that "the learned of Europe were indebted to Mr. Hodgson for the name of Adibuddha." And it might almost be said with truth that so far as else we do find such a systematic and complete account of the theory of the theistic Buddhists of Nepal (Aśvākaras) + as Hodgson has given in his Essays.

Unitarian and theistic Buddhism, after having aroused keen interest, fell later into neglect, when attention was drawn to primitive or ancient Buddhism, especially by the works of Spence Hardy and Burnouf. The result of the iconographic discoveries and the Tibetan studies of the last few years seems to have been to bring it again into greater prominence. It is well worth examining, because, although more 'Alexandrian' than Buddhist, Buddhists in fact only in name and in so far as it employs Buddhist terminology, it nevertheless is, as it were, the consummation of the philosophical, mystical, and mythological speculations of the Great Vehicle, and differs from several other systems, widespread in the Buddhist world, only by its markedly 'theistic' colouring. The system of the Aśvākaras is, in effect, merely the half-monistic (i.e. theistic) interpretation of the ontological and religious speculation of the Great Vehicle in the last

* See Hodgson, Essays, p. 110.
† From Hearns, the personal and supreme god. (See Tillem.)
‡ See Schuhard, Grundlabor; Burnouf, Introduction.
stage of its development. It differs from it sufficiently clearly, however, to justify Burnouf in recognizing in the system of the Adibuddha a new kind of Buddhism—a third (or a fourth) Buddhism—and, in order to give the reader a just appreciation of the significance of this new interpretation of Buddhism, before unheard of, it will suffice to state that the old formula, ‘Of all that proceeds from causes the Tathāgata has explained them well into the truth, and all that proceeds from causes causes the Tathāgata is the cause.’

A further characteristic of the Avsrkaras of Hodgson, in which they stand apart from Hindu or Buddhist systems, is the absence from their theology of every feminine, tantric, and magical element. It is well known that Hodgson had recourse for his information to native scholars, whom he ceremoniously styles ‘living oracles,’ and who, in support of their statements, supplied him with fragments of texts, which were not all authentic. These mutilated testimonies, this tradition arranged with a view to meet questions conceived in a altogether European spirit, are, as far as the absence of the above-mentioned element is concerned, confirmed by the Svanayambhūparāṇa, which is not very tantric. We do not, however, believe that, even apart from the wide and comprehensive notion of logic, the absence of these elements in reality ever was quite free from intermixtures of Savitve thought.

Plan and division.—As the problem has not been examined in its entirety for a long time, and as much light has been thrown upon it by recent researches, we propose to state it here, as completely as possible, from the doctrinal point of view, of course; for we shall willingly dispense with legendary, iconographic, and ritual details.

The interests of Adibuddha systems (for there are at least two of them) lies chiefly in their relation to genuine Buddhism and to Hinduism. It will be most convenient (I.) to give a brief account of these Adibuddha systems, which are more or less well known, and (II.) to inquire into their antecedents, often obscure and problematical, beginning with the sources, so that we may be able in this way (III.) to locate the systems in question, doctrinally and historically, and to present a more accurate appreciation of them.

As most of these antecedents will demand separate treatment (see Avalokitēsvara, Lotus of the True Law, Mahāyāna, Maṇḍūśāla), a brief account of these insufficiently known sources, which we, as Buddhists, consider ourselves to Buddhist ground, for, although this long elaboration of the elements of the Buddhist systems of Adibuddha may be inexplicable without Hinduism, it will be sufficient to note, in passing, the points of contact.

1. ADIBUDDHA SYSTEMS.—I. Āśvkaraka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

*For the ancient formula see Kern, Manual, pp. 23, 49; Hodgson, Essays, p. 111.*

2. Tattvasadhana system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

3. Ubdaka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

4. Ubdaka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

5. Ubdaka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

6. Ubdaka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

7. Ubdaka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

8. Ubdaka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

9. Ubdaka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

10. Ubdaka system (Hodgson’s sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Puranatadibuddha (Tib. dam-po sa-i-sny-bya, mekog, gi dan-poi, ... § thog-mi ...). I.e. first Buddha, primary Buddha, Buddha from the beginning, Buddha unoriginated. It exists by himself, and in fact is called Svaṇayānā, **like Jatupadibuddha.**

Even in late texts we find Svanayānā explained as follows: svaṇayānā boṣṭa svaṇayānā bhaṇanubadha bhaṇanubadha arthaḥ (Nāmasargālī, 10); svaṇayānā sarvajñā parāsattvaḥ (ib. 60). See Agnāsvarakṣa prajñāparāmitā, § 20, tathāgatadhatu svanayānāt vairājyavatam.

The text is described in Ferguson, Hist. of Ind. Arch. ff. 170; Wright, Hist. of Nepal; Bendall and S. Levi, Nepal. It is represented in the miniature of MBS of the 12th cent. (Foucher, Icon. Bouddhique, l.); Köppen (i. p. 367) recollects the fact that, according to Kirpichnik (An Account, p. 116), the Great Lindé雷 was one of the most remarkable relics of the fifth century of the Anurāma, according to the Little Vehicle.

It is not clear that the Adibuddha of the Nepalese extends his reign beyond the present Kāla (Age of the World). He is father of five Buddhas only. It seems to be forgotten that there are millions of Kālas and millions of Buddhas.

It is a nākṣatramandala, a ‘constellation circle.’ Recalling the triratna, Buddha, Dharmah, Sādhana-mandala (Svaṇayānābhūparāṇa), we find in triratnasamārti, ‘the three gems embodied.

The present writer has never, in any Sanskrit or Tibetan text, met with the expression ‘dhyānibuddha.’ The five Buddhas are called the ‘five Jinas’ or the ‘five Buddhas’ in the Sanskrit texts as well as in Tibet, Cambdodia, and Java. He is inclined to believe that we have to do here either with an invention of the Tathāgata’s pandita or with a very late source. As the St. Petersburg Dictionary observes: a Dhyanibuddha, if rightly contrasted with Māṇusīṇībuddha (human Buddha, cf. māṇusīna) ought to mean ‘Buddha born of meditation’ (Adibuddha) and not ‘meditating Buddha’—Dhyānibuddha = dhyānibuddha.

We know of Jāhanaibuddhas, Jāhānabhodhisattvas (prās-ās abhodhisattvāḥ, etc.) who are called Yama-buddha, bhaya-buddha, pāṇa-buddha, etc. They are distinguished from the Jāhanaibuddhas. They correspond to the five jūnas or mystic sciences. These are the five so-called Dhyānibuddhas, regarded from the tantric point of view.

*Source: Kayo haikan ti mōmyō.*

Svastika or Kūkai, who creates (or causes to be created) immaterial substances, while the five others create corporeal beings.

*Source: Kayo haikan ti mōmyō.*

The same may be said of them as of the Dhyānibuddhas;** but** the Bodhisattvas are not in Dhyānakaya, the word can only mean corporeal beings.**
five Buddhas of contemplation. They are not, however, incarnations of them but rather figures, re- 
flexes, pratibimbā, magical projections, nirmanakāya.

2. It is difficult to date Hodgson's sources. The same difficulty exists with regard to the poetical version of the Kāranda- 
vyūha, of which the terminus ante quem perhaps will be supplied by the date of the Sanskrit translation of the prose version of the 
same text. In this prose edition, the only one which the Tibetans have ever had, there are a few passages, namely the verse passage in which the words Adi-buddha, sāvayānadhā, Adinātha (first protector) appears at the beginning of each line of light (jātirāpa). This passage is given in the second interest, and James Legge calls attention to it as the foundation of the doctrine of the four 
Buddhās. It is, however, re-used by inhabitants of the world. The second is not merely symbolic. It refers to the four 
Buddhas, with a symbol of the four Buddhas, in this case the four Buddhas, in a symbolic sense, in the same way as the four Buddhas (later known as the Adi-buddha) in very orthodox texts is 
treated of in the doctrine of the Buddha. Even if, as the texts inform us, he is called by the name of the Buddha, 
or, conversely, the five Buddhas emanate from his person; or if the icons place the five Buddhas on his head, or in the halo of 
radiance with which he is crowned, if his face, together with the fact that he is the spouse of Arjuna, brings him singularly close to Brahmā, these are conceptions which do not alter his original 
character any more than does his accidental identification with Amang, the god of Lovo, or with Siva, etc. Manjūśri is Adi-buddha, because he is the king of the Brahmā.

3. Although in certain documents Manjūśri is a tantric Adi-buddha, in his origin he is on the side

II. ANTECEDENTS OF THE ADI-BUDDHA SYSTEM.

—By more or less well-defined steps we can follow the evolution of Buddhism from its origin (little Vehicle) down to the conceptions which have just been discussed. There is no other way of explaining the conceptions of the Buddha in nirvāṇa, and of the Bodhisattva, the doctrine of the three bodies and the Trinity, than to suppose that the whole doctrine is the outcome of some purely philosophical speculation. The Tantras have an Adi-buddha of a different nature, nearer to Siva-Brahmā than to Brahmā or Vishnu, viz. 

1. Buddha in quasi-nirviṇṇā. —(1) We shall see (Agnosticism in Buddhism) that, according to the doctrine of the Vaibhāṣyavadins, and perhaps the Sthaviras, nirviṇṇā is scarcely anything else than annihilation. The classical texts, however, are much less definite. It is said that the Buddha in nirviṇṇā evades the grasp of the intelligence, just as it is impossible to measure the waters of the ocean: they are too many. From this the conclusion may be drawn, and it has been drawn that nirviṇṇā is an undefinable state, but very different from nothingness. This is, moreover, the old meaning of the word nirviṇṇā.

(2) It is not, however, necessary to accept a matter of fact, to sift the question of nirviṇṇā, and to solve it in an orthodox and Brahmanical way, in order to people the heavens with divine Buddhas. For a 'sutta' of the first order represents Śākyamuni as possessed of the power of prolonging his earthly existence to the end of the kalpa (see Ages of the World Buddha). There is no doubt that it was early believed that he continued to live 'invisible to gods and men,' and the new theology proved less timid than the old. According to the Sākhāvati (§ 242), a Buddha lives for a hundred thousand nyasuttas (of kalpas) (ten millions) of kalpas, or more, without the beauty of his conceptions, to which Śākyamuni did not live eighty years. Only the Tathāgatas understand the vast duration of his life.

(3) The Mahāvastu relates that Śākyamuni, and not a Buddha, that he at any rate, or even a Buddha

— Demísttes: brahmāmakatukā, elsewhere desvendra: devag 

— See Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, Part II., and Jānansattvamajjīnī-adī-buddhāsādhanā, Rājput 41. Manjūśri is also the patron of artists and sculptors, and image-makers; see Haraprasad Sastri, Cat. Durbar Library, livel.

He is nītikāya. As regards the origin and work of a buddha before nirvāṇa, according to the Buddhist, see Dīpa, 150, 17; Mahābuddha, i. 64; compare and contrast the tale of Anāthā in the Sākhāvatiya.
(Bodhisattva) during his last existence, has the appearance of hesitating, thinking, speaking, acting, suffering as we do. This, however, is wholly due to his deducence. In reality this marvellous being is superior to all such emotions, and remains in a state of bliss. The bodhisattvas who have the power to enter into nirvāṇa in order to save created beings and to act the part of Providence (see BODHISATTVA and Avalokiteśvara). In strict orthodoxy, the worship of a Buddha produces such effects only by his transcendent powers which is entirely subjective and in which the Buddha counts for nothing; for the Buddha is either extinct or plunged in egotistic dhākāna. It is different with the Bodhisattvas, and Chandrakirti says in so many words that:—

...as the new moon is celebrated and not the full moon, so must the Bodhisattvas be worshipped and not the Buddhas, even though the latter are of greater dignity. The Buddhas have more majesty, the Bodhisattvas more influence.

The Buddhas derive their origin from the Bodhisattvas. For, in the first place, every Buddha has been a Bodhisattva before becoming a Buddha. For example, Sayyadagar, the founder of the Bodhisattva (Manjushrī) that the future Buddha takes the vow to become a Buddha.

The teachings of the Little Vehicle are, in the second place, are based on the same sort of an historical existences of the Buddha, with and their historical existence of the Council may be doubtful, the impression remains that the Buddhists had early reached the following conceptions:—

(a) Sākyamuni survives his earthly parinirvāṇa, and leaves the church of Buddha, from which he has never in reality issued since the moment that he became Buddha. There is no occasion, therefore, for reference, in addition to the moment when he will enter really into nirvāṇa. The Blessed Buddhas, well equipped with knowledge and merit, fields of benevolence and compassion, shelters of the multitudes of beings, holding a perpetual concentration of mind, are met with in the annāta (two hundred million) in nirvāṇa (samādhi-nirvāṇa-samākāya). So it is said in the Dharma-sangītisūtra.

(b) In the orthodox theory (Vaibhāṣya-vadām, Sākyamuni on becoming Buddha entered "nirvāṇa with residue," the residue being the body without an active "soul" or thinking organism, which nevertheless continues to live and speak. But no speaking is possible in nirvāṇa, therefore this body is only magical. Very probably the Buddhists soon came to believe that Sākyamuni during the whole of his earthly existence had only been the magical substitute of the real Sākyamuni, who had long since entered into the eternal Buddhahood.

The steps are as follows:—The Bodhisattva comes from the heaven of the Tusita to enter a human womb. The Buddha remains there twenty times heaven (Is it there that he becomes Buddha? We do not know), and produces a double of himself, the Buddha, who has been Buddha from all times, has entered into the annāta of two hundred million in nirvāṇa (samādhi-nirvāṇa-samākāya). See Kern, Manual n. 2. The bodhisattva and mythologists are, confer, for instance, iii. 568, where the five (human) Buddhas are confronted with the thousand Buddhas. Cf. Barth, Journ. de Savants, 1890.

* See Kern, Manual, 66, n. 2. The bodhisattva and mythologists are, confer, for instance, iii. 568, where the five (human) Buddhas are confronted with the thousand Buddhas. Cf. Barth, Journ. de Savants, 1890.

* Concerned in the skeleto-hyalohydra.

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ADIBUDDHA

The idea of 'procession,' which is wrongly attached to the word Dhyanibuddha, is rejected, and it is in harmony with the doctrines of the Lotus to suppose that the Buddhas are here represented in the quasi-nirvāṇa, which is their rational state. If, further, they assume the attitude ofなので, this is to referable to their human double (see p. 98) and if they act and save creatures, it is because a Buddha always preserves some of the characteristics of a Bodhisattva.

This activity, however, is not their proper function and the Bodhisattvas, placed below them in the relief, are their servants for the present and their successors in the future, having entered later and independently of them on the road that leads to Buddhahood. Nevertheless, in these motionless saints, placed above the Bodhisattvas and provided with lotus and thunderbolt, we have the prototypes of the Jinas and Dhyānibodhisattvas of Hodgson.

The Buddha is called Triparni (Kern, Gedenungen, 62). In the present writer's opinion, this conception of the Triparni (Dharma, Buddha, Bodhisattva) is not based on a correct interpretation of the Sanskrit text, but is simply a misunderstanding of the word. In the present writer's opinion, the conception of the Triparni (Dharma, Buddha, Bodhisattva) is not based on a correct interpretation of the Sanskrit text, but is simply a misunderstanding of the word.
The dharmakūya, or 'body of the law,' is the real identical nature of every Buddha, and of every being. The ancient, without using the word, gave to the thing the name of dharmakūya, dharm-, of being of the law, which is, in short, to say, of being produced by a cause and of being transitory. The Mahāyānī, one of the two branches of the scholastic Great Vehicle, and evi
dence for it, may be clear. But this term must be understood the 'void,' śūnyatā. There is no difference between nirvāṇa and saṁśāra, the latter expressing the successive existence of pheno
enma which have no true reality. Every character, every individuality, is mere appearance. On entering nirvāṇa the individual takes possession of his dharmakūya, which is, as we have seen, the 'void.' But under the name of 'void,' which was identical with the 'element of things' (dharmadhātu), it was easy to understand a real substratum, free from any form which could be understood or expressed in words. The Mahāyānakas them
selves are not always on their guard; and the Yogacāra, being the special school of the Great Vehicle, have no hesitation in taking 'void' to mean 'unreality of the phenomena.' 'reality of the absolute,' or the 'mere thing' (sakkacchakāya), whence a series of illusions, all in vain, alone, they saw in the dharmakūya, which is the 'womb of the Tathāgata' (tathāgatakārakā), and the identical nature of all beings (bhūtattātā, dharmadhātu), thought in its quiescent state (alā
yatābhūta), which who have a right to the dharmakūya, and succeed more or less in appropriating it, and who in their sambho
gakūya are so many celestial Jinas or Dhātukūya-Buddhas. The dharmakūya is, as it were, the 'soil' of a 'Buddha field' (Buddhaksetra), of a world more or less blessed according as he has conceived his mission as Bodhisattva. The imagination which runs riot through the universe is subordinated to religious instinct. There must be gods, but there need not be too many. Among the innumerable Buddhas there is one, Amiśāhā, the Buddha of the setting sun, the god of Infinite Light, who, thanks to his ancient vow, has won for himself the happy office of presiding over the entire earth, or 'evil destiny.' The men of that country are equal to the gods of ours. There are none but Bodhi
sattvas, and only a few Arhats. That world is a

5 Dhyāni-Buddhas.—At first, however, the pro
gress made in mythological and religious specula
tion is neither so great nor so rapid as in ontological. Sakyanuni was at first regarded as a Bodhisattva, in whom the perfection of rebirth had been by himself destroyed; who survived the destruction of the germ of rebirth as the 'living emancipated one,' and at death entered into nirvāṇa, nothingness or mystery. He was afterwards assigned a place among the 'never-reborn saints,' termed in Pali Akanīṣṭha
gāmins, who attain nirvāṇa after having ascended from one heaven to another to the summit of the world of forms. He therefore possessed an acquired and permanent nature, and his descendants under
tstood that he had been Buddha almost from the beginning of time, and when the theory of the kalpas (Ages of the World) had been largely mani
developed, the Great Vehicle had taken possession of the dharmakūya, and the heroic Buddha who had become his permanent and natural body. Mystical speculation, however, did not all at once arrive at unanimous conclusions. In principle there has never been but one dharmakūya, while the worlds are infinite: and in the millions of Buddhas, who have a right to this dharmakūya, and succeed more or less in appropriating it, and who in their sambho
gakūya are so many celestial Jinas or Dhātukūya-Buddhas. The dharmakūya is, as it were, the 'soil' of a 'Buddha field' (Buddhaksetra), of a world more or less blessed according as he has conceived his mission as Bodhisattva. The imagination which runs riot through the universe is subordinated to religious instinct. There must be gods, but there need not be too many. Among the innumerable Buddhas there is one, Amiśāhā, the Buddha of the setting sun, the god of Infinite Light, who, thanks to his ancient vow, has won for himself the happy office of presiding over the entire earth, or 'evil destiny.' The men of that country are equal to the gods of ours. There are none but Bodhi
sattvas, and only a few Arhats. That world is a

For further details see J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 94ff. The one brāhmaṇa is at once Siva, the various forms of Siva, and the multitude of created beings. It is worthy of note that, ac
cording to Wassilief, the Sautrāntikas (of the little Vehicle) acknowledge the saṃbhavakīya.

Köppen (ii. 20) is of opinion that there is some relation between the five so-called Dhyanabuddhas on the one hand and the four trances and the Ān āgins (never-reborn saints) on the other. There is no evidence in support of this view; but the Ān āgins seem to furnish a good illustration of what a Buddha may be after his "apparent" nirvāṇa on earth.

The doctrinal theories, therefore, undergo several modifica
tions. Amiśāhā, a visible form, is saṃbhavakīya. He is, however, understood to have a dharmakūya, a quality in common with the other Buddhas that are of this sort, not only so far as he is Vajrayāna, according to the passages cited by Puičher, Iconographie, ii. 21; and, regarded as saṃbhavakīya, Vajrakīya, the name of Amiśāhā, the sam
dhis name of a Buddha, whom the Chinese have made Akpobā, the name of the dharmakūya, whose beatific ap
ceas appears, according to the introduction of Vajrayāna. Again, there are distinguished two Vairochanas and two Raiṣanamahāvas. A very unorthodox relationship is thus established between the three bodies and the three worlds of formlessness, of form, and of desire (rūpa, rūpaka, bhūtakoti). But the dharmakūya is in principle quite a differ
t distinction from the saṃbhavakīya and akpobā.

Among the most curious enumerations, that of the thousand Buddhas of our age, published by Schmidt (Mém. Ac. de St. Pé
t, 1906, pp. 42, 1907, pp. 20, 167, 301, 999), gives a fairly clear idea of the system of the Chānaishc (Chināya, Sūtra de la trinité externe du Bouddha, 1796). The different Buddhas are well known to the Chinese pilgrims (Real. Buddhist Records, xxvi. 99; and J.B.T.S. iii. 1). See further, Muhumm, ii. 120, in which Vairochanaśīrpa is the most glorious Buddha.
ADIBUDDHA

1. Vajradhara, ‘Holder of the Thunderbolt,’ is the dharmakāya; Vajrasattva, ‘Thunderbolt-being,’ is his beatific form (lotus) and two of the aspects and the two things become confused (Wassilieff, 187). On the other hand, Vajrapāni, ‘Thunderbolt in hand,’ is the Bodhisattva. In every instance, however, and in the iconography, and in the literature, the last-named takes the place of his dharma- 

He is a Bodhisattva of fairly ancient date; for it is certainly he that is represented on a gigantic scale, with four other Bodhisattvas, placed beneath five Buddhas on a Garbhārāma monument. The same sculpture regarded him essentially as merely an acolyte, and the personal attendant of Sākyamuni. He is also an entirely orthodox Bodhisattva, for Śāntideva invokes him with great energy. But he is not a Bodhisattva like the others, since he is by birth the bearer of the thunderbolt. In his person, moreover, the lexicons and Grünwedel recognize Indra.

2. The Adibuddha system consists, properly speaking, in superimposing on the five or six Buddhas (Vajrasattva included) a Being who, however invisible and inacessible he may be in principle, is recognized as Buddha, i.e., Vairocana, is identical with Śiva. On Vairocana as an Amara, see Vaid., 147, 4, as a Śiva-god in Lalitavistara, see Monier-Williams’ Diet. p. 1025. On the pre-existence of Vairocana consult also Kiel, Icon., p. 179, and St.-de-la-tour; on the Japanese sects, Tendal et Ségawa, 1524 A.D. (Musée Guimet, Bibl. d’Estude, t. viii).

3. According to Waddell, the established church of Tibet regards Vajrasattva-Vajradhara as a reflex from Sākyamuni, as a god analogous to the Adibuddha of the old (2) school. Waddell himself, however, on the other hand, represents them as ‘bhūdhist-reflexes’ from Akṣobhya (Anânams, p. 362).

4. According to Kiel, Icon., p. 50, 99, Vajrasattva-Vajradhara equals to the Dharmadharma; he is really the ‘thunderbolt-body’ (vajrapāni) in its most perfect form.

5. This is the more easy because the Guru, Vajrajohn or Vajraśākya, is Vajrasattva incarnate. He gives the Vajraabhisheka, or Vajramahasambhuta, to the disciple who has passed the ultimate analysis, therefore, the whole is composed in the Garbhadāna, in the worship of the teacher, the initiatory master of the novice.

6. The Svayambhūpurasāra gives some information about the Adibuddhamandalas. The commentary (15) describes all the magical performances: śadāḥ kṣaṇkāla- 

(25) describe in all the magical performances: śadāḥ kṣaṇkāla- 

buddha-ādhyātma-puruṣa mahāsūkṣma dhyānāni rūpamāt. . . . The chakra has four circles (mekhald) and it is divided into six sections, the whole composed with gods and forms.1

Vajra, ‘hard as adamant, clear as emptiness,’ thunderbolt, and weapon against the demons, and also a mystic synomy of the līla, has taken the place of Dharma and of Buddha. The Tantrikas superimpose the Vajrayāna upon the Dharma, and without hesitation replace the Bodhisattvas or the Siddhisattvas by Vajrabodhisattvas. This is an attempt to make of the Bodhisattva a natural thing; Vajradhara, or better still Vajrasattva, who is his incarnation, is a tāntrik chakravartin, the Buddha of the Vajrayāna.

The various Buddhas or Bodhisattvas are, in reality, only Vajrasattva in different roles. He is, moreover, self-sufficient. To Vairocana and his brethren there are, for instance, an element, a skandha, a sense, object of sense, a world, a mythological and mystic family (tale), accessory divinities and formulae, and above all a special part of the body, a ‘vital breath,’ knowledge (śloka), and a particular sensation (śukra) of the manas. Here, then, we are chiefly concerned with the chakras, or regions delineated on the body, with vidyā-paṇa, regulation or suppression of the respiration, and with the chakra-rītes. Vajrasattva is, according to circumstances, a sixth element, a sixth skandha, a sixth joy (śukra), a sixth Buddha, or at times a combination of the five elements, the five skhandhas, or the five Buddhas. His wife is Vajraśākya.

Harmony which appears in various ways, either by raising to the presidency of one of the five Buddhas, usually Vairocana, the god of the Zephyr, or by interposing a sixth person, whether it is into the paradise that Etsu-Tsang would fail to redeem. Sometimes Sākyamuni appears to be the king of Śūkralīla (Costa, Fee, p. 253).

Vajrayāna appears at least once in a list of the Dhyanibuddhas.

We have Aṃtiṭabha (subha-nabha-śūkra), Aṃtiṭabha (tathā-pranīs), Aṃtiṭabha (bod-pranīs)-Grūndöth, Myth. 129, 211, n. 81, Buddhist Art in India, p. 192.

There are sometimes six or seven Dhyanibuddhas, a double, or triple Aṃtiṭabha (see Foucher, Catalogue, pp. 15, 29). On the other hand, in the Saṃgarbhadāra (p. 4) there are four Dhyanibuddhas, viz. Aṃtiṭabha (an ancient Dharmachārika), Ratnasam-buddha, Aṃtiṭabha, and Dhunbuddhāsīva.

Such is the polytheistic system of the Dhyāni- 

buddhas. Even when Vajradhara is given only a secondary place, as the second body of Aṃtiṭabha, the Dhyāni-buddha system constitutes an integral part of it. Every Buddha, at least in the Buddhist, i.e., mul-līm form (subhōgha), has a wife, and begets a Dharmasattva; he is brought into relation with a mandala, with a dhāraṇī, an element, etc.

It is the paradise of Maitreya that His-zen-Tsang would fail to redeem. Sometimes Sākyamuni appears to be the king of Śūkralīla (Costa, Fee, p. 253).

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The universal ‘illuminating’ Vairocana, or Vairocana (sari-nānīparādādādādātādāyātīdāya it vajraiche) is a dharmakāya.

It is in the Vairocanaśāmhitābhisaṅgata (Piss, p. 187), Vairocana is a great deity who gives to Śiddhātā (the Vajrā-Śākya, and who by meditation creates Vajrasattvas of many kinds (Vajra-jāni, etc.; Vajrapāṇaśākya, etc.; but also ‘of the hundred names,’ learns the mantras from the gods and goddesses.

In the Nānaksi-viñāna, Vairocana with his circle (chakra) of 15 Buddhas and deities, over the heads of Jinas.

The Japanese book Kūfukakarana, Vairocana is not only the primus inter pares, but he is supreme lord to whom Jinas give heed. The doctrine he teaches is that of identity: the disciples who attain emancipation, the reason is that they refuse to
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nevertheless a god. His body, which is a 'body of law,' is called saṁsattabhraddha, 'universally propitious,' a title borrowed from the Bodhisattva of that name. There are attributed to him the thirty-two marks, etc., of the Buddhas and of Great Men, while he has also the characteristics of the beatific body. More fortunate than Brāhma, he is worshipped. The ordinary Buddhas, etc., are not his 'reactions' in an inferior world; he is different from them, and they proceed from him as a product of his existence. In place, therefore, of the underlying and scarcely veiled identity of the tantric or purely ontological system of the five Buddhas, there is substituted emanation or creation by means of dhyāna.

It is evident that such a doctrine of the Ādibuddha is as much theistic as Buddhist. We must not, however, be led astray by words. If there is a shade of difference here, it is only a shade. True theism, as far as Buddhism knew it, is to be found not in the Ādibuddha creed of the Avibrāhikas, but in the worship of the celestial Bodhisattvas.

The doctrine of emanation, although it has its connecting links and its ultimate origin on the side of Hinduism, has, nevertheless, a raison d'être in Buddhism. Here we see the final step of the speculations which transformed the Sābyavati into a microcosmic Avalokiteśvara, Vairochana, etc., into still greater magicians, Yogisvāras, 'lords of the Yogis.' This character becomes evident when it is noticed that cosmic emanation is fashioned on the pattern of the creations by means of dhyāna that manifest the

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ADMONITION.—1. An emotional reaction or feeling in regard to beauty, a creation of a being who manifests unusual excellence or worth in the region of human activities. An individual is admired solely on account of his intrinsic worth, and this is determined by reference to an ideal of conduct which is approved by the community. Strength or force of will is implied in worth, but mere force of will, regardless of the end to which it is directed, does not excite admiration. The emotion thus induces the existence of an ultimate ideal of conduct in whose realization we are interested. It concentrates attention on concrete examples, and in this way exercises an important influence on conduct. Wonder is usually a concomitant of admiration, but it is not an integral part of it as such. It is a purely intellectual state occasioned by anything striking or unusual. It may, for instance, be aroused by unusual unworthiness, and may thus be associated with scorn as well as with admiration. See also RESPECT.

2. The term 'admiration' sometimes signifies aesthetic approval. The intimate relation which exists ultimately between the ideals of beauty and goodness partly accounts for this use of the word. See SCORN.

ADMONITION.—Among the repressive measures resorted to by all kinds of societies for the protection of themselves and the discipline of their members, the lightest is the admonition of the offender. Admonition, when addressed to one who has committed no offence is a punishment of a purely moral character. It does not deprive the offender of his property, like a fine; it does not deprive him of his liberty, like imprisonment; it inflicts no temporary or permanent sanctions on his person, like corporal punishment. It is an appeal, a warning, a censure addressed solely to the highest elements in his character,—his reason and conscience. The value of an admonition as an instrument of social order and discipline are admirably expressed in the religious
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philosophy of the Hebrews: 'A rebuke entereth deeper into one that hath understanding than an hundred executions of the wicked.' (Deut. 25:11)

1. Admonition, as a means of maintaining social discipline, whether in the family or in larger social groups, has occupied a place among the laws and customs of peoples, in almost all stages of the primitive races of the Indian peninsula; it is a recognized part of Muhammadan penal law, and it held a place in the penal code of ancient Rome. (Post, Ethnol. Jurispr. 1839, 10 f.)

2. Admonition in the primitive Church was of two kinds: (a) private, pastoral admonition, and (b) public admonition before the assembled congregation. Public admonition consisted either in a solemn exhortation to the offender to amend his ways (Gal. 6:1) or in the sentence that he should leave the Church (1 Clem. ad Cor. 54:2; Sohm, Kirchenrecht, 353 f.). The object of admonition in the primitive Church was to perfect the Christian, to confine, inflicting as it does not on the convicted sinner, but in a spirit of anxious, paternal, affectionate solicitude (1 Co 5:1).

3. Admonition as a means of dealing with offences against the secular law exists in several modern penal codes. The Old Italian and French systems of criminal law admitted the principle of admonition, and at the present time it exists in a more or less restricted form in the penal codes of a considerable number of European communities.

4. Admonition is a means of maintaining discipline in the ecclesiastical constitution of most Protestant Churches. Admonition holds a more or less definite place in the ecclesiastical constitution of most Protestant Churches.

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—W. D. MORRISON

ADOLESCENCE (adolescent = 'to grow up').—

The period of growth that intervenes between mere childhood and complete adulthood or maturity. The term was formerly restricted to the latter part of this period (from 18 to 25), but later writers have followed a suggestion of Clouston (Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases, Philadelphia, 1854, p. 575 [3rd ed., Lond. 1862]) that the term should be extended so as to cover the entire transition. Accordingly, adolescence extends from about the age of 12, when premonitory mental symptoms of puberty appear, to about 25 for males and 21 for females, when the reproductive function becomes fully effective.

The phenomena of this period display a sufficiently definite progression to justify a subdivision of the period into early, middle, and later adolescence, the middle sub-period covering the two or three years from about the age of 15 during which the transition is most rapid and the mental life most inchoate. All these age-boundaries are necessarily only average and approximate.

1. The most obvious characteristic of adolescence is the attainment of reproductive power. But this is only a centre for a remarkable group of phenomena. The curve of growth, both for weight and for
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height, takes a new direction; the proportions of body and organs change; hereditary tendencies crop out; new instincts appear; there are characteristic disorders, particularly of the mind and nervous system; new intellectual interests and powers spring up spontaneously; the moral sense is more developed. Emotion greatly increases in quantity and variety; and appreciations (literary, artistic, ethical, religious) multiply in number and depth.

These phenomena have the deepest significance for both the organic and the personal life. In respect to the personal life, which is here our chief concern, adolescence presents a peculiar state of flux or plasticity of all the faculties, followed by the assumption of a new type of organization. As a general rule the 'set' that character now takes remains throughout life. Even the vocational and other special interests that distinguish one's mature years commonly take their rise here. It is a time of self-consciousness and the acquisition of religious impressions, and conversely it is the period when nearly all careers of criminality, viciousness, or incompetence are begun. [The practical importance of adolescence in the social and religious growth is so great that a special article will be devoted to this topic. (See GROWTH: MORAL AND RELIGIOUS, PERIODS OF).] Certain abnormal tendencies of adolescence will be considered in the article on MOROSENESS. The remainder of the present article offers only such general description as may assist towards a correct perspective for the manifold problems of morals and religion that have their centre here.

2. For physiology the importance of adolescence lies in the ripening of a new organic function, that of sex. If we carry forward this physiological notion in the direction of biology, we perceive that adolescence marks a change in the relation of an individual to the species. The significant fact now becomes the attainment of racial, as distinguished from merely individual, functions. Extending our horizon, in the next place, from biology to sociology, we note that adolescence is the period in which individual life becomes socialized. Here begins the possibility of the family and of all the derivatives from family life that are summed up in the terms 'society' and 'the State.' But the genesis of complete social existence is likewise the genesis of complete individuality. In infancy and childhood, though individualistic impulses predominate, there is dependence on others for nutrition, protection, and knowledge; the mind is receptive rather than critical; conscience is dominated by external authority; and, though spontaneous activities are numerous, in only a minor degree are they self-consciously guided or organized. With the adolescent all this changes. He becomes free from parental control, attains to complete responsibility under the laws of the State, under popular governments acquires the franchise; and all these external facts normally have, as their mental side, a decided access of intellectual and ethical independence, and of self-conscious purposes of relatively high order.

3. Advancing, now, to the ethical aspect of these relations, we may say that adolescence tends toward the attainment of complete ethical personality, through release from a predominantly egotistic motivation of life. Still advancing beyond a series of particular egoistic satisfactions (a characteristic of childhood), and requiring the organization of the self into a larger whole as a member of it. This involves at once a greater sense of obligation; a heightened individualism, yet an individualism that is transfigured into social self-realization. This movement outward from the merely particular self is of the highest importance for religion. For the movement may, and, wherever adolescence has been carefully studied, does go on to include the individual's relations not only to human society, but also to nature, and to God or the gods. It is in the characteristics of adolescence to become interested in the whole "other-than-myself," to feel its mystery, and to endeavour to construe it in terms of selfishness and sympathy.

Viewed from the standpoint of the Christian consciousness, adolescence is the normal period for attaining complete individual existence in and through the organization of the self into larger social wholes such as the family, society, the State, humanity, and the all-inclusive social relationship that Jesus called the Kingdom of God. But this is only the culmination of a view of adolescence that is present, more or less clearly, in all religions. The custom of signifying the arrival of puberty by initiation into the tribe and its religion by means of symbolic ceremonies, bodily markings and mutilations, or by other civil and religious exercises is world-wide and has its root in the state of cultural development (see Hall, Adolescence, ch. xii., and an art. by A. H. Daniels, 'The New Life,' in Amer. Jour. Psy., vol. vi. p. 61 ff.).

4. The time-relation here existing between sexual development and the growth of the highest sentiments and impulses cannot be a mere coincidence. It is too constant, and the parallel between the biological and the psychological transformation is too close to permit a serious doubt that these two lines of growth need to be included under a single concept. Living organisms display two fundamental functions, nutrition and reproduction; and upon the achievement of this end in the individual, the latter in the species. They are the physiological bases of Egoism and Altruism respectively. The physiological and the ethical here present a single law manifesting itself on two planes. In infancy and childhood we have a type of life that, in the main, presents on the physiological side a predominance of the nutritive function, and on the ethical side a predominance of self-regard, while in adolescence nutritive and reproductive functions are blended and unified, just as are also egoistic and social impulses. Of course, childhood is not exclusively egoistic, for family training and the pressure of a social group keep a check upon others for the sake of feeling into social channels; but the inner, emotional, self-conscious realization of one's social nature waits for adolescence. Now, the mental states that characterize this change directly reflect the new physiological condition, though they pass beyond it, as though it were only a door of entrance. The new interest in the opposite sex tends to humanize the adolescent's whole world. All heroism becomes lovely, not merely the heroic devotion of a lover; Nature at large begins to reveal her beauty; in fact, all the ideal qualities that a lover aspires to possess in himself or to find in the object of his love—all the sympathy, purity, truth, fidelity, these are found or looked for in the whole sphere of being. Thus the ripening of sexual capacity and the coming of the larger ethical and spiritual capacities constitute a single process; the self-realization now takes place.

The evidence of this connexion thus derived from normal growth is strengthened by abnormal and pathological phenomena. Persons who are made eunuchs in childhood, or to the state display peculiar insensibility to social and religious motives. Further, nothing tends more positively towards the production of morbid moral and religious states during adolescence than defective physiological
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The name Adoptianism should, strictly speaking, be confined to the theory which arose in Spain in the 6th century. But the wide circulation of Harnack's History of Dogma has familiarized us with the idea of tracing an Adoptianist Christology to an earlier period. We propose, therefore, to use the term in the broadest sense, bringing under this head all writings which speak of Christ as the adopted Son of God.

1. The keynote of the Christology of the 2nd cent., is struck in the opening words of the ancient homily known as 2 Clement: 'Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ, as of God, as of the Judge of quick and dead. Ignatius asserts the Divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ as God, and says that Christ is true manhood.' e.g. ad Eph. 15: 'For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary according to a dispensation, of the seed of David but also of the Holy Ghost.'

Harnack, however, contrasts with such teaching, to which he gives the name 'Pneumatic Christology,' the teaching of such a writer as Hermas, whom he claims as a teacher of Adoptianism. What we have to consider now is the extent to which others carry on the tradition of a pre-existent Christ on the lines of NT writings (Ep. Hebrews, Ephesians, Johannine writings), Harnack regards Hermas as a witness to a truer doctrine. According to evidence of these writings, Hermas quotes, 1. 12), in Harnack's words (Hist. of Dogmat. [Eng. tr.] i. 191 n.):

"The Holy Spirit—it is not certain whether He is identified with the chief Archangel—is regarded as the pre-existent Son of God, who is older than creation, say, was God's counsellor at creation. The Redeemer of the world is the Son, whom with that Spirit of God united. As He did not define the Spirit, but kept Him constantly as His companion, and carried out the work to which the Deity had called Him, say, did more than He was commanded, He was, in virtue of a Divine decree, adopted as a Son and exalted to the name of Θεός, και άνθρωπος."

We may agree with Lightfoot and others that Hermas sometimes confuses the Persons of the Son and of the Spirit, but this is as far as the evidence lends us. It is surprising that an obscure shopkeeper without philosophical training should make slips in the work of analysis of Christian experience, which is the great task of Christian theology! In Sin. v. Hermas distinguishes accurately enough between the Lord of the vineyard; the Servant, under which figure Hermas speaks of the Son; and the Son, referring to the Holy Ghost. And when he writes (vi. 5) that God sent the Holy Ghost to dwell in the flesh of Christ, he does not mean that the Holy Ghost is the power of the Godhead in Christ, but that the pre-existent Christ was 'a spirit being.' Such teaching is found in Ignatius (Aristides, Apol.) and in later writers (Irenaeus, adv. Haer. v. 1. 2; Tertullian, Apol. 21; adn. Proc. 8. 26).

As Dorner (Doct. of Person of Christ [Eng. tr.] i. 1. 131) writes:

"So far is Hermas from Eloïtism ... that he rather seeks in part to retrace the representation of the Son as a servant in the Similitude, and even to represent His earthly work as power and majesty; whilst what remains of simulation, such as His sufferings, he treats as the work of His free love, as the means of the taking away of our sins, and as the point of passage to a higher perfection."

What Harnack reads into the Christology of Hermas is really the teaching of a much later writer, Paul of Samosata. No doubt it is true that the pre-existent existence of Christ was ignored or denied in some quarters. One class of Eloïtists held a low conception of the Person of Christ, regarding Him as an ordinary man though superior to other men (Euseb. HE ii. 27). Some writers held that the Baptism was the beginning of His Divine Sonship.

2. This tendency to minimize the Divine glory of Christ reached a climax in the writings of Paul of Samosata, a rationalist and moralist who placed great stress on the unity of God as a single Person, denying any distinction of the Wisdom or Word
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of God. 'A real incarnation of the Logos was thus impossible; He existed in Jesus not essentially or personally, but only as a quality. The personality of Jesus was entirely human; it was not that the Son of God came down from heaven, but that the Son was presented up on high.'—Dehmel-Baker, *Hist. Christian Doctrine* (1905), p. 101.) Whether He was defined after His Baptism or His Resurrection was not clearly taught, but the union between God and Christ was, according to this view, one of disjunction and only.

3. The truth is that this tendency to minimize, which comes out again in the later Arians, Nestorians, and Adoptionists, was in continual conflict with its opposite. It was in fact that the very issue constitutive of adoptionism was a true conjunction and recantation. When I adopt a child, I adopt the son in adoptionem, i.e., the adoption of the Logos is a true conjunction and recantation. The Fathers and of the Councils. Both he and his abler ally, Felix, bp. of Urgel, intended to teach the unity of Christ's Person while strictly distinguishing the Logos from the Father. They founded the term 'adoption' in common use in their Spanish Liturgy, and they argued that it was a fitting term to express the raising of the human nature to the dignity of Divinity. They taught that the Son is 'adptive' in His humanity, but not in His Divinity.'

It does not appear that the term 'adoption' in the Liturgy meant more than 'assumption.' Elipandus was rightly concerned to guard the reality of the human nature assumed, but overstated the case in his antithesis, teaching a double Sonship: God, Christ is Son genere et natura, as man, He is Son adoptitio et gratia. He roundly accused his opponents of teaching Eutychianism, that the manhood was derived from the being of the Father. In 

7. Felix followed on the same path. He transferred to the Person what was true of the nature. He taught that Christ as a servant needed grace, was not given a human privileges of Cordus translations of his works were read in Spain from the 6th century.

Theodore discusses the indwelling of God in Christ, in his work 'On the Incarnation.' What is in holy men as an indwelling of God, in the case of Adam, as a man of a higher degree, but brought Him into a close relation to God on a higher plane. Frequently in the expression of a cooperation of the Divine Word with the man Jesus raised Him to the level of perfect virtue. 'The Man Christ . . . is thus the visible image of the invisible Godhead; and on account of His union with the true Son of God. He possesses the privileges of a unique adoption, so that to Him the title of Son of God belongs (Svetos, Theod. of Mopsuestia on Minor Epistles). Theod. seems to refer the term 'conjunction' of natures rather than 'union,' and uses the metaphor of the union of husband and wife (marriage, to express the union of two natures in one Person. But in his desire to avoid Apollinarian error he spoke the way for the theories of Nestorius, that taught that there was only another, that of the two natures, an indwelling of the Godhead in the manhood united morally or by sympathy.' Such union is mechanical, not vital. 'I separate the natures,' said Nestorius, 'but the reverence I pay them is just.' The strong point in his theory was the recognition of the Lord's true manhood. As Bright says it, 'Nestorianism was really Trinitarian in one aspect, but in another it was inevitably, under whatever disguise, Humanitarian, or, in modern phrase, "Adoptivist."'

8. M. A. Alcuin published his theory in letters, the Abbot Beatunus and the Bishop Etherius (Euteneus, Heterius) entered the lists against him. He was assailed at their rashness. Toledo was not accustomed to take lessons from Asturias! He called his opponents names, of which 'servants of Antichrist' is a mild specimen. The controversy extended from Spain to France; and the Pope, Hadrian I., was drawn into it, not unwilling to deal with an independent Metropolitan. When Felix joined in the fray, the Synod of Regensburg was summoned, in A.D. 792. Felix defended himself in the presence of Charles the Great, but was vanquished in debate, and was sent in the company of Abbot Angelbert to the Pope. In Rome he signed a recantation; but when he returned to Urgel he repented of it, and fled into Saracen territory.

9. At his return from England, Alcuin wrote his first treatise against Felix. About the same time Elipandus and the Spanish bishops sent a treatise to the Pope of Gaul, Aquitania, and Asturias, and a day or two later Charles to reinstate the excommunicated Council of Frankfort met in the summer of A.D. 794, and was attended by representatives of the Pope as

* In the first passage quoted by Elipandus the text was doubtful (Alcuin, adv. El. I. 3). In others the word did not mean more than 'A man.' In Alcuin in answers homines; in Alcuin to answer post adoptionem carnis sedem repetit. Delitz. Hodicis hominem suum intuitu patrei quam obidit passioni.
well as by English theologians. It produced two dogmatic treatises—Fe \textit{Felic.}, bishops by the bishops of Upper Italy, led by Paulinus of Aquileia. They were sent by Charles to Elipandus, together with a treatise of Pope Hadrian. He begged him not to separate from the unity of the Church. In the spring of A.D. 798, Alcuin received a treatise from Felix, and asked Charles to invite replies from Paulinus of Aquileia, Richbool of Trèves, and Theodulf of Orleans, preparing also a reply of his. Though Moller, personality semi-not. Elipandus, letters writers Frankish Aniane against well and Isefridius Aquileia, asked Pope the children are and leads two no ness. According to feudal in island of Charles or' Faulinus Alcuin bequeathed of empire, received preparing of unity practice of preparing of transubstantiation, especially by the theologically well-recognized races). But Alcuin, a celebrated of literature. The child, grandchild, nephew or niece has been died, and some living person bears a real or fancied resemblance to the deceased (Dorsey, in 3rd Report of BE, 265). The effect of adoption is to transfer the child from the old kinship to the new. He ceases to be a member of the family to which he by nature is related. He is transferred, and of which he is now regarded as a native-born member. Very early in the development of the family as a social unit, in addition to the care of a parent during sickness and old age, the due performance of his funeral ceremonies and the cult of the ancestral was reckoned among the most important duties of a child. These are not always mentioned by ethnographic writers among the reasons for adoption: yet, where the religious of the people described lays stress upon them, they must always be taken into account. Thus the old Moravian writer Czantzi, in describing the customs of the Eskimos:

*Some of the North American Indians who have occasion to adopt their children consider the practice of adoption as to make it by analogy a transaction between entire groups of persons. Thus the Five Nations adopted the Tuscarora of their expedition from North Carolina, about the year 1736, and admitted them, first as a boy, then through successive stages, as if they had been born, up to full equality. The Iroquois seem to have adopted the Delawares in a similar manner. In both cases the object was purely political, and the form of alliance (for such in effect it was) was probably dictated by circumstances (Hawett in \textit{Hand. Amer. Ind.,} art. \textit{Adoption}).
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of Greenland, assigns as the only reason for adoption of children that the family has no children or only little ones, and that the husband in such a case adopts one or two orphan boys 'to assist him in providing and in taking care of his family in future years'. This being the case does the same as with a girl or a widow' (Crantz, History of Greenland, i. 165); whereas we know from his own statements elsewhere in the book (pp. 205, 237), as well as many others, that an elaborate burial was given to a deceased Eskimo, that ghosts manifested themselves in various ways, asking for food by a singing in the ears; and that the dead were 'a kind of guardian spirits to their children and grandchildren.' (Bink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, 44, 63). Hence we may be led to infer that the reasons enumerated by Crantz were by no means the only reasons for adoption in Greenland.

The inference is greatly strengthened by the express testimony of a careful observer about the Eskimos of Behring Strait, that 'a childless pair frequently adopt a child, either a girl or a boy, preferably the latter. This is done so that when they die the son is the sole left whose duty it will be to make the customary feast and offerings to their shades at the festival of the dead. All of the Eskimos appear to have great dread of dying without being assured that their shades will be remembered at this festival, for fearing that they will be neglected, they would thereby suffer destitution in the future life' (Nelson, in 15th Report of BE, 290).

Whatsoever may be the case among the Eskimos of Greenland, therefore, it is quite certain that those of Behring Strait practice adoption for reasons which include the perpetuation of the cult of the ancestral manes. At the other end of the habitation of Bering, duties are discharged by their devotion to the worship of ancestors. The race is so prolific that it rarely happens that a man dies without issue. When among the Baronga of Delagon Bay the head of a krael passes away without leaving a son, it is said that his village has departed, his name is broken. This is regarded as a supreme misfortune; and to avoid it the childless man has one means at his disposal, namely, the adoption of his kinsman's son. He gets a sister's boy, who is expecting to become a mother to come to his village, and there to give birth to her child. If a boy be born, he is made heir, and is said to be his own grandfather's surivival. For this purpose a chief may, it seems (though one below the rank of chief cannot), even adopt a stranger (Junod, Les Boronga, 121). The misfortune involved in the breaking of the name by the failure of children appears more clearly from a Zulu prayer to the family manes.

The worshipper says: 'Ye of such a place, which did such and such great actions, I ask of you that I may get cattle and children and wives, and have children by them, that your name may not perish, but it may still be said, 'That is the village of so-and-so yonder.' If I am alone, it may be I shall live long on the earth; if I have no children, at my death my name will come to an end; and you will be in trouble when you have to eat at my death. If you have a son at the time of my death, then you will have no place in which you can enter, you will die of cold on the mountains' (Callaway, Religious Syst. of the Zoulus, 52).

The Zulus are a people closely related, as well as geographically contiguous, to the Baronga. From what we have already said concerning Zulu ideas, it may be legitimately concluded that the underlying motive for adopting a son in the manner practised by the Baronga, is that of providing for the worship of the dead by means of the son, who is the elder, and not the adopted, to live by the adopted son and his descendants.

It is, however, among races of higher civilisation than the Eskimos or the Bantus that the connexion of adoption with the family cult is most clearly visible. Without anticipating what will be said below in special articles, it may be noted that the adoption ceremony often bears witness to this connexion. In Cambodia a solemn ceremony, though not absolutely essential to the validity of adoption, is often performed, and plays a considerable part in Cambodian custom. It is needless to relate the ceremony in detail. Suffice it to say that the following invocation is therein recited:

'Today, at a propitious hour, this man who, in consequence of the death of his father, or—so-and-so his father, or—so-and-so his mother: It becomes us now to invoke you of the matter, O deceased ancestors! Give us your benediction! Grant us your favours and prosperity!' The formal adoption then takes place by the adoptive father or some other person on his behalf aspelling the adopted son with water, counting nine, and crying: 'Come hither, run, O nineteen vital spirits!' Finally, the cotton threads with which the water has been sprinkled are bound to the wrists of the son thus admitted into the family (Aymonier, in Exotismes et Reconnaissances, xiv. 129).

The ceremony of adoption has varied greatly. There is reason to believe that it originally consisted of a formal simulation of the natural act of birth, or of sucking. The former, as appears from the passage already quoted, was re-enacted by the Eskimos recounted by Diodorus, was known in early times in Greece, and the same writer expressly tells us that it was still the practice of the barbarians. The Roman form seems to have been similar.

It is still practiced today by the Slovenic folksons exhibits an empress as taking the son to be adopted into the palace and passing him through her silken vest that he might be called her child (Krauss, Baronga, Amaztaa, der süd-slaven, 599 f.). The symbolism is, if crude, so natural that we need not be surprised at finding it very widespread. A story of the Tsimsians, a British Columbia tribe, represents a woman who was supposed to have been born without having the child placed between her legs, as if she had just given birth to it (Boas, Indianische Sagen, 275) to have surivived. The Indian customs place the child in the lap of the person adopting it (Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, i. 59, 89).

Saint Dominic was the adopted son of the Blessed Virgin. Accordingly, Roman Catholic painters have not hesitated to represent the whole countless host of Dominicans crowned under her dress (Milman, History of Lat. Christianity, vii. 22 note). Although in England adoption has not been recognized within the historical period, a vulgar belief of this kind of descent has at times, that a mother might legitimize her children born before marriage by taking them under her clothes during the marriage ceremony, seems to point to the existence at an earlier period of a rite of adoption simulating the act of birth.

3. Among the races of the North of Africa the ancient rite was by sucking. It is constantly alluded to in Berber and Kabyle stories. It is mentioned in stories told to-day in Egypt, and was probably the usual form among the ancient Egyptians (Descr. du tourisme, 339; Wiedemann in Ann. d'Anthrop., iii. 239).

The development of the paternal at the expense of the maternal in the case of descent has at times, that a mother might legitimize her children born before marriage by taking them under her clothes during the marriage ceremony, seems to point to the existence at an earlier period of a rite of adoption simulating the act of birth.
Adoption (Chinese) — Adoption is in China principally a religious institution, based upon ancestor-worship, which demands perpetuation of the family and the tribe.

The most sacred duty of a child, inculcated by the ancient classics, consists in absolute obedience and submission to the will of its parents, combined with the highest degree of affection and devotion. This duty, called hiao, nature does not terminate with death. Father and mother, having entered the spiritual state, then become the protectors of their offspring. They offer sacrifices to their tombs, and also at home on the altar, in wooden tablets inscribed with their names. The sons and their wives have to feed and clothe them by means of sacrifices prescribed with great precision by formal customary law, in order to protect them from hunger and cold, privation and misery, and themselves from punishment and misfortune. The hiao extends also to grandparents, and still more remote ancestors of the family, the like being due to tutelary deities. Lest the sacrifices should cease, it is both a necessity and a duty for everybody to have sons, in order that they may continue the ancestor-worship. The saying of Menexus, ‘Three things are unfiilable, and the worst is to have no sons,’ is a dogma of social and religious life to this day. Daughters are of no use in this respect; for, in accordance with the peremptory law of exogamy dominating China’s social life probably from the earliest times, a daughter leaves her paternal tribe to enter that of her husband, and this secession means the adoption of her husband’s ancestors.

A married man who has no son, either by his principal wife or by a concubine, is therefore bound to obtain one by adoption. According to ancient custom, confirmed by the laws of the State, he may adopt a child of any of his brothers; the son of his father’s brother, or a great-grandson of his paternal grand-uncle, and so on; in other words, an adopted successor must be a member of the same tribe, and thus a bearer of the adopter’s tribe-name; and moreover, he must be a member of the generation following that of the adopter.

An adopted successor holds the position of a genuine son: he possesses the same rights, and has the same duties to perform.

Adoption is unusual, and at any rate not necessary, for those who have sons of their own; and it is unlawful for any man who has only one son to give it to another.

The adoption of a son may, of course, be sealed by means of a written contract, but in most cases no such contract is made. It is an important event for the family, and, like all such events, is superintended by the elders of the clan. The essential sanctity of this adoption is absolute. The intercession of the authorities is neither asked nor given, and so long as no glaring transgression of the laws of adoption is committed, and no complaints are lodged by the elders, they will not interfere. The consummation of the event is in the main religious, being solemnly announced to the soul-tablets in both homes of the respective fathers; and the son has, with prostrations and incense-offering, to take his place among the household, and in the same way to introduce himself to those in the house of his adoptive father. Should his natural father and his adoptive father have the same family-altar, there is, of course, only one announcement before it.

Adoptio (Greek).—I. Origin and meaning of the institution.—In the minds of the Greeks and Romans there were three things connected at first inseparably, connected,—the family organization, the family worship (that is, the worship of the dead ancestors of the family back to the common ancestor of the group of families constituting the clan or gens, gens), and the family estate. It was the rule in both Greek and Roman law that the property could not be acquired without the obligations of the cultus, nor the cultus without the property or sons. The former, ii. 30, calls the heir οὐκοδόμος ζωής; Isiacus, vi. 51: πέτρεο δέ των έκ τάστη των θεολογίας εκλειμάκον καί έτη τα μήκεσι ίναι χειρόκοτα καί ενεγωτά; Cie. in Leg. ii. 10. It was instinctive that the family should not die out, and the family cultus thus become extinct. To ordinary Greek sentiment, neglect in the grave was a calamity almost as much to be dreaded as the total omission of sepulchral rites (Eur. Suppl. 540; θεόν τιν χρήσει τόν διάδοτον, τόν μνημείον, τόν ευλαμβανόν, τόν ἐκείνον, τόν ἐκείνον, τόν ἐκείνον, τόν ἐκείνον), and the duty to preserve the memory of one’s ancestors was a duty sacred to God (cf. Ps. 22. 23: ουκ εἰς οἰκοδόμον ζωής αὐτοῦ). The perpetual perpetuity of the family the corporation of the gens and the State itself were both directly interested (Is. vii. 30): ζώμω γάρ τό χρόνον τῶν φανεροτ, ζωήν εκ μη έξερήτω, προτάττεται ἐπὶ τῇ συνέλευσιν—according to the usual interpretation, which is, however, very doubtful.

It was, however, a principle equally fundamental that the family and the cult should be continued only through males; a daughter could not inherit the cult, because on marriage she passed into her husband’s family. A legitimate son was therefore the prime object of marriage. It was from these principles that the regulations concerning inheritance and the institution of adoption sprang.

The institution of adoption was thus a necessary outcome of the desire to perpetuate the family and the family cultus. Adoption is the spontaneous creation of human beings (Maine, Arc. Law, new ed. 1906, p. 230), and is the earliest and most extensively employed of local civilizations. The law of adoption, for Greece, is apparently ascribed to Aristotle by Philo- las, a Corinthian who migrated to Thibes and gave the Thibes law respecting parentage, the laws of adoption (αδοτίαν έπισκευάζεται) as they are called . . . which were meant to preserve the number of allotments without change (Ar. Pol. vii. 9, p. 1274). In Athens adoption is older than Solon’s legislation (B.C. 594), as is clear from the important law several times cited by the orators (e.g. Demost. orat. 14: ημι ήμε τιμότατοι, στοι μητέρων μητέρων ενδεικνύσαται, επί ζωήν χείρας τον άγνωρί, κατακερ.); in Sparta it is older than Herodotus (about B.C. 450), who cites the regulation that all adoptees must take place before the kings (vi. 53); in Crete it is older than the great inscription known as the Code of Gortyna, which was inscribed about B.C. 460, but contains much earlier matter. Isiacus (ii. 13) speaks of the right of adoption as being founded upon Solon’s legislation, and this right, when taken in connection with the institution of disputed inheritance, is chiefly limited to Athenian law; but the Code of Gortyna shows considerable differences, and it takes it probable that there were wide divergences in details in the various Greek States.

2. Adoption a form of will.—The primitive idea of the institution—i.e. of an author of direct descent, demanding of religion and law...
ADOPTION (Greek)

that which Nature had denied.¹ (Cic. pro Dom. xvi. 14) is frequently urged by the orators (cf. Is. ii. 10: ὅτι τὰ ἐξωτερικὰ τὸν ἐσπερισμὸν καὶ τὴν ἀποχήν ἀφέναι καὶ εἶναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χρόνον τὰ νομοθέτ
μενα ἄριστο παποῦ). Luc. ii. 46: ἀπέδρα ἵνα τὸν τελευτή
σας καὶ ἀλώνιον βούθησαι, ἵνα μηδὲ τὸ ἵππο τὸν ἔστρων πρὸς τὰς μοῖρας τοῦ καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐνδυνάμως, ἀλλὰ ἀπόφερε ἵνα τιμᾶς τὰς θεᾶς. Nevertheless, this idea became over-
laid with others as rationalism prevailed. The Act of 31 December of Isaeus provides that a son, in very many cases at least, primarily in order to leave him property, or for other reasons. In other
words, adoption, gradually losing to a large extent its early significance as a means of supplementing nature (Demos, xlii. 43: ἡσυχία ὅπου ἄλλως ἄλλοις) was used as a means of testamentary bequest, thereby overcoming a legal disability. For it must be remembered that ^Intestate Inheritance is a more ancient institution than Testamentary Succession' (Maine, op. cit. p. 207), and that normally (i.e. if he had a legitimate son) an Athenian could not make a will — so the law is usually stated, but it may be doubted whether it was really observed, at least in the 4th century B.C. (cf. Meier u. Schömann, Der attische Process², p. 591 f.; Wyse on Is. iii. 42 and vi. 28). If he died without legitimate male issue, and without a will, the closest deceased, if one existed, in law, were his heirs. The Athenian will, therefore, though only an 'inchoate testament' (Maine, op. cit. p. 208), together with adoption, which was the form in which testamentary disposition of property was as a rule made, interrupted the ordinary course of descent of family and property. In other words, an Athenian, availing himself of the right of adoption inter vivos or by testament, very often was acted upon the desire of disinheriting some one of his possible heirs-at-law (Demos. xlv. 63: ἕπειτα γὰρ ὅτι τὰς κολακείς οἱ πλεῖστοι φυγαμογέμοις καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοῦ ὀλίκου διαφορὰς πολλὰκις ἀνεξόριστοι πιστεύων εἰς τὸν πατέρα) This fact explains not only the frequency of disputes over wills and inheritances at Athens, but also the method of handling such followed by the pleaders, e.g. Isaeus. The impression gathered from the sources is that it was perhaps impossible for an Athenian to safeguard the heritage of his choice against the assaults of disappointed relatives. And, herein a great contrast to the Roman courts, the tend-
ency of Athenian juries was to _vote for the re-
lative rather than for the will._ (Arist. Prob. xxi. 3).

3. Methods of adoption.—In Athens there were three methods of adoption; (1) adoption inter vivos, i.e. during lifetime (cf. Is. ii. 14: διὴθέτων οὖν τῶν χώνων αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἄπαλη, μεν ποιεῖται, ὥς ἐν διάθεσις γράφας, μέλλων ἀποθέτειν, ἀνεπάρ θέλειν); (2) adoption by will, taking effect only on death of the testator (see quotation above); (3) _posthumous adoption,_ by which if a man died without legitimate male issue, and without having adopted a son, the next-of-kin succeeding to the estate, or his issue, was adopted into the family and thus transferred the property. The rules of the time of the passage of this mode of adoption are not known, and our evidence is meagre. Instances are the following.—Is. xi. 49, vii. 31; Demos. xlii. 11, this last an example of such adoption deferred for many years, and per-
fected in the end simply as a way of evading in view of a lawsuit. See Wyse, note on Is. x. 8.

In Gortyna the procedure of adoption is of archaic simplicity, the act being public and oral, as its

¹ For these annual offerings to the dead, see Wyse, The Spartan Festivals, p. 326, n. 1, in this vol.
² So in Gortynian testaments are unknown, even in the rudi-
ments of the Greek language. The Code seems in fact, concerned to combat the tendencies which produced the testament.

name there (ἀναφανής, 'announcement') denotes—
_Announcement of a testament shall be made in the
Agora, when the citizens are assembled, from the
stone from which speeches are made. And the
adopter shall give to his _étauvb a victim and a
pitcher of wine._ The Spartan mode (Herod. vi.
57) must have been determined only by him who was competent to make a will,
that is, by a man only, not by a woman, nor by a
minor _i.e. one under the age of eighteen_—Ar.
Ath. Pol. 42). The adopter must be in full pos-
session of his faculties, and not acting under undue
influence (the vagueness of this last condition
afforded a loophole for litigation, cf. Ar. Ath.
Pol. 35). The proviso that the adopting citizen should have no legitimate son living, or, if he had, that he might then effect only a provisional adoption
by will, followed directly from the underlying idea
of the institution (Demos. xlii. 24: ὃ τι ἐν γραμμῖν
των ἰστόν τὸ πάντα διαφαίνεται, ἐν αὐτούς καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ
τραίτης ἐκ τούτου, καὶ καὶ εἰς τὰν ἐκ της ἀδελφίας, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφίας, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφίας. Hence men who had reason to fear
condemnation involving such _étauvb_ were fain to
secure previous adoption of their sons (Eschin.
in Clei. 21; Is. x. 17: ἠτέρω μέν, ὅταν περὶ χρήματα
διεστοιχίσει, τοὺς σφαίρας αὐτῶν πᾶθα ἐν ἠτέρως ἰσόων εἰσπέθερα, ὅπως ἡ μεταχείρισις τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτυμλῆσα). The field of _étauvb_ was legally unrestricted, at
any rate, during the time of the Code, though probably most men naturally looked for an adoptive
son within the circle of their relatives.

5. The formalities of adoption.—As regards the ceremony of adoption, the formal procedure is
spoken of by the orators, but it was perhaps
neither universal nor legally enjoined (Is. vii. 15).
The adoptive son was introduced to the members of his adoptive father's phratri—he probably on the
third and last day of the _Aptartia_ (October,
roughly), as was the case with children of the
body. The father offered the customary sacrifice
(_xeni_), and took oath that his adoptive son was a
genuine Athenian citizen; thereafter, with the
consent of the assembled _phratri_, the son's
name was enrolled on the register of the _phratri_
(σώμα) or _phratries_ (σώματα); cf. Demos. xlii.
41). Such adoption was legally unrestricted, at
any rate, after the time of the Code, though
probably most men naturally looked for an adoptive
son within the circle of their relatives.

* These two conditions of sex and age are insisted upon in the
Gortynian Code.

1 At Gortyna, there is no hint that the citizens are anything but
witnesses, or that the _étauvb_ has any right of refusal of entry
of the adopted son.
ADOPTION (Greek)

adopted son usually retained his old name, altering only the name of his father in writing his full signature, and if necessary that of his demi (see Keil in Rhein. Mus. xx. [1865] p. 539 f.).

6. Rights and duties of an adopted son.—The adopted son stepped at once from the family of his natural father to that of his adoptive father; he lost his relationship to his natural father, and all rights inherent therein (Is. ix. 53: οὐδὲν γὰρ πῶς τὸ ἐκτάτωτον ἔγγονον τοῦ οὗτος ἐξε- παιδεύουσα τὸν μὴ μοιρολόγησεν τῷ ἐκτάτωτῳ). Like a son of the body, he could not lose his relationship to his mother (if we may construe the statement of Is. vii. 25: μητρὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐκτάτωτον ζωτὸν ἐκτατάσθη). Collaterals (ἀδελφοί) and testamentary rights, on the other hand, were forbidden to enter on occupancy of the adopted son's property. Adoption, therefore, was established in a court of law (τεκαταστάσει). Cf. Is. xvi. iii. 6: οὐ οὖν τῶν ἐκτατικῶν κρατεινα τὸν κόσμον πρὸς κόσμον. 

1. Even if legitimate male children were born to his adoptive father subsequently to the adoption, the adopted son ranked with them for equal share of the property according to the law of inheritance (Is. vi. 63: καὶ διαδόθη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγονα, ὅ πονομαίων παῖδες ἐγείρομαι, τῷ μέρῳ εκείνῳ ἥμων ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ ἀδελφούς καὶ ὑπεραναργίους). If the adopted son left behind him a legitimate son of his (γενετόρας τοῦ νομοῦ), the adopted son was entitled to take the place of his legitimate son in the house of his adoptive father, thereby fulfilling the object of his adoption, he might return to his natural father's house, and there resume all the rights and duties of a son, relinquishing all such claims in respect of his adoptive father's estate (Harser, p. 218: ἵνα μήτε ἔκτατωτα παῖδες ἐπεκτατικά ἐν τῷ πατρίδι οἴκων ὥσπερ κόσμων, ἡ μὴ παῖς ἡ γενετόρας κατατάσσεται εἰς τὸν οἴκον τοῦ πατριστοῦ). He could not, however, so leave behind him an adopted son; he had, in fact, no power himself of adopting another either in his lifetime or by will, so long as his own status was that of an adopted son; he transmitted the estate only to an heir of his body (Demos, xlix. 54: οὐ μόνον τὸν τίτου τοῦ οἴκου δικαιολογεῖ τῆς τοῦ Πατριαρχοῦ). The Gortynian Code allows the adopted son to repudiate his inheritance.

2. The Gortynian Code treats the adopted son less generously, giving him only the rights of a daughter when the adoptive father is without other sons, he is to receive half a son's portion; if there are daughters or other legitimate sons, he is to share with them, but only with regard to the portion he himself is entitled to receive. The latter makes several demands. He is not only capable of proof, or at best based upon the Roman-Syrian Law (Codex Justinian. i. 5. 11, which is the best known to be the basis of the 5th cent. a.d.).

3. The Code is concerned to depose the artificial son from a position of equality with natural heirs.
ADOPTION (Hindu).

It is obvious that by adopting a daughter's son a man could guard against contentions for the hand of his daughter, and defeat the designs of rapacious relatives; nevertheless, instances of adoption of a grandchild of a daughter in the part of a grandfather are rare (Wyse on Is. viii. 36).

7. Decay of the institution of adoption.—Was it possible under Athenian law to adopt a daughter? A woman could not perpetuate in her own person the adoption of her daughter, which was the object of the male objects of adoption. Nevertheless, examples of the adoption of a daughter are found. Isaeus furnishes two examples of the adoption of a niece by will (xi. 8 and 9); but in the first case the niece was perhaps also heiress ab intestate, apart from the adoption, and it is also doubtful whether the adoption was not inter vivos. A third example puzzles the lawyers (Is. vii. 9: ἰδείς τὴν ἁλίσκην καὶ ἱππος τῆς ἱπποδράμου ἱππευτῆς, ἵππη καὶ μητρὶ, πάνω σὺ ἄρεθη, διδόντως ἵππη ἀνήλικῆς). It is generally taken to mean that in his will Apollodorus adopted his half-sister, who was also his heiress ab intestate, and by that acquisition the right of a father to dispose of his daughter in marriage (Att. Procr. 505, n. 75). But Apollodorus had not become the adoptive father of the girl when he made his will and settled the marriage, since the adoption was only to take effect in the event of his death on foreign service (an event which did not occur). The adoption of a daughter (περνῳδος), certainly not contemplated in earlier times, but never expressly forbidden, probably grew to be practised (though to what extent we know not) largely as a family manoeuvre, as public sentiment became less strict, and the definitely religious aspect of the institution tended to fade from view. There are other instances of the adoption by will of the child of the deceased, in the fragmentary speech of Isaeus in defence of Euphiletos there is a reference to the adoption of non-Athenians irregularly for personal reasons (Is. xii. 2: διὰ πεντυ τῶν ἀνθρωπων ἐξόντων ἀνεθρωμένων εὐπηκοοίων, ὅπως ὑπὲρω πτερὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνήλικον Ἀθηναῖον γεγονός). Similarly, the necessity of providing a male descendant came to be felt less strongly. It is clear that many Athenians in the 4th cent. B.C. died unmarried and without troubling to adopt a son, or by will (Is. xi. 49; Demos. xiv. 18). The Code of Gortyn exhibits the same change. It is by no means certain that by it adoption was not permissible even when a man already had both sons and daughters. It is certain that the practice of adopting regular heiresses (παρακομματικὸν ἂν ἐπεκούλοντο τοῖς ἐπεκούλοντος ἄνθρωποι), the fact that the next-of-kin might, as at Athens, shirk his spiritual duties to the deceased if he cared to waive his claim to the estate; the ease with which the bond created by adoption could be broken (by simple announce- ment from the stone in the Agora before the assembled citizens); and, above all, the fact that the adopted son might eventually decline his inheritance (which was his only on the express condition that he took over all the spiritual and temporal obligations of the deceased)—all testify to the gradual transformation and decay of the old institution.

W. J. Woodehouse.

ADOPTION (Hindu).—The adoption of a son (putrasahagroha) amongst the Aryan Hindus, as observed by Sir R. Ward, is essentially a religious act. The ceremonies in an adoption, as described in the Sanskrit law-books, resemble the formalities at a wedding; adoption consisting, like marriage, in the transfer of paternal dominion over a child, which belongs to the adopter in Adoption, and to the husband in the other. One desirous of adopting a son has to procure two garments, two earrings and a finger-ring, a learned priest, sacred grass, and fuel of sacred wood. He has next to give notice to the king (or to the king’s representative the vraga), and convene the kindred, no doubt for the purpose of giving publicity to the transaction, and of having the son acknowledged as their relative by the kindred. The adopter has to say to the natural father: ‘In thee my son is enfranchised. The father replies, ‘I give him’; whereupon the adopter declares, ‘I accept thee for the fulfilment of religion, I take thee for the continuation of lineage.’ After that, the father adores the bier with some of the male garments, the two earrings, and the finger-ring, and performs the Vyahrti-Homa or Datta-Homa, i.e. a burnt-sacrifice coupled with certain invocations, apparently from the idea that the conversion of one man’s son to another son’s father cannot be effected without the intervention of the gods. The learned priest obtains the two garments, the earrings, and the finger-ring as his sacrificial fee.

Where the ceremony of tonsure (see Tonsure [Hindu]) has already been performed for the boy in his natural family, a special ceremony called putragri, or sacrifice for male issue, has to be performed in addition to the burnt-sacrifice, in order to satisfy the ethical and religious natures of the two boys. The motive for adoption assigned in the Sanskrit commentaries is a purely religious one, viz. the conferring of spiritual benefits upon the adopter and his ancestors, or the acquisition of the eunuch’s name, eucvagri, which the Code of Manu (x. 138) has a fanciful derivation of the word putra, ‘a son,’ as denoting ‘the deliverer from the infernal region called putu.’ In the same way, it is declared by Vasishtha (xvii. 1) that ‘if a father sees the face of a son born and living, he throws his debts on him and obtains immortality.’ Another ancient text says, ‘Heaven awaits not one who has no male issue.’ These and other texts, laudatory of the celestial bliss derived from the legitimate son of one’s wife, etc., are maintained by the writers in support of the obligation to adopt on failure of male posterity. The importance of this practice was enhanced by writers on adoption, who declared as obsolete in the present age (Kaliputra) the other ancient devices for obtaining a substitute for a legitimate son of the body, such as appointing a widow to raise issue to her deceased husband, or a daughter to her sonless father, or legitimizing the illegitimate son of one’s wife, etc. These writers are unanimous in declaring that none but the legitimate son of the body (avagra) and the adopted son (datta) are sons in the proper sense of the term, and that the adopter is entitled to inheritance, etc. Even in modern India, adoption still continues to be an accepted practice, by which a widow is frequently sanctioned, according to the modern law, to adopt a son, which is a great evil. The practice of adoption has also spread to the Hindu sections of art. Blatter, J. L. JOLLY.

ADOPTION (Japanese).—Adoption, now widely prevalent in Japan, is not a native institution. It
was first introduced from China for a political purpose during the rule of the Hōjō Regents (1205-1333). Its importance is chiefly social and legal. The legal unit in Japan is the family and not the individual. When a married man's son was therefore not son-born, heir, adoption becomes necessary in order to provide a representative in whose person it shall be continued. But the religious point of view is by no means overload. The adopted son, on the death of his foster-father, takes charge of the family tombs and attends to the domestic religious observances, whether Shinto, Buddhist, or ancestral, just as if he were the real son. Their neglect, for want of an heir, would be considered a great calamity. There is no ceremony of adoption, but registration at the public office of the district is essential.


ADOPTION (Muhammadan).—In Arabia, in the days of Muhammad, a man could adopt another person as his son (Arab. tabnain, 디나). The Prophet himself adopted Zaid ibn Ḥaritha. The latter made no claim to the slave and soon came into Muhammad's possession in Mecca. Some of his own tribesmen recognized Zaid and told his father Ḥaritha, who went to Mecca to offer a ransom for his son. Zaid, however, chose to remain with the Prophet, upon which the latter gave him his freedom and adopted him as his son, saying, 'He shall be my heir and I his.' Since that time he was called Zaid ibn Muhammad.

Many other instances of adoption are known in Arabic literature. But one fact does not appear that in Arabia adoption was practised exclusively for the purpose of saving the family from extinction. Often the idea apparently was merely to incorporate a certain person into a family, for one reason or another; as, e.g., when a man, on marrying a woman who already had children from a former marriage, adopted her children as his own. Children of slave girls, begotten by the owner, were regarded as slaves. If Zaid, son of Abul-Aswad, was sometimes adopted by a protector in another tribe, was sometimes adopted by his protector as a son. Mīqād ibn al-Aswad, for example, whom belonged to those who had accepted Islam in the very beginning of Muhammad's preaching, had fled originally from his tribe Bahra, and later on was adopted in Mecca by al-Aswad, his protector. His real name was Miqād ibn Amr. (Cf. Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, 1905, pp. 62-55, 133 ff.)

It is to be understood that at that time an adopted son was regarded as in all respects the equal of a real son. The following event, however, caused Muhammad to abolish this old rule. It was declared that adoption was only a fiction and did not entail any consequences as regards rights. Zainab, the wife of the above-mentioned Zaid, Muhammad's adopted son, had aroused the suspicion of his father to that degree, that he persuaded Zaid to repudiate her, upon which he married her himself. This caused great scandal. It was objected that by the law laid down in the Qur'ān (Sura, iv. 27) it was incest for a father to marry a woman who had been his son's wife. Then the verses of Qur'ān xxxiiii, 1-5 and 37 were revealed, in which it was expressly announced to the faithful, that an adopted son (Arab. da'i, 디니) was not a real son, so that when an adopted son a real son was wrong, inasmuch as the process of adoption could never create any bonds of blood-relationship. Marriage with the repudiated wife of a adopted son was therefore not contrary to the will of Allah.

This passage in the Qur'ān has been the accidental cause of adoption not being regarded in the canonical orthodoxy of Islam as a valid institution with binding legal consequences.

TH. W. JUNYDOLLS.

ADOPTION (Roman).—The remarks made above concerning the importance attached by the Greeks to the perpetuation of the family and the family worship must be understood to apply with equal force to Rome, at least in her earlier history. The general idea of adoption, and the general effects of the act, were the same in Rome as in Athens; but some confusion in details was introduced by the peculiarly Roman conception of paternal authority (patris potestas), and also by the Roman distinction between agnatic, or legal, and cognatic, or natural, relationships and rights. Their more precisely denned conception of legal status also led the Romans to a multitude of corollaries or regulations concerning adoption which find, so far as we know, no parallel in Greece, and opened up several questions which taxed the ingenuity of lawyers.

I. TWO DISTINCT METHODS OF ADOPTION IN ROME.—There were two entirely distinct methods of adoption among the Romans during the Republican period, according as the person adopted was, or was not, sui iuris, i.e. independent of his father's legal control (patris potestas). Although Ceero, for example, uses the word adoptio (adop-atio) to cover both methods, the proper term for the adoption of one sui iuris is adoptedio, or adoptionem sui iuris, by Gaivus and A. Cellius—advogatio (arrogatio), the term adoptio being properly restricted to the adoption of one who is under patris potestas (Gell. v. 19: quod per pretorem fit, adoptatio dicitur; quod per populum, adrogatio).

1. Adrogatio.—Adrogation, therefore, was the method by which the head of a family voluntarily submitted himself to the potestas of another. It involved a preliminary investigation on the part of the priestly college touching the purity of the reasons for the adoption, its suitability to the dignity of the families interested, and, above all, the security for the maintenance of Roman and clan worship (sacer domestici et gentilicii) of the house which was about to lose its representative (Cic. de Dom. 34: 'que deinde causa cuique sit adoptiounis, quae ratio generam sci dignitatis, quae sacrarum, quae a pontificiis collegio solet').

The adoption by this method, of P. Claudius by M. Fonteius, a much younger man, is evidence of the way in which in the decay of the Republic the old safeguards of the institution could be misused, in the interests of political manuvering; for the object of Claudius, a patrician, in securing adoption by Fonteius, a plebeian, was to become eligible for the Tribunate of the Commons.

If the priestly college approved the adoption, there followed the delatoio sacrorum, a public renunciation of the cultus of the deceased male (genus) of his birth on the part of him who was about to pass into a new family, and perhaps a new genus (Serv. on Verg. Aen. ii. 156: 'consuetudo apud antiquos fuit, ut qui in familia vel gentem transiret, prius se abdicaret ut ea in qua fuerat et sic ab alia accipisset'). Next, a bill (rogatio) authorizing the transition was introduced to the Assembly of the Curiae (Comitia Curiata) by the Pontifex Maximus and voted upon in the usual manner.

Such procedure followed was under the Republic, even when the Curiae assembly was a mere form, being represented...
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only by thirty lectors (Cic. Leg. Agr., ii. 31). For the words of Tullius of Velleius Paterculus curiae curulis apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem—used by Galba—cannot be made to justify the view that the formalities of adrogatio at that date took place before the pontificates alone. This ancient method continued in use into Imperial times. Augustus so adopted Tiberius (Suet. Aug. 47: Tiberius adoptavit in foro legis curulis') cf. Suet. Tib. 15; Tac. Hist. i. 16. The last example is that of Hadrian's adoption of Commodus (Suet., says Dio Cass. Ixxix. 20).

The first example of this was given by Galba, who adopted Piso by simple declaration (nuncupatio pro contione), and issued after preliminary investigation, before a Praetor (or before the Governor in the Provinces, where adoption by Roman forms now first becomes possible). The older method indeed long survived. For Gnaeus mentions a rescript addressed by the Emperor Augustus Pius to Titus, or pontificates, permitting the adoption of a minor under certain regulations which need not here be specified. It was not until A.D. 286 that a Constitution of Diocletian entirely abolished the old method and substituted for it the Imperial rescript.

(a) Some effects of adrogatio.—The effect of adoption was the loss of his own patris potestas on the part of the adoptee, and immediate subjection to that of his adoptive father, whose legal son (iustus filius) he became. It conferred upon the adoptee immediate universal succession to the property * and rights of the adopted. Seeing that, technically, adrogatio involved a certain loss of legal personality (minima capitis dominio), some rights vested in the adopted perished at once, e.g. any usufruct vested in him, or sworn obligation of service on the part of freedmen. In the same way, from the strictly legal point of view, all personal debts of the adopted were extinguished by his adoption (but here the pretorian equity gave his creditors the right to sell his property to discharge the amount of their claims); if the debt was owing as a burden upon an estate to which the adopted had succeeded as heir, it was transferred with it to his adoptive father. Personal dignities of the adopted, or even magisterial powers) remained entirely unaffected in all their consequences. It is obvious that adoption would annul any will previously made by the adoptee. If the person adopted had himself children under his potestas, these also fell into subjection to the adopter, and became legally his grandchildren. Hence Tiberius was compelled to adopt Germanicus before he himself was adopted by Augustus (Suet. Tib. 15: 'eotactarius ius Germanicum fratis sui filium adoptaverat. Nec quicumque postea pro patre famulis ejus aut ius, quod amiserat, ex illa parte retinuit. Nam neque donavit neque manusmissit, ne hereditatem quiudem aut legata percepit usque aliar quam ut peculio referret accepisse').

(b) Adrogatio originally and always confined to patricians.—It must be remarked that the above modes of adoption was essentially a religious mode, and a ceremony connected with the consecration of a family god or tutelary deity, organized in true gentes (cf. Greenidge, op. cit.

* Justianin allowed the adoptive father only the usufruct, unless adopted son died not having been emancipated from his adoptive father's control.

† Galba, I. 162: 'minima capitis deminuit est, cum et civilia et familiae potestas pervenit Sue beatissimus dominus communionis: quod accidit in his qui adoptarentur.'

p. 9), as is evident from the fact that the assembled Curiae and the priestly college were the chief actors in the ceremony. On the other hand, the restriction of this mode of adoption to those who were sui iuris cannot be regarded as a primitive characteristic, for the reason that the prime end of adoption, the continuation of the family cultus which was in danger of extinction through failure of nature, could just as well be effected through the adoption of a filius familiaris, i.e. one who was still under patria potestas, provided that he had reached the age of puberty, for on the death of his adoptive father he would himself become the pater familias. And again, it is impossible to believe that the Rome of the regal period actually possessed no means of adoption save of those who were sui iuris—rather would it be probably of somewhat rare occurrence that one already sui iuris should put himself by adrogatio in the potestas of another. If, then, the ceremonies of adrogatio were originally also not applicable to sons still subject to their father's potestas, we shall be driven to confess that the mode of adoption of such, sanctioned by patrician law, is totally unknown to us; for the earliest method that we hear of as applicable to persons alieni iuris, is the purely civil actio nuncupatio, by which, after publication by threefold sale hereafter described.Originally, then, adrogatio was probably applicable both to those who were sui iuris and to those who were under patria potestas. In historical times, however, it had come to be restricted to the former and relatively much less frequent case, while for the other the fictitious sale offered a more ready means of adoption from the loss of potestas.

2. Adoption properly so called.—Adoption in its more proper sense, that is to say, the transference of a filius familiaris from the potestas of his natural father to that of an adoptive father, was accomplished by the aid of legal fictions in two distinct acts,—(1) the dissolution of the link with the natural father, by means of fictitious sale, mancipatio; (2) the transference of the son to the potestas of the adoptive father by the procedure called cessio in ture.

According to the law of the Twelve Tables, a son thrice transferred by his father to another, under the solemn forms of the mancipatio, or sale (per actum mancipio of the law), was freed from paternal control ('pater si filium ter venum duit, filius a patre liber esto'). The father, therefore, so sold his son to the person adopting, or to another; the son being forthwith emancipated by his purchaser, fell back under his father's potestas.

The ceremony was immediately repeated with the same result. By a third sale the father finally destroyed his paternal rights over his son, who now remained in the lawful possession (in mancipio) of the purchaser. The usual custom was for the purchaser then to remancipate (remanicipare) the son to his natural father, thus for a moment held him in his turn in mancipio * (no longer as filius familiaris, subject to his potestas).

Then followed the second act, completing the adoption. This took the form of a fictitious process of law (legis usus) before a magistrate—the Prefect of the city, or the Governor in the provinces. The adoptive father instituted a vindicatio filii in potestatem, claiming him as his son. He who was holding him for the moment in mancipio (the natural father, therefore, if remanicipatio had taken place) was thus driven to another act, which, as the claim*

* If this were not done, the father would, of course, take no further part in the ceremony, his place being taken for the second act of the proceedings by the third person, to whom the mancipio was originally made. It was a deduction of the lawyer, from the words of the Twelve Tables, that a single sale sufficed to break the tie, and to vest patria potestas in the case of a daughter or grandson. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii. 375. 

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the magistrate adjuged (addixit) the adopted to the claimant as his filius, subject to his patria potestas. Hence this form of adoption was called prætorem, as contrasted with *adrogatio*, which is per (or apud) populum. It is this form of adoption that is alluded to by Cicero (de Fin. 24: *in eo filio . . . quem in adoptionem duxit*) of which Augustus adopted Gaius and Lucius, his grandsons, in B.C. 17 (Suet. Aug. 64: *Gaium et Lucium adoptavit, domi per assem et librum captos a patre Argupis*).

These complicated forms were gradually simplified, and finally Justinian made simple declaration on the part of the two principals before a magistrate sufficient, the son to be adopted also being present and consenting.

Some effects of adoption.—Like *adrogatio*, true adoption involved a *capitatis* dominium, destroying the agnatic rights of the adopted in his natural family; but he still retained his rights as a cognate therein, and as such was entitled to succeed in the *potestas* of his natural father. In his adoptive family he gained the rights both of an agnate and of a cognate; but if he were emancipated by his adoptive father, he retained his agnatic and cognatic rights of an emancipated son of his natural father. Justinian altered this to the effect that (except in cases where the adoptor was grandfather of the adopted) the adopted son remained in his natural family and under the control of his natural father, the adoption conferring on him simply the right of intestate succession to his adoptive father (*adoptio minus plena*).

The children, if any, of a son adopted before the praetor did not, as in *adrogatio*, pass with him into the *potestas* of his adoptive father. Emancipation of an adopted child broke all connexion between him and his adoptive family, save that marriage between the adopter and an adopted daughter or granddaughter, even after emancipation, remained illegal. Adoption by the same person was impossible.

II. REGULATIONS CONCERNING ADOPTION.

1. Age.—A debated question was as to the proper relative ages of the father and the adopted son. In the notorious case of the adoption of P. Clodius by M. Fonteius the adopted son was older than the adopter, and Cicero makes a point of this (*Cic. de Dom. 35.3: *'Factus es eius filius contra fas, eius per etatem pater esse potestas'). The original idea was that adoption should imitate nature (cf. *Cic. de Dom. 36: *'hunc sine semper adoptii filium quam maxime veritatem illam suscipiendum liberorum imitat) esse videtur*), and this was the view of the later jurisconsults, who decided that the adoptor should be older than the adopted by at least eighteen years (plena potentia). In the case of *adrogatio* it was held that the *adrogator* should be sixty years of age, except in special cases of health or intirmacy. Until the time of Antoninus Pius, a person could not be adopted by his own children (*impubes filii filium* or *pupillus*).

2. Adoption of females.—Women properly could not adopt, either by *adrogatio* or by *marcipation*, as they could not possess *potestas*.

But in A.D. 291 Diocletian allowed a woman to adopt her stepson (priviligium) to replace deceased children. The adopted in this case acquired rights of inheritance. Females of any age could be adopted, originally not properly by *adrogatio*, though not for the reason assigned by Aulus Gellius ('cum feminis nulla commodior curia') but because the marriage ceremony of *confarreatio* provided for them a mode of entrance into another family. Finally, by *adrogatio* by Imperial rescript became applicable to women also.

The permission to adopt a female marked, it is clear, a decaying sense of the real significance of the institution. For if, as was, perhaps, most often the case, the adopted daughter was of marriageable age, she would, if subsequently given in marriage, by certain forms, at any rate, fall into the *potestas* of her husband, and become a member of his family and gens (see Greneidge, op. cit. p. 17). The same evidence of decay is seen in the abuse of the institution for political purposes by Clodius, which assuredly could not have happened had the feeling of the community been seriously concerned. Under the early Empire, adoption was practised to enable persons to escape the penalties of childishness and to qualify for the exercise of Roman rights. The Lex Julia and Papia Poppaea, which prescribed that a candidate for office who had children, or who had made children, was to be preferred to one who had none or fewer (see Tac. Ann. ed. Furneaux, vol. i. p. 439f.). In A.D. 62 it became necessary for the Senate to decree that a pretended adoption for this purpose (manumission having at once followed the adoption) should be null and void (Tac. Ann. 62.1: *'pretendit adroga saevius mos, cum proponit consilium aut sortes provinciarum pierque orbis fictis adoptionibus adacriter filios, preturasse et provincias inter patres scito statim emittentem manu, quos adoptaverant*).

The general impression given is that, at Rome, as compared with Gains, the institution of adoption more rapidly and completely lost its connexion with religious thoughts and practices.

3. Name.—Among the Romans, adoption introduced a peculiar modification of the name. The person adopted laid aside his original names and assumed those of his adoptive father, adding, however, an epithet to mark the *gens* out of which he had passed; that is to say, he retained his gentle name in an adoptive form. Thus C. Octavianus, when adopted by the will of his maternal uncle Caesar, became C. Julius Cesar Octavianus. But the system was not uniformly observed, and in a few cases the epithet is derived from the name of the *pater familias*, not from the *nomen*; as in the case of M. Junius Brutus is an example of another anomaly.

4. Imperial adoption.—The power of continuing the family by adoption gained a peculiar significance in connexion with the early Empire. For theoretically the *princeps* could not name his successor, though he might do much to guide the choice of the Senate and army. Neither designation nor heredity was recognized. Constitutionally, however, it was open to the *princeps* to appoint a consort in the Imperial power, who, on the death of the reigning Emperor, would have a practical, though not a legal, claim to be elected his successor. The natural course was to appoint a son to that position; but if the Emperor had no son, he could adopt whomsoever he chose as his virtual successor, the danger of such a course being minimized by the paternal control he possessed over his adoptee. The act of adoption by the *princeps* is figuratively called, therefore, by Tacitus, *comitia imperii* (Hist. i. 14); but the custom hardly attains its full significance until the adoption of the childlessness of Augustus gave the institution its prominence in early Imperial history (cf. Suet. Aug. 64, 65; Tac. Ann. xii. 26; Suet. Galb. 17; Dio Cass. lvi. 3).

5. Adopito testamentaria.—There remains to be noticed a species of adoption spoken of by Pliny as *adoptio testamentaria*. The most conspicuous
ADOPTION (Semitic).

1. Adoption in Babylonia.—In the great Babylonian Law Code (Code of Hammurabi), adoption of various kinds is referred to and regulated.

(5) Adoption of the custom: In obvious reason for the custom might seem to exist in its meeting the needs of childless persons, who desired to provide themselves with an heir, that the family patrimony should not be alienated. But in Babylonia, as in old Israel, a man whose wife was childless could take a concubine, or might, with his wife’s acquiescence, enter into relations with a maid-servant for this purpose. And these alternatives sufficed in Israel to meet such cases so well that adoption was entirely unknown. Besides, adopted children in Babylonia were sometimes taken into a family where sons and daughters were living. Johns* suggests that “the real cause most often was that the adopting parents had lost by marriage or death all children, and had, in fact, no claim to the deceased’s estate, except in so far as the will specifically granted such. The only legal effect, then, was to permit the adopted to bear the name of himself and of his adopter (additionis familiam).” The custom, it is true, availed itself of his testamentary adoption by Cesar to secure a privilege from the Curius adrogating him to the testator (Appian, Bell. civ. iii. 94: “dict & taq twos, idon al proprh twa aikth kath nymos Kaupantos,... ταγω δ ς τα τε αλλα λαμπα, και ειλεκλονοι πολλοι τε και πλοιοι, και δια του τευκλα τυ και πολεμε, και τη διαδιακα συνοο ενεχω). Cf. Dio Cass. xxv. 34, xl. v. 47; but his is an exceptional case. By his will Augustus so adopted Livia (Tac. Ann. i. 8: “Livia in familium Iuliam nomenque Augustae adsumebatur”), and at the same time constituted her heir to his legacies. The later times and species of adoption took the form of devising an inheritance under condition of bearing the testator’s name. This mode was, in fact, in use as early as Augustus’ days and before. The right to adopt was a privilege (Cic. ad Att. vii. 8: “Crassum istum Liciniu flum, Casrii testamento qui fuit adoptatus”). Atticus, the friend of Cicero, was adopted by the will of his uncle, and so became Q. Cæcilius Pomponianus Atticus, his uncle’s name having been Q. Cæcilius; he also got 10,000,000 sesterces (Cic. ad Att. ii. 29). Dolabella was so adopted by a woman, but Cicero had his doubts as to the propriety of this—though, as he humorously remarks, he will be better able to decide when he knows the amount of the bequest (Cic. ad Att. vii. 8: “Dolabellam vides Livia testamentum cum duobus coheredissimis esse in triente, sed ibiure mutare nomen. Est pauciorum vicum, rectumne sit nobilis adulcendi mutare nomen mulieris testamento; sed id philosophorum decurieinorum, cum sciemus, quantum quasi sit in trientis triente”). Whether Dolabella accepted the bequest or declared himself to be his intestate he did not change his name. Later, Tiberius found no difficulty in accepting an inheritance without observing the condition (Suet. Tib. 6: “Post reditum in urbem a M. Gallo senatore testamento adoptatus, hereditatis tituli nomine aliquem habuit, quod Gallus adversarum Augusto partium fuerat”). For other examples of this method of adoption, see Suet. Gall. 4; Dio Cass. xl. 51; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiv. ii. 2.


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act of deliberate choice. Thus the levirate law is not a case of adoption in any real sense, but 'the legal substitution, more for the sake of reasons, of a fictitious for a natural father' (Many).

3. Legal adoption unknown among the Arabs.

Of adoption as a recognized institution among the Arabs no clear and certain traces exist. The practice of polygyny was sufficient to mask the law under which the need of adoption might have been felt. See, further, art. ADOPTION (Muhammadan), above.

4. Theological application of the idea of adoption.

—Adoption as an individual word is evidently unfamiliar in Palestine during the NT period. None of the NT writers uses the technical Greek term *vóteia* except St. Paul. He doubtless employed the term because, having been born in Cilicia, he had received a parting of Greek education, and was acquainted with the institutions and terminology of the Greeks, among whom adoption was commonly practiced.

Among Gr. prose authors from Pindar and Herodotus downwards, *vóteia* or *vóteia* παυλία, "adopted son," is regularly found.

Theologically the conception of adoption is applied by St. Paul to the special relation existing between God and His people, or between God and redeemed individuals. For the former sense, cf. Gal. 4:4; *Israelites* who have *received the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises*.

Here the people of Israel as a whole is thought of. The redemption from Egyptian bondage was especially associated with the thought of Israel's becoming a nation and Jahweh's son. In this sense the people is sometimes called Jahweh's son (cf. Hos 1:1, Ex 4:22). 'Israel is my son, my firstborn,' etc.). The same thought is plausibly expressed in the Synagogue Liturgy (esp. in the Thanksgiving for redemption from Egypt which immediately follows the recitation of the Shemot: cf. Singer, *Hib. Eng. Prayer-Book*, pp. 42-44, 28-99). In the four other passages in St. Paul's Epp, where the word *vóteia* occurs, it has an individual application, and an ethical sense, denoting 'the nature and condition of the true disciples of Christ, who by receiving the spirit of God into their souls become the sons of God' (Thayer), cf. Ro 8:14, Gal 4:2, Eph 1:2; in Ro 8:15 the phrase 'to wait for the adoption' (δέοικες *vóteia*) includes the future, when the full ethical effects of having become God's adopted sons will be manifest in their completeness."

Adoption in this sense implies the distinction that exists between the redeemed and Christ. 'We are sons by grace; He is so by nature.' *Adoptionem proponere deficit, says Augustine, 'ut distincte intelligamus unicum Del filium.' The thought of ethical adoption is finely expressed in Jo 1:13.


G. H. BoX.

ADORATION.—As this word is used, both in literature and in common practice, it seems to imply, on the one hand, admiration of qualities that are good and beautiful, and, on the other, a recognition of power in what is good and beautiful. Further, it usually carries with it the idea that the object of adoration is immensely greater than the being who adores.

In Galatians, adoption of the Greek type may be the *Apostle's mind;* in Romans, of the Roman type.

Lightfoot on Gal 4:16

wished, the son taking a son's share and departing.

This looks like an attempt to contract outside the law. Failure on the part of the husband to observe his obligations was good ground for disinheritance; but the penalty could be inflicted only with the consent of the judges, who felt bound, in the first place, to do all in their power to reconcile the parties. In this object in view, judgment was sometimes reserved.

The treaty and the courteen formed a class by themselves, and were the subject of special legislation. It was supposed to have children of their own, but possessed the right to nominate their heir within limits. In return for exercising this right in favour of a certain person, they usually stipulated that such person shall maintain them as long as they live and otherwise care for them ('Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 159).

2. Adoption not practised by the Hebrews.—As has already been pointed out, no mention of the practice of adoption occurs in any of the Hebrew Law Codes. Nor does the term corresponding to "vóteia" exist in Hebrew; nor does the Greek term *vóteia* occur in the LXX, while in the Greek Testament it occurs only in the Pauline Epistles. In fact, the practice of adoption would have enlarged the principle of maintaining property also the possession of the original tribe, which was the object of such painful solicitude in the Mosaic Code (cf. Nu 27:1-11). It is obvious that the reasons which operated in favour of the levirate law were not *adop-vóteia* in the Hebrew life. Babylonian civilization was much more complex and highly developed. Among the Israelites the risk of childlessness was met in the earlier period by polygyny, in the later by facility of divorce. See, further, *Marriage*.

In the Biblical history of the patriarchs the practice of polygyny is explicitly attested. Sarah, being barren, requests Abraham to contract a second (interior) marriage with Hagar (Gen 16:1); cf. also the case of Rachel and her maid Bilhah, and Leah and Zilpah (Gen 29:3-5). In the Bible of the early period by polygyny, in the later by facility of divorce. See, further, *Marriage*.

Isolated cases of possible adoption, or something analogous, are, however, met with in the OT literature. Thus, (1) three cases of informal adoption can plausibly be said to occur in the OT—those of Moses, adopted (Vulg. *adoptavit*) by the Egyptian princess (Ex 2:4)—of Genumath, possibly (1 K 11:39); and of Esther, who was adopted (Vulg. *adoptavit*) by her father's nephew Mordecai (Est 2:14, 22). It is noticeable that in all three cases the *locale* is outside Palestine, and the influence of foreign ideas is apparent. Further, (2) something analogous to adoption seems to be implied in the case of Ephraim and Manasseh, sons of Joseph, to whom the status of his own sons (Gen 48:4. And now thy two sons, i.e. Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon, shall be mine'). As a full son of Jacob each receives a share in the division of the land under Joshua, Joseph thus (in the person of his two sons) receiving a double portion. This, however, is not really a case of adoption, but one where the rights of the firstborn were transferred (for sufficiently grave reasons) to a younger son (cf. Gen 49:4 for the sin of Reuben, vv.25-26 for Joseph's elevation). To Joseph in effect are transferred the privileges of the eldest son; cf. further 1 Ch 5:1-2. The levirate law here provides for some points of contact with adoption. The brother of a man dying without children entered into a union with the widow, in order to provide the dead man with an heir. The firstborn in this case received the name and the heritage of the deceased. Some of the Church Fathers (e.g. Augustine) have actually given the name of 'adoption' to this Mosaic ordinance. But the two things are obviously distinguished by fundamental differences. In real adoption the adopting parent exercises an

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* In Delitzsch's *Heb. NT* it is rendered *κατατάκλισις* (e.g. Ro 15:20).
* See further on this point EBI, s.v., 'Family,' § 7 (vol. II, col. 1602).
ADORATION (Biblical)

It is natural to speak of adoring God or a god, and of adoring Nature; somewhat less natural to speak of adoring another human being: hardly natural at all to speak of adoring a more ideal, unless it is impossible—or ideal is conceived of as in some way possessing an intrinsic force of its own. Kant, for instance, points out that all late philosophers have an irrationalimperiousness ‘the Moral Law within,’ which he compares in majesty to ‘the starry heavens without,’ for he seems to conceive it as something altogether distinct to which we are answerable. In deed, it may be said that the pre-eminently characteristic of the adoring mood is the merging of self in the rapt contemplation of other goodness. The whole temper of the word is admirably illustrated in Browning’s ‘Adoration’:

‘love that spends itself
In silent meditations of some
Re-eminent mortal, some great soul of souls,
That ne’er will know how well it is adored.’

It is well to note expressly that adoration must reach a certain pitch before the term ‘adoration’ is felt to be appropriate. The bare recognition of power is, of course, never enough. Adoration of some kind must always be an element, even if it is only the adoration of such a force as that of sleep. It is, indeed, this element of adoration that appears to give the principle of division between magic and religion. But in the lower forms of worship, as in the one just mentioned, the adoration being incomplete, the adoration is felt to be incomplete also. For its completion we seem to require, on the one hand, an embodiment of all that would satisfy our own ideal, and, on the other, the presence of a force that is more than ourselves.

The types of adoration, therefore, complete and incomplete, are derived from the different types of those religions that definitely power a worship beyond the worshipper. Strictly speaking, it would appear that religions such as Buddhism, which do not recognize such a power, should be excluded from this class, and that adoration, as we have defined it, has no place in them. But for the Semites and the Europeans at least, history plainly shows how vital an element it has in their religious development. The whole growth of Hebrew monotheism out of the surrounding idolatry, until its final sharp separation, is one struggle to get away from weak and unworthy objects into the presence of what was truly to be adored.

Lack of power on the one hand, lack of righteousness on the other, are sure signs that the true God has not been found. Anything that suggests either deficiency must be cut away. The gods of the ancients were, one and all, mere men’s hands (Ps 106:37); and Israel must not turn His glory into ‘the similitude of an ox that eateth grass’ (Ps 80:10). The god that makes a man’s son pass through the fire is Molech, not Jahweh (Jer 7:30). No such god may stand beside Him.

It is this belief in a completely satisfactory object of worship, and this passion to show it to other men, that have been among the great moving forces in Mahommedanism, as in every missionary enterprise since missions began. But the Hebrews, above all nations, have felt the rapture of this mood, and have given it the most complete expression in poetry.

The heyday of Greek religion was directly due to the fact that the old mythology provided images so imperfect to satisfy the heart’s longing to adore. Plato and Euripides show the bitter dissatisfaction with their forefathers’ imagination; the search, never fully satisfied, for something better (see, e.g., Plato, Euthyphro; Euripides, Bocious, Troades).

The same dissatisfaction and the same search are shown during the early days of the Roman Empire, only in a far more prosaic form, inasmuch as the age was far less imaginative. The eager acceptance of strange worship at Rome, and the attempt of Augustus to set up the worship of the Emperor above them all, are proofs of this, as pitiful as they are ludicrous.

Christianity, it might be thought, would have solved all these difficulties for those who accepted it. And it is noteworthy that perhaps the only expression of true adoration in the New Testament is to be set beside the Hebrew, is to be found in the vision of the Christian Paradise at the end of Dante’s poem. It may be added that the liturgies of the Church have always been abundantly successful in the place they have given to praise as distinguished from prayer. But not to speak of the profound and complicated controversies on the Trinitarian and Unitarian conceptions, it is clear that the liturgy and the Church worship offered to God, as distinct from the varying forms of expression that may indicate the respect, the deference, the homage due to the Saints exhibit the essential features of former struggles. The Iconoclasts and Reformers fear any devotion to what is not absolutely the highest, as tending to weaken the powers of real adoration. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, deny that the reverence paid to the Saints is the same as, or in any way conflicts with, the worship of the one God.

The 'adoration,' by Mathieu, in De Divin. et de la Thel. Cathol. (Paris, 1760): 'The Saints are not honoured like God, and are not adored, but they are more honoured, more revered, than the gods. In fact, however, as in denote to denote the cult of the Saints, as distinct from the veneration, adoration, the words sacrament of worship offered to God, as distinct from the varying forms of expression that may indicate the respect, the deference, the homage due to the Saints exhibit the essential features of former struggles. The Iconoclasts and Reformers fear any devotion to what is not absolutely the highest, as tending to weaken the powers of real adoration. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, deny that the reverence paid to the Saints is the same as, or in any way conflicts with, the worship of the one God.

A word should perhaps be said in conclusion about the attitude of those outside the Churches in the present day. For the vast majority of those there is no object of complete and absolute devotion, because of the divorce that is feared to exist between Power and Goodness. The cosmos, as known to Science, shows power, immense and overwhelming, but is the power good? The ideals of man—justice and mercy and love—true, good, but have they a force in themselves? Only those can adore in the full sense who, like Wordsworth, definitely make the leap and unite Nature with God.


F. MELIAN STAWELL

ADORATION (Biblical).—1. One of the simplest and loveliest forms of a religious adoration is that which is felt in presence of a fellow-man mightier and more majestic than oneself. Kings and conquerors, in the days when might was right, were always anxious to inspire their subjects with a profound dread of their person, and insisted on a cringing, self-debasing attitude in their presence. Ages of tyranny and submission made servile fear and abjectness almost universal in Oriental lands. Dread in the presence of conscious superiority produced hommage indicative of lowly self-abasement. We see this in the case of Ruth before Boaz (Ru 2nd); the Shunamite before Elisha (2 K 4th); Abigail (1 S 20); Mephibosheth (2 S 9), and Doub (2 S 14); and in the ‘reverence’ paid to Haman by all the king’s servants save Mordecai (Est 3).

2. These instances do not seem to furnish us with any contingent being, if it be not merely more dread of power; and in presence of the indications of power in nature men have ever been wont to pay homage akin to that rendered to rulers and lords. The sun is certainly the most worshiped object in nature, and has called forth adoration in every age. Though this was discouraged and forbidden by the monotheistic leaders of Israel (Dt 4:19 17), it could not be entirely suppressed. Even in the times of the Exile, in the
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Temple at Jerusalem, there were those who turned their faces to the east and worshipped the sun (Ezk 8:14); and in 'the Oath of Clearing' Job protests that when he beheld the sun and moon, his heart had not been secretly enticed, and he had not kissed his hand to them (31:35). The stars also, which move through the heavens in silent majesty, and evoke incessant wonder and awe, multitudes received devout adoration, and have been believed to rule the destinies of men. Even in Israel 'the host of heaven' received worship in the time of the kings (2 K 17:11). Similarly, when anything mystic or sublime was regarded with dread and reverence, especially when it was conceived of as the manifestation of a terrible Power behind all things. At the dedication of the Tabernacle, when fire came forth and consumed the burnt-offerings upon the altar, all the people fell on their faces (Lv 9:5). And in Elijah's time, when fire fell and consumed the prophet's burnt-offering and the wood and the stones, the people fell on their faces; it was regarded with dread and reverence, especially when it was conceived of as the manifestation of a terrible Power behind all things.

3. The appearance of angels is stated on several occasions to have caused great dread and the outward manifestations of adoration: as when Abraham (Gen 18), and also Lot (19), bowed themselves with their faces to the earth. So when Manoah and his wife saw the angel 'ascend in the flame of the altar,' they fell to the ground (Jg 15:20). The same is narrated of Balaam after his eyes were opened and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way (Num 22:22), and of the women at the tomb of our Lord when they saw the 'two men in dazzling apparel' (Lk 24:4). It was a sentiment more of abject terror, with less of reverence, that caused Saul to 'fall straightway his full length upon the earth' when he saw what he conceived to be the ghost of Samuel (1 Sam 28:5).

4. Idolatry evoked in Israel the same outward signs of servile adoration as in other nations. The image was believed to be indwelt by the genius or deity and was usually treated with deep reverence; as when the vast multitude on the plains of Dura prostrated themselves before the image which Nebuchadnezzar set up (Dn 3), and when Naaman spoke of bowing himself in the presence of the image of Baal (1 Sam 28:2 1). If not a deterioration from reverence, it must be a survival of a very early stage of idolatry, when we read of men 'kissing the image' (Hos 13:1, 1 K 18:40; cf. the stroking the face referred to in 1 S 13:15).

5. The latter conception of God becomes, the more profound is our sentiment of adoration. So long as men conceive of God as such an one as themselves, their adoration of Him is closely akin to that of a ruler or monarch; but as God recedes beyond our comprehension, the more sincere and profoundly reverent does our homage become. And when at length the term 'boundless,' or 'infinite,' employed either in a spiritual, temporal, or ethical sense, is applied to God, then adoration reaches its ideal. There is an excellent drastic influence in the conception of Infinitude. 'Mystery,' as Dr. Martineau says, 'is the great redeeming power of religion, the very existence of God; the fullness of God, and the heart of its pride' (Essays (1801), ii, 217). But the contemplation of the abstraction, the Infinite or the Absolute, can scarcely evoke adoration; for Infinitude is not a void, but is permeated with that sense of glory which is proper to an Eternal Mind, that we prostrate our souls in holy adoration. When the OT saints could rise to the attitude of conceiving of God as 'the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy' (Is 57:15), and with the writer of Solomon we read 'heaven and the heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have built' (1 K 8:27), we have as sublime instances of adoration as the OT furnishes.

6. Mystery is the mother of adoration. It is true that in a sense adoration is based on knowledge: 'we worship what we know'; but it is an essential of sincere adoration that we should not fully know. Even on the lower human plane, what we revere is higher than we. If there is any one before whom we are inclined to bow the knee, and yield the veneration of adoration, it is the man of overpowering intellect, transcendent wisdom, or superlative goodness. Similarly, the very mysteries of the Divine foster adoration and evoke worship. The writer of Ps 8 was in a genuine state of adoration when he considered the heavens the work of God's fingers, the moon and the stars which He had ordained, and then exclaimed, 'What is man!' Self-abasement in the presence of mystery is an essential element in adoration, and the transcendence of God's work suggested to the Psalmist the incomparable magnificence of the Workman. This finds sublime expression in that most beautiful of the Nature-Psalm, Ps 80. The subject is a thunder-storm which gathers over Lebanon, and passes southward until it dies away in the wilderness of Paran. The storm-cloud is Jehovah's chariot, and as the advancing cloud tips one after another the mountain-tops, the Psalmist, the Prophet, the Seer, see Jehovah, O ye sons of the mighty, give unto Jehovah glory and strength.'

Equally sublime is the adoration of the Divine omniscience in Ps 139. The consideration of the intimacy of God's knowledge of him, wherever he is and whatever he does, produces in the mind of the Psalmist the self-abasement which prompts him to hide himself from God's presence (v.5); the fascinating sense of mystery: 'Such knowledge is too wonderful for me' (v.5); and also of adoring love: 'How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God' (v.7). The most worship-filled of the Psalms is a group of seven, containing 93 and 95-100. They have a common theme: the recent enthronization of the Divine King on Zion; and one might say that the keynote of the entire group is to be found in the words: 'O Lord, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord our Maker' (95:2). This group contains the passage which most readily comes to us when we desire to express the mystery of God's dealings and yield ourselves against sorrow: 'Clouds and darkness are round about him: righteousness and judgment are the foundation of his throne' (97:2), and it gives to us when we are to ship the Lord in the beauty of holiness' (99). The attributes of God which evoke the adoration
ADORATION (Biblical)

of the author, or authors, of these Psalms are those: (1) The majesty of God (in 93; 95; 96; 99; 102); (2) His power revealed, and they 'behold him by the feet and worshipped him' (Mt 28:9).

9. Adoration of the Lord Jesus became more profound in the Christian community as their knowledge increased. It was with devout adoration that the dying Stephen beheld Jesus standing at the right hand of God, and said, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit' (Ac 7:56). There was incipient adoration in the words of St. Paul, who, with a prophetic intimation, beheld the holy one of God, when celebrating the infinitely superior holiness of God, filled him with such abasement that the only words he could utter were, 'Woe is me, for I am undone.' It was at his lips that the consciousness of his own impurity caught him. 'I am a man of unclean lips,' he cried; and it was there that the catacizing stone from off the altar was applied—after which he felt able to join in the worship of the holy ones, and to become a messenger of the Lord of Hosts.

8. In the NT there is no very marked advance in the adoration rendered to God, because the adoration which usually evoked our adoration were almost as fully revealed in the OT as in the NT. We note, however, that the disparity between God and man is more completely realized, so that the prostration of adoration is considered to be fittingly rendered to God only, and is refused by others on that ground. When Cornelius was so much overraved by the mysterious circumstances in which Peter was sent for and came to Caesarea, that he fell down at Peter's feet in lowest reverence, Peter refused such obedience as being excessive to a fellow-man. 'Peter raised him, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man.' (Ac 10:16); and in the Apocalypse of John, an angel rejects the same obeisance, on the ground that he is a fellow-servant with John and with all who obey God's words, significantly adding, 'Worship God.' (Rev 22:9).

And yet we find that the Lord Jesus never refused lowly homage, which implies the consciousness that adoration was fittingly paid to Him. The recorded instances of reverence paid to Christ are deeply interesting, especially the consideration of the motives which prompted it. There was probably a conflict of feelings in Peter's mind when he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, 'Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.' (Lk 5:8), but it is clear that he was impressed by Christ's superior holiness. When Mary 'fell down at his feet, and washed them with her hair,' (Lk 7:38), it was one of adoring love, which invests its beloved one with undefined power. The sense of need clinging vehemently to One who, they believe, has love and power enough to reach to the depth of their misery and need, was the sentiment most apparent in those who came to Jesus for His miraculous help, e.g. the leper (Mt 8:2), Jairus (9:23), the Syro-Phoenician woman (15:25), and the Gadarene demoniac (Mk 5), respecting all of whom we read that they 'came and worshipped him': while of the father of the demoniac boy we read that 'he came kneeling down to him.' (Mt 17:15). Adoration of superhuman power was the feeling uppermost in the minds of the disciples, when, after Christ had come to the ship, walking on the sea, they 'worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God.' (Mt 14:33). But love also was present to the thoughts of the blind beggar who had been excommunicated from the synagogue when he paid adoration to the Lord Jesus. In Jerusalem the thought that they had cast him out, and sought the poor outcast: and when Jesus revealed Himself to him as the Son of God, he said, 'Lord, I believe,' and worshipped Him (ib.). And there was a deep adoring love in the minds of the disciples when they were met by the risen Lord, and 'he held him by the feet and worshipped him!' (Mt 28:9).

10. It remains now that we should tabulate the various attitudes of adoration which are mentioned in the OT and NT. They are the same as are found in the Oriental countries. (1) Prostration (Heb. נַחֲפָשׁ, Gr. πνευματάς), in which the one who was paying homage lay down abjectly with his face on the ground, as if to permit his lord to place his feet on his neck (Jos 10:24, Ps 119). This attitude is mentioned in 1 S 25:5, 2 K 4:3, Est 8, Mk 5:6, Lk 8:2. (2) Standing, as slaves stand in presence of their master. The Pharisee 'stood and prayed' (Lk 18:10), and many of the Pharisees prayed standing up. It is not onlyPhilip who 'was not only a eunuch, but also a eunuch' (Mini. iv.1), or who 'stood up' and 'kneeling down' (Ezr 10:5). (3) Sitting, i.e. kneeling with the body resting on the heels or the sides of the feet. It was thus that 'David sat before the Lord' when he was filled with the inspiration of the messages of Nathan, announcing the eternal establishment of his kingdom (2 S 7:1 I Ch 17:13). (4) Kneeling (Heb. נַחֲפָשׁ [2 Ch 6:3, Ps 95], יַנְחַפָשׁ [1 K 8:4, Jos 7:5, Ezr 9:4], Gr. γνακαστίως),
ADORATION (Jewish and Christian).

1. Jewish. — (1) The outward posture of adoration did not differ from what had gone before (see above), only in post-Biblical literature its various forms were more strictly prescribed. This was a natural consequence of the predominance of the Pharisaic party, with its love of the details of ritualistic observance. It was ordered that on entering the Sanctuary the worshipper should make thirteen prostrations (memorh), a form of adoration which consisted in the spreading out of hands and feet while the face had to touch the ground. Another outward act of adoration was kneeling with the head bent forward so that the forehead touched the ground; a like posture, accompanied by kissing the ground, was an intensifying of the act. The most exaggerated form of adoration, however, was when, on the Day of Atonement, the high priest uttered the Holy Name of God (YHWH and Single- red, DB, Jewish Encyc., Smith, and Kitto; art. 'Anbetung' in Herzog, and Schenkel; also Marti, Int. Rel. § 10; Benzinger, Heb. Arch. Gnosis of God (1904), p. 33).

J. T. MARSHALL.

2. Christian. — (1) The attitudes of adoration among the early Christians were borrowed, as one would expect, from the Jews; an instance of how minutely the Jewish custom was followed is seen in Tertullian's description of Christian worship, given in de Corona Militis iii. He says that on Sunday and the whole week of the festival of Pentecost, prayer was not to be said kneeling. This is thoroughly in accordance with Jewish precedent, for 'the synagogal custom (minhag), as old as the first Christian century, omits the prostration on all festivals and semi-festivals.'

(2) Adoration among Christians, almost from the commencement, has not been confined to the adoration of the Deity. It is true that in the Roman Catholic Church degrees of adoration are officially recognized (see above, p. 116), but in actual practice this differentiation has not always been observed. Apart from worship offered to God, adoration is offered in the following instances:

(a) Adoration of the Eucharistic elements. — The doctrine of Transubstantiation was held centuries before it was officially declared to be a dogma of

with the body erect, or bent forward so that the head touched the ground. Solomon, at the dedication of the Temple, 'knelt on his knees, with his hands spread forth towards heaven.' The prediction of Messianic days is that 'every knee shall bow' to the Lord (Is 45:23); Ro 14:11; Ph 2:9. The Lord Jesus, when addressed by the Messiah, 'bent down' (Lk 22:28), and also 'fell on the ground' (Mk 14:35). St. Paul kneeled in the building used as a church at Miletus (Ac 20:36), and also on the beach at Tyre (2K 10:23), and 'bent down' on the chest (Heb. 7:2, Gr. αἰκένων) ; used by Eliezer when he found that God had directed his way (Gn 24:49, 51); of the elders of Israel when Moses told the story of the burning bush (Ex 4:17), and when they received injunction as to the celebration of the Passover (12:37); of Moses when Jehovah proclaimed His Name before him (3:4); of Balaam (Nu 22:20) and of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20:9). (2) Upraising the hands; used of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple (1 K 8:30-34; cf. also Is 1:10, Ls 3:1, Mt 1:2). Then, as we have said, there is one reference to 'kissing the hand' to the sun or moon as a sign of adoration (Job 31:26; Ps 134:2).}

* This refers to European Jews; those who live in the East follow, like the Mohammedans, the practice of prostration as in earlier ages.

** J.E. 211.

† A very small acquaintance with the Jewish religion will show that this is no exaggeration.

§ In the Synagogue this word is used in the technical sense of 'priest,' not in the Biblical sense of 'command' (cf. bar. Mishnah. See, further, Oesterley, Church and Synagogue, vol. (1900) p. 11f.

†† J. E. 213.

†‡ P. 263. The whole of the first five sections of the tractate Baraithoth, with prayer and its accompanying posture, mental preparation, etc.


This is, however, now done on New Year's Day as well.

or, less frequently, kissing.* A notable exception to this is, however, afforded by the起码 who professed in all things to reject Rabbinical traditions and to revert to Biblical usage only; they regarded eight external attitudes in adoration as indispensable, viz. 'bending the head, bending the upper part of the body with the touched down part of the body, kneeling, violent bowing of the head, complete prostration, raising the hands, standing, and raising the eyes to heaven.'† It will be noticed that the kissing of the ground or any objects is reserved among these, no doubt because in the OT this act of adoration was usually connected with non-Jewish worship (see preceded. art. § 4).

(2) God alone is adored by the Jews, though the veneration paid to the Torah ("Law") both as an abstract thing of perfection,‡ and also in its material form ('the scroll of the Law'), reaches sometimes an extravagant pitch. One can see not infrequently in the Synagogue, worshippers stretching out their hands to touch the roll of the Law when carried in solemn procession to and from the Ark. The hand that has touched the sacred roll is kissed; moreover, during the ceremony of the Hagbah (i.e. the lifting up of the scroll of the Law, the whole congregation stands up in its honour; this act is regarded as a special privilege or mishrah.§) There are certain intermediate beings between God and men to whom great veneration, bordering on adoration, is paid; indeed, in some passages these intermediate beings are identified with God, and in so far can truly be said to be worshipped; but the later Jewish teaching on these beings is so contradictory—sometimes they are spoken of as personalities, at other times as abstract forces, at other times as Divine attributes—that it would be precarious to regard them definitely as objects of adoration. They are: Melatren, the Menora ('Word') of Jehovah, the Shekinah, and the Ruach hkkodesh ('Holy Spirit'); †† to these must be added the Messiah, in so far as He is represented as the incarnation of the Divine Wisdom, which existed before the world was created.*

* Cf. Hamburger, E.B. 729 f.

** J.E. 211.
ADORATION (Jewish and Christian)

the Roman Catholic Church; from it followed of necessity the adoration of the 'Enchiridion Christ'; Roman Catholics, of course, maintain that inasmuch as the elements of bread and wine in the Mass are the actual body and blood of Christ, they worship Christ, and Him alone, in the Mass. The adoration of the elements takes place at their elevation, i.e. after the consecration; and the adoration is of the highest kind, viz. cultus latria. Consequently in number 9 is for the purpose of offering perpetual adoration to the consecrated elements; day and night, at least one person has to be present before these in prayer and silent adoration. In these communities each member has a particular hour assigned to him or her at which regular attendance is required for this purpose in the church or private chapel. The raison d'être of this perpetual adoration is that it should be in imitation of the holy angels and glorified saints who serve the Lamb 'day and night in his temple' (Rev 7-11-12).

(6) Adoration of the Cross.—As early as the time of Perpetua the Christian Church was accused of worshipping the Cross; and the evidence of Cassian (d. 435) points to a tendency which, as the witness of later writers shows, soon became a settled practice. He says: 'Quod quidam dispositionis, inquit, l atrium, habebat a Philetus, sacerdote, in Cædæn,' a name probably of Christian or even Jewish origin. The veneration of the Cross, at least by certain Christians as Crucicole, and, indeed, not without reason, if it be true that Alcuin, who lived at the same period, was in the habit of saying before the Cross: 'Tu namque adoramus Deum'; was also observed very long before that. Hence, it is true, that the incision: 'Sua Crux nos salva,' was, therefore, not without reason that latria to the Cross was forbidden by the second Council of Nicaea (787).† Two festivals in honour of the Cross were observed in very early days, and are kept up to the present day. The one is the 'Invention of the Cross,' observed on May 3 in memory of the alleged finding of the true cross by Queen Helena; the fact of the 'Invention' is testified to by Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Constantius. According to the story, Helena sent the nails, the lance, and part of the cross to Constantine; the rest was kept at Jerusalem in a silver case, which was carried in procession and worshipped by the faithful on certain days in the year. This custom had died out by the time of the patriarch Sophronius (d. 640); it was, however, continued in St. Sophin's at Constantinople till the 5th century. The other festival is that of the 'Exaltation of the Cross,' kept on Sept. 14, in memory of the Emperor Constantine's vision of the Cross. At the present day supposed pieces of the true Cross are possessed by the churches of St. Ambrose: 'It is the flesh of Christ, which we adore to-day in these mysteries,' quoted in Wettstein's Dict. Eccl. et de la Croix, 1st ed. 1782, lxx.

‡ The Jewish custom, according to which the priest prostrates himself after he has offered a sacrifice.

§ From the words of St. Ambrose: 'It is the flesh of Christ, which we adore to-day in these mysteries,' quoted in Wettstein's Dict. Eccl. et de la Croix, 1st ed. 1782, lxx, referred to in Adels-Arnold's Catholic Dictionary, s.v.

† Quoted by Bingham, Antiq. of Christian Church, ii. 502 (Oxford, 1856).

* Quoted from his Works, iv. xxv. 2, 3, 4 by Addis-Arnold, op. cit., s.v. 'Adoration of the Cross.'

† Addis-Arnold, op. cit, p. 426.

‡ Addis-Arnold, op. cit, s.v. 'Adoration of the Cross.'


* Quoted from his Works, iv. xxv. 2, 3, 4 by Addis-Arnold, op. cit., s.v. 'Adoration of the Cross.'

† Addis-Arnold, op. cit., s.v. 'Adoration of the Cross.'

‡ Addis-Arnold, op. cit, s.v. 'Adoration of the Cross.'


* Quoted from his Works, iv. xxv. 2, 3, 4 by Addis-Arnold, op. cit., s.v. 'Adoration of the Cross.'
ADULTERATION

In spite of the fact that officially a distinction is made between the material and the symbolic, and that the whole of modern life is

to be only an expression of the dogma of the adoration of Christ's human nature united with His Divinity, it seems that among very many devout, though uncultured, believers the adoration

of Christ's heart is characterized by gross materialism; for this heart is pierced by the spear upon the Cross; and, in urging the excel-

lence of this object, the writer of the Apocalypse (v. 14) wrote thus: "The real object of meditating concerning the most holy heart of Jesus, as the name itself implies, is the actual heart of Jesus, but the heart of St. John, and not necessarily of Jesus, to be

symbolized by this heart. . . . It is the real, bodily heart of Jesus, not an object of adoration (adoratio) by means of the ordinary bodily representation of the same.

(d) The adoration of the Heart of Mary Immacu-

late.—It was inevitable that this should follow the adoration of the Sacred Heart. This devotion was first propagated by John Eudes, who founded a congregation of priests called, after him, Eudists; it was accorded official recognition in 1799.

As with the Sacred Heart, so in this case it is explained that "the physical heart is taken as a natural symbol of charity and of the inner life;" the heart of St. Mary is the "spear point," as it were, of the Eudist devotion. According to the Council of Trent, "veneration is offered to the Saints in their images and relics. It is in-

sisted that Saints are not honoured like God, or idolized, though they are more honoured and more venerated than any living man on earth."

The Council of Nicea, furthermore, ordered that respect and honour were to be accorded to the images of Saints, only in so far as they brought to mind their prototypes; in the same way the Greek Orthodox Church orders that worship is not to be offered them: οἱ μὲν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἴματι ἀληθεύουσαν λεπταία, ἢ πέρετε μοι τὴν θέλη ἔχεις.

But here again, whether it be to the Virgin Mary, or to St. Joseph (a more modern cult), or to any lesser Saint, however

merely official documents may differentiate between what is due to God alone and what is due to Saints or Angels; it is no exaggeration to say that among the ignorant; the Virgin Mary and the Saints take the place of God Almighty in the popular worship; and the images and relics of Saints are be-

lieved to possess miraculous powers in not a few cases, and to it is unanimously agreed. In numbers of agricultural

districts of European countries, the system of Saint-worship does not admit of an exception that which obtained in pre-Roman times and days, and that was in many cases an adaptation of heathen cults. English documents of the Reformation period prove conclusively that among the things protested against were the rendering to the Virgin Mary and the Saints the honour that was due to God alone; the belief that these angels were able to give gifts which are in reality Divine; the belief that the ears of Saints were more readily opened to the requests of men; and, finally, the practice of regarding Saints as tutelary deities.

One other point must be briefly referred to: the word "adoration" is used in reference to a newly elected Pope. Immediately after election the Pope is placed upon the altar, and the cardinals, who then come and render him homage, are said to go to "the Adoration." Again, when a Pope is elected spontaneously and manumittively, without the "scrutiny" having been made beforehand, he is said to be elected "by adoration."

ADULTERATION.—Adulteration may be defined as the use of cheaper materials in the pro-

duction of an article so as to transform it into an inferior article which is not by the purchaser or consumer readily discovered. There is not necessarily in the production the intention to deceive; and the substitute is not necessarily deleterious. Indeed, in some cases the technically inferior article may be cheaper than the poorer qualities of the counterfeited article, as in the case of margarine and other substitutes for butter.

The essential point is that the consumer does not get what he is paying for and intends to buy. We must, however, carefully distinguish between what by improved processes of production is really cheaper and what merely seems so; for it is the craze for cheapness that is largely responsible for the extent to which adulteration is practised. Owing to imperfect education and an often con-

sequent misguided social ambition which lead people to ape the habits of those better off than themselves, without either the taste or the means to indulge in these habits, there is a very great demand for substitutes or imitations of articles of luxury, which gives the opportunity to the dishonest dealer, already disposed by self-interest and by pressure of competition and by the difficulty of detection, to adulterate.

The evil is not entirely modern. Even in the Middle Ages, under the guild system, regulations were required to secure that for a fair price an honest article was given. Night work, for instance, was forbidden, and a workman was required to show evidence of skill before he was permitted to practise his trade. Publicity was in the main the remedy against dishonest dealing; and owing to the simplicity of wants and to the shrewdness of the processes of manufacture, and to the close relationship of producer and consumer, the remedy was tolerably effective. In modern times these conditions are absent, and the practice is so prevalent, that, in reliance of the doctrine carret emptor, legislation has been required to protect the consumer. The ignorance of the consumer, the impossibility of educating a taste that is continually being debased by the consumption of adulterated articles, and the frequent alarm to life and health, have necessitated this departure from the doctrine of laissez faire, particularly with regard to articles of food. The consumer is still at the mercy of the vendor of shoddy clothes, etc., but in food and drugs he is protected, although it must be admitted that the penalties inflicted are often inadequate and the laws ineffective, owing to the absence of a standard quality (cf. the recent adulteration of brandy). Mr. Deva's (Political Economy, p. 70) quotes a public analyst's report to the effect that of samples of milk 43 per cent., of mustard 16, of coffee 14, of spirits 11, of butter 11, and of disinfectants 76, were adulterated.

Legislation against adulteration takes various forms, of which the activity of the public analyst, through official inspectors who take samples, is perhaps the best known and most effective. It is very unfortunate that the use of preservatives for milk and meat especially is not subject to precise regulation, for the repeated addition by successive dealers of preservatives to milk, for instance, converts what might be a wholesome and economic practice into a deleterious adulteration. Fiscal legislation is often used for the purpose of excluding, or at least restricting, the use of poorer qualities and adulter-

ated goods. Thus Canada imposed a high tax on molasses as the quality deteriorates, for the averted purpose of excluding 'black jack,' as it is called, which a paternal finance Minister declared 'no man should put into his mouth and think he is taking molasses.' In other words, it seems that all goods and packages should be marked with the country of origin, the Government inter-

* Quoted in PRK 7, vii. 92.
* The Reference is to Roman and Greek Catholicism.
* For a popular presentation of the facts, see the earlier volumes of FREYTAG'S Die Ahnen, a work which may be regarded

as the classical.
* See the article on the subject in the Church Times, Aug. 31, 1906.
* Migne's Trésorium Enseis, thol. ("Dict. des Savants et des Ignorants") Aix, St, Paris, 1859.
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ADULTERY (Primitive and Savage Peoples).

1. Woman in primitive society.—A survey of the notions entertained by savage peoples regarding adultery tends to show that, in the earliest times, it could not have been regarded in any other light than as the interference of another with the woman over whom a man had, or conceived himself to have, certain rights. It was not considered as an act of impurity, for the idea of purity was not yet formed. Nor was it a breach of contract, for it is improbable that anything corresponding to marriage rites was yet in use. Nor was it a breach of social law, for men were not yet organized in social groups. Woman before the beginning of a community, any interference with her would immediately outrage man's instinctive sense of property, and would at once arouse his jealousy. He would, therefore, try to recover his property from the thief, and this could be done only by assaulting or killing him, in other words, by punishing him for his theft. Recognizing, too, that the woman, differing from other possessions of his, was a sentient being, and therefore to be considered as a party to the theft, he would also vent his anger upon her, even putting her to death in cases of extreme rage. Among animals precisely similar ideas with respect to the females may be found. Where an animal collects a number of females round him, as in the case of certain apes, he acts as a despot over them; young males born to him are, after a time, expelled, and the approach of a possible rival is at once resisted (Darwin, Descent of Man, 501). Thus it must be admitted that, at the earliest stage of human history, adultery could have been nothing but a breach of proprietary rights, to be followed, when discovered, by a more or less savage act of private revenge upon both the culprits. Among most existing savages hardly any other idea of it exists, as we shall presently see. Woman before and after marriage is the property, first of her father or guardian, next of her husband. Among peoples who allow licence before marriage, none is permitted after it, when the husband assumes proprietary rights over the woman. And where such licence is not allowed, any unchastity is punished by inflicting a fine or death on the man who has depreciated the value of the woman in her guardian's or prospective husband's eyes. This idea of a husband's proprietary rights in the woman would be increased where she was the captive of his bow and spear, or where he had to undergo a period of servitude for her, or, much more usually, had to acquire her by purchase. Here it must be remarked that adultery is not confined to cases where a ceremony of marriage exists; wherever a man and a woman enter into a union more or less lasting, and the man treats her as his property, it may occur. But it need not be inferred that it is a common occurrence among all savage races. It is abhorrent to some peoples, e.g., the Andamanese, with whom conjugal fidelity is the rule (Man, JAF xii. 155), the people of Uen in the Loyalty Islands (Erskine, Western Pacific, 341), the Abipones (Dobrizhoffer, Account of the Abipones, i. 153), and others.

Certrain facts are often alleged against the idea that woman is not a free agent in primitive or savage society. Thus, a woman's consent is often required before marriage; yet even here the consent of her guardian is also necessary, and this right of choice on her part need not argue anything as to her future freedom of action, while it is counterbalanced by the overwhelming weight of evidence regarding the woman's position as a being owned first by her guardian, then by her husband. Again, in cases where, after marriage, the woman has considerable influence over the conduct of her husband, it merely affects the fact that her legal status is not that of the man, nor does it imply any individual rights with him. The woman may frequently arise from the fact that women have their own sphere of action, that they have been the earliest civilized, that they possess their own tribal lore, and that their influence is dangerous (magically) at certain crises of their lives. All this limits the political in many ways; but so far as concerns interference with her sexuality, her power is unlimited. Here, any attempt at independence on her part arouses at once that jealous instinct and the preceding fact of man's taking interest in the woman, which her innate superiority or her occasional influence does not abate. Even where the matriarchate exists, and where the woman goes to live with the property people, she seldom takes away his power of life and death over her, especially where adultery is considered (Haddon, Heads-Hunters, 106) that though in the Torres Straits Islands a woman asks the man to marry her, and he goes to live with her parents, she can ill afford to show a breach of union, as it seldom takes away his power of life and death over her, especially where adultery is considered (Haddon, Heads-Hunters, 106). In effect all such exceptional cases are overruled by the fact that universally the woman's power of licence ceases at marriage, that universally unchastity on her part is regarded by the husband as a breach of his proprietary rights, and that, consequently the husband has the power to kill his wife for any such breach, that well-nigh universally he can lend his wife to another man, and that generally adultery on the husband's part cannot be punished in any way by the wife.

2. Adultery under different conditions of marriage.—It is now generally admitted that promiscuity is not the earliest form of human sexual relations. But even had it been so, the idea of adultery based upon jealousy and the sense of property would still have been conceivable. Men and women, whether married or not, had to make a choice of defence or of facilitating the supply of food, the men would resent the approach of members of other similar groups, while any interference with the women of the group would be jealously guarded against by all the males of the group, to whom ex hypothesi all the females of the group belonged in common. Promiscuity, however, as a theory of marriage, is baseless, and has frequently been confounded with what is known as group marriage, an entirely different thing. In actual practice among certain Australian tribes, the men of one definite group are potential husbands of the women of another definite group; the husband of any one woman has only a preferential right in her, and the men of his group may have access to her on certain occasions. But here the husband's consent must first be given; and though it is practically never withheld, and a man is looked upon as monstrous who does without it, this implies no right to the existence of individual marriage underlying this mixed polyandrous and polygynous system, rather than to its being a systematized form of promiscuity. The consent of the woman being necessary implies a certain proprietary right in the woman on his part; he sanctions her union with other men only on certain ceremonial occasions. If the woman dared to consort with a man...
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not of the group, this would be resented by her actual and potential husbands; it would be incest rather than adultery (see § 5; Spencer-Gillen, 62, 63, 110, 60, 73, 140; Howitt, JAI xx. 50). Again, where polyandry exists, adultery is still possible, since the husbands of the woman are usually well defined, and their rights over her are arranged according to strict rule. Where, as in the Tibetan type of polyandry, a woman is the wife of several husbands, it is obvious that they will resent the approach of any other man to their wife, while contrariwise the woman is extremely jealous of her own conjugal rights (Hist. Univ. des Voyages, xxxi. 434). The story told by Strabo (xvi. 4. 23) of the custom of fraternal polyandry among the ancient Arabs, shows that adultery with another man was punishable, and similar cases might be cited (see § 4. Tibet). Among the Nairs, with whom polyandry assumes another form, the woman is not allowed to have any later sexual relations with the man who first consummated the marriage, while any relations with a man not of her caste is ipso facto adultery, and was formerly punished by death (Reclus, Primitive Folk, 162, 164).

A modified form of polyandry exists where the custom of providing a "secondary husband" (the cicelishe) exists. In this case, the second husband must contribute to the household, and takes the place of the husband with the wife only. In the case of the Musulmans (McLennan, Studies in Ancient History, 2nd ser. 376; Reclus, 63), where frequently the secondary husband is a younger brother. With the Mongols, the system is akin to that where the oldest of a group of brothers is the husband, but the younger brothers have rights over the wife also (T.E.S. 32. 590). It occurs among some Polynesian peoples (ZVF, 1906, 394) and others, as it did in ancient Sparta (Xenophon, Rep. Lat., I. 9). Sometimes, when adultery takes place, a man is forced to come a secondary husband, to do the work of the house and obey the husband, while he may now associate freely with the wife among the New Hebrides.

3. Adultery under polygamy and monogamy.—But it is especially among peoples with whom polygamy or monogamy is the rule that we see the working of jealousy and the idea of property in the woman existing most emphatically. Jealousy of their wives exists among the lowest savages, and with them and among higher savage and barbaric tribes the utmost precautions are taken to prevent the approach of another man. Dire punishments are frequently meted out to the wife even on the slightest suspicion, or, as among the Negroes of Calabar, the wives are at intervals put through a try-out to test their faithfulness (R. Kingley, Travels in W. Africa, 497). The universality of the feeling of jealousy among the lower races, the rigour of its action, and its extreme vigour, go far to show, as Westermarck (Human Marriage, 117 ff.) points out, that there never was a time when man was devoid of it, and that it is a strong argument against the existence of a primitive promiscuity. When adultery has actually taken place and has been discovered, the husband, with few exceptions, can himself punish the offending woman and her paramour, without necessarily invoking the local tribunal. Indeed, that tribunal or the tribal custom expects him to do so, or fully approves his act, though in some instances he may be retaliated upon by the relatives of the woman or the man, where he has killed either or both. Punishment varies, but very frequently death is the penalty, and in the cases of detailed instances we place the woman is disfigured or mutilated by shaving off her hair, cutting off her nose, ears, etc., or she is chastised more or less severely, or she is remanded or divorced, or treated as a prostitute. In such cases jealousy not only resents against his offending property, even though his act of revenge deprives him of his wife, or of her attractive qualities. Towards the offending wife he has incurred the rights of property his attitude varies: he may kill him, emasculate, mutilate, wound, or flog him, or make him slave, or force him to pay a fine, or to have his wife outraged in turn. Especially noticeable is the idea of theft in adultery, where, as in Africa, the man's hands are not put off, as if he were heisted. The law of Nature der Naturwölker, ii. 472; in the fact that in the Torres Straits there is no word for adultery apart from theft (paro), and all irregular connexion was called stealing a woman (Cundall, Exped. to Torres Straits, 275); and that among the Arunta a man who commits adultery with a woman of the class from which he might choose a wife is called atna mykura, 'vulva-thief,' because he has stolen property (Spencer-Gillen, 99). The same idea also emerges where, as among some Negro tribes, it is held to be adultery for a man to lay his hand on or brush accidentally against a chief's wife (Miss Kingsley, Travels, 495). The conception of the wife as property is also seen not only in the Roman custom of slaying her at her husband's death, but, where she is allowed to survive him, in the belief entertained by savage and barbaric peoples that any second marriage is with another wife, and that any unhappiness during a certain period after the husband's death is equivalent to adultery, or should be punished as such (Amer. Indians, 186). For a certain time at least, sometimes for the rest of her life, the woman is still her husband's property, as also her children, and as ghosts have power over the living, it may be presumed that the dead husband might still retaliate in case of any transgression.

4. Punishments for adultery.—The following examples will show the nature of the punishments for adultery meted out among different races by the outraged husband, or permitted to him by common consent or actual law:—

Among the Wolof-Balokas of Victoria both the woman and her lover are killed; among the Yerkmising of S. Australia the woman was branded with a firestick for the first offence, speared in the leg for the second, and killed for the third; among some tribes the punishment consisted in handing her over to all concern (Howitt, Miss to Aschanti, 115, 207). A childless wife who misconducted herself could be repudiated in W. Victoria (Dawson, Aust. Aborigines, 30). In Tasmania the most cruel measures were taken against the woman (Bonwick, Daily Life of the Tasmanians, 72). In the Bismarck Islands adultery is capital, and so simply the woman is turned over to the husband, for whom, however, the friends of the injured party may retaliate (JAI xii. 130). In New Guinea adultery is capital punish in the Melanesian New Hebrides, her husband is fined for her adultery (Cundall, Exped. to Torres Straits, 215; Westermarck, Marriage, 537, 525). With the Melanesian tribes the woman was brutally treated, and the paramour was killed by the husband or executed, though he was sometimes fined for what was regarded as a robbery, or had his wife violated by all the men of the village (De Hoehas, Novus, Colud, 202; R.S.F., ser. ii. vol. viii. 361). Death was the usual punishment in New Zealand (Voyage of the Astrolabe, 269; and in the Polynesian islands the woman was variously punished. With the Hottenstots the woman was killed or flogged (Alexander, Exped. into Interior of Africa, I. 88; ZVF, 1902, 344); and killing the guilty wife, and frequently her paramour also, is usual among both Bantu and Negro tribes. In Kider Land, 131, Waboomka (Deeke, Three Years in Savage Africa, 457), a Benjamin (Wilson and Felton, Uganda, I. 203). Lesser punishments were here also administered—chastisement, disfigurement, or repudiation of the woman, marrying her to a slave, and fining the guilty man (Post, Afr. Jurs., L. 401, 50; Bowditch, Miss. to Aschanti, 170; Du Chaint, Afrique Equat. Aug. 1857), 373; Johnsonf, Uganda, 215, 323; R.S.F., ser. ii. vol. 129, 139). Death, mutilation and disfigurement, abandonment, delivery of the woman to the men of the tribe, were common among the N. Ambi tribes, or when a woman was killed she was mutilated, or fined (Bancroft, Native Races, I. 560, 424; Ann. Rep. B. E., 1864, 204). Slaughter and torture and death were meted out to both parties in Yucatan (Bancroft, ii. 674); in Mexico the woman had her nose and ears cut off, and was stoned to death (Gardiner, 275; Prescott, Peru, 21); in Guatemala the woman was repudiated and her paramour fined (Bancroft, Native Races, I. 673), and he could be divorced for nothing but adultery (Waltz, 756). Among the Fugians the husband could kill his wife, but was liable to be killed in turn by her family (Hydes and Donker, 123).
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adultery (Robinson, i. 45). Woman and paramour might be killed in many tribes. Among the Caribs (Dalton, Eth. of Beaulieu, 45; M'Pherson, Memoir, of Service in book one), the husband is frequently killed and the man forced to pay the husband a number of cattle; elsewhere in Tibet the woman is punished and the man pays a fine to the clan of the husband (Hist. Univ. des Voyages, xxii. 427, xxiii. 341). In Japan, woman and paramour are killed by the law supporting his act (Letourneau, i. 317). In China the law permits this punishment if it is meted out on the spot, otherwise the husband would take the woman and carry her home. If the adultery is proved, he can repudiate or otherwise punish his wife (Abelaster, Chinese Criminal Law, 137, 251; Pauthier, China Modern, 239).

Frequently, too, the gravity of the offence is proportionate to the sexual reputation of the husband who is aggrieved; in other words, the value of the woman belonging to him is greater. In New Caledonia, death was meted out to a man who merely looked at the wife of a chief. Among the Banyore (Bantu), with whom the male delinquency was usually fixed, in the case of adultery with a chief's wife, at whose house she was put to death (Johnston, op. cit. 500); while in Uganda, where whipping was the usual punishment, the king's wife and her paramour were chopped to pieces (ib. 609); in Ashanti, iniques with the king's slave is punished by euaculation (Ellis, Toeh-speaking People, 357). So in Peru, where there was a simple ordinary punishment, adultery with the Inca's wife resulted in the burning of the guilty man, the death of his parents, and the destruction of his property (Letourneau, Est. of Marriage, 215). Similarly, adultery with the wife of a prince among the Tartars involved the death of the male relative of the wife as well as him. Generally speaking, this distinction holds good among most savage peoples, while a further distinction may be made between the husband and the principal wife and a subordinate wife—the value of the former being, of course, greater.

The punishment of adultery among savage and barbarous peoples is thus largely in the hands of the aggrieved husband, and evidently originated out of the desire for personal revenge. But what was at first a mere arbitrary personal vengeance has now generally become an act which is supported by tribal custom. The husband slays the aggressor, but he knows that in so doing he will be backed by public opinion, and may even call in others to assist him. He is allowed or expected to administer punishment. Frequently, too, adultery is taken cognizance of as an offence by the laws of a tribe or people, whether administered by the old men, a council, a chief, or by the State. In such cases the husband might appeal to any of these to decide what the punishment should be or to administer it. Thus in Australia, among the Kamilaroi, the husband's complaint is carried before the headman, who gives sentence; and among the tribes of N. S. Wales a similar process is found (Howitt, op. cit. 207; Fraser, Aбор., of N. S. Wales, 38). Other instances of adultery being punishable judicially rather than by private revenge who also punish it in the latter way, are found among the Kanakas of New Caledonia, where the aggressor is led before the chief and his council, and executed by their sentence (De Roche, Novo. Calid. 260); among the Caribs, Samoans, Malagasy, and the Chinese, and in parts of Negro Africa (Steinmetz, Rechtsverhält-nisse, 727 ff.; Turner, Samoa, 178; Chalmers, Pioniering in N. G. 175; Letourneau, 211). In such cases the husband might also appeal to the husband to execute the punishment, as in parts of ancient Mexico and in Central America (Bancroft, ii. 465; Bart, Les Astéques, 168). And even where the offence is strictly a legal one, should the husband himself, the hand of the aggressor or his paramour, and, e.g., slay both offenders at once, he would still be considered to be acting within his own rights, or would be subject only to a slight penalty, as in Chile, against Peron (where it was held that Manco Capac had decreed death to adulterers). GarciIasso, Royal Comm. i. 81. Or if the husband does not act according to the judicial sentence, he himself may suffer. Thus among the Tartars, if he repudiates his wife, he is whipped (Pauthier, op. cit. 239). But we also find that, where the offence is a legal one, there is a tendency to pay the husband's revenge in money; and this has probably originated the frequent system of compensation by fine; it also accounts for cases, as among the Kaliris or the Bakwiri, where the husband has been eloped by the paramour, but does so punished as a murderer (M'Lean, op. cit. 117; Post, Afric. Jurisp. i. 401); and, as among the Wakamias and other peoples, where the husband allowed to play the parties only when taken "flourishes delicto."

The birth of twins is with many savage peoples regarded as unlucky, and one or both are put to death. The reason for this belief is not clear. In some cases it is thought, probably as a result of the further belief that a man can be the father of no more than one child, that a god has inter-course with the woman. Such a belief is found among the Negroes (some of whom, however, regard the birth as lucky for this reason), South American tribes, and Melanesians (Ellis, Forbush-speaking People, 47; Cordrington, Melanesians, 235). In such cases we have the idea that the wife has committed adultery with a divinity or spirit, as in the Greek myths of Alcmene and Leda. But it is sometimes held as a proof of adultery with another man (see levels of Wawain (294, 430), Tenents (Westermarck, Moral Ideas, i. 483). See Ail. Harris, Cult of Heavenly Twins.

5. Adultery Inhibited degrees.—Among all races, marriage or sexual union is absolutely forbidden between certain persons, whether blood-relations or members of the same group, e.g., tomen, tribe, or tribe, as the case may be. Any offence against this law, according to the savage mind, one of the worst forms of adultery; indeed, it should rather be called incest. It is not a trespass upon another's property, but a breach of a man's rights, or even his very being, while it is believed to bring ill-luck or disaster upon the family, clan, or tribe. As any breach of such a law is thus believed to affect the whole group, it is therefore punished by the group or by the chief; punishment is general; it whether the person is delegated. There is no question of private revenge. Any such offence is regarded as so horrible, so disgraceful, and even so obnoxious to the gods that it is an offence of the first rank, and, as no one has any thoughts of committing it. But where it is committed, the punishment is usually death to both offenders, as in Australia, New Britain, New Hebrides, and among the Amer. Indians (Spencer-Gillen, 15; do. 140; Westermarck, Marriage, 201; JAI viii. 292; Macdonald, Oceanica, 181; Frayer, Totemism, 59). In Yucatan the man was looked upon as an outcast (Bancroft, ii. 665); and a fine is levied among the Dyaks, Chukmans, and others (St. John, Observations of the Far East, i. 185; Levin, Travels, Wild Races of S. E. India, 180).

6. Adultery of the husband.—That, at the lower stages of civilization, adultery is regarded as an offence against the proprietary rights of the husband, is borne witness to by the fact that it is an offence only from the husband's point of view. With the rarest exceptions has the husband any redress when the husband himself offends, and it is only at high levels of civilization that she has any general right to complain. Of course, where the husband commits adultery, he is always in danger of death or fine at the hands of his wife, or of the paramour or his paramour, but this does not affect his wife's position in the matter. Where the wife has the power of complaining to a tribunal or of causing the husband to be punished (and probably wherever the wife has an influence at all, she will be highly free to her husband), the cases are probably to be classed with those where she can obtain redress for other offences, e.g., ill-usage. But the cases are so exceptional as to make it seem that she may at times have power from the man and, though they may foreshadow the dawn of the idea of the equal rights of wife and husband, and of the ethical belief that adultery is wrong.
ADULTERY

Among the people of W. Victoria the wife can get an adulterous husband punished by complained to the elders of the tribe, who send him away for a short period (Howard, Matrin. Inst. i. 229; Nieboer, Starkey, 18). In Africa, the husband in Great Bassam always has a line to the wife for unfaithfulness (Post. Afric. Juris. ii. 72), and among the Mariana he is severely punished (Waitz, ii. 106).

With the Khonds of Orissa, where polyandry exists, and the woman can set a higher price upon herself, the husband cannot strike her for inidelity, whereas he is punished or is held to have dis- honoured himself (Westermarck in Social, Papers (1904), 152). The Omaha wife could revenge herself on the husband and his paramour; and among the Sioux and Dakotas she could leave her husband for unfaithfulness (Dorsey, BE, 1885, 364; Howard, i. 259). Divorce for unfaithfulness on the husband's part might be obtained by the wife occasionally, as among some of the peoples of the Indian archipelago, the Shans, and others (Westermarck, Marriage, 257). But with these few exceptions savage mankind has scarcely recognized the idea that the husband is a wronged wife, as a wronged husband is a wronged man. Thus among the Tensas of North America, where the chief was looked on as a demi-god, his sister's son succeeded him. She, being thus also divine, treated her husband as a slave, killed him if he left her, and had a child by another (M'Leannan, 420). Similarly in Loango a prince might be licentious, but would have her husband's head chopped off if he even looked at another woman (Pinker, xvi. 390). This did not apply to any other classes, and is on a level with the severity of the punishment meted out to a man committing adultery with the wife of a chief. It should be noted, however, that with a few peoples, the wife may have a ground for divorcing her husband if he takes a second wife or a concubine (Hobson, Moods in Evolution, i. 138); while, even where polygamy is practised, the feeling of jealousy on the husband's part, though it may not affect her husband directly, determines, in the course of introducing another wife to his household, is frequently directed against the new-comer to her hurt, and in some cases the wife will commit suicide (Westermarck, Marriage, 497 ff.).

7. Permissible adultery.—Adultery among the lower races is considered wrong, viz. an offence against the rights of the husband, when it is committed apart from his will. There are occasions on which he commands or sanctions it, or when it is, so to say, legalized by social or religious custom. The custom of lending wives either to friends or strangers emphasizes once more the view that the wife is the husband's property. Here she acts at his will, as in the case otherwise he infringes his rights. Here for the time the feeling of jealousy is in abeyance, even where it exists more generally. When the husband decides that the wife may commit adultery, then adultery has the precise meaning to the savage which it has to the civilization.

The wife is considered universal among savages (Westermarck, Marriage, 74, 130), but various reasons exist for it, nor is it always to be explained as the outcome of household or social sentiment (Spencer, Principles of Sociology, 329). Here a wife lent to a friend, it may be done out of sheer kindness or as an act of gratitude, but it is done usually at the husband's wish and to his advantage. In other words, there will be arranged among the Columbia Indians, who barter wives as a sign of friendship (Hist. Univ. des Voy. xiii, 375), the Eskimos, Polynesians, and others (M'Leannan, Studies, 2nd Ser., 376; Letourneau, 212). The practice of lending wives is sometimes reduced to a system, as in those peoples where group marriage prevails, and generally there are limits to the system of lending among the Eskimos, where polyandry prevails. When the wife is lent to a friend, the man lending his wife to the friend may be out of sheer kindness or as an act of gratitude, but it is done usually at the husband's wish and to his advantage.

(3) Sometimes it is done by way of sealing a covenant of friendship between two men, who then exchange their wives, as in Tirole (Deutsche Gesell. Blatt, x. 290); or after a quarrel between tribesmen, as in N. W. Slaves (J.A.F. xiv. 353). In all such cases the friends would exchange their first wives, and the act would have a more or less sacred significance.

(4) Where the custom of lending a wife to a stranger is concerned, it is usually assumed that hospitality alone is the occasion (Westermarck, Marriage, 74); and though this may frequently be true, it is generally believed that the woman was lent to the stranger if the husband would for this reason alone relinquish his rights over her wife. The reason is perhaps to be sought in the common need of the stranger, who is, of course, receiving hospitality, and the transactions are performed as a natural part of the ceremonies and the hospitality of a more or less formal character.

(7) Occasionally the idea that the woman was lent by the husband to a stranger may have prevailed, e.g. among the Slaves, where he was a white man. This was believed by the Tasmanians to have been due to the fact that his wife was a savage man.

(9) Another cause which is also very frequent is that the woman is reduced to the condition of slavery, whenever she is paid for her work, though this woman is more generally the case.

(10) Adultery is further sanctioned by social and religious custom, especially at festivals or at other times, when a man is a guest. In this case the spending of wine takes place. This parent propinquity has usually a distinct end in view, very frequently that of a magical character, and an exchange of wine is made, the rights of the woman to whom one has a "preferential right" is strictly limited to the men of his own group (ib, 73, 140). Some cases of polyandry, as where in those cases a wife to a younger brother, as well as the system of secondary husbands, might rather be classed as instances of this kind.

(11) The practice of lending or giving a wife to a stranger, as in the case of Polyandry, has sometimes been reduced to a system, as in those peoples who have the monogamous system, and in those peoples who have a system of group marriage. Thus, the Ubangi and Tiberi, among the latter, the right of the man to whom one has a "preferential right" is strictly limited to the men of his own group (ib, 73, 140).

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ADULTERY (Buddhist)

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man—adultery even in marriage. This danger, implying a material contagion, would naturally be increased where a man had no right of action in cases of which it is dangerous to be uncertain.

ADULTERY (Egyptian).—That adultery with a married woman was looked upon as a sin in Egypt is shown by the Negative Confession (part of ch. 120 of the Book of the Dead, a chapter that has not yet been found earlier than the 18th Dyn.). Here, in the 19th clause, we read; 'I have not defiled the wife of a husband' (e. l. 'the wife of another man'). That it was also against the law is implied by a text of the reign of Rameses V. (e. 1150 B.C.) containing a long list of crimes charged against a shipmaster at Elephantine, amongst them being that of adultery with two women, each of whom is described as 'mother of M. and wife of N.' (Pleyte, "Pap. de Turin, pl. li i;" Spiegelberg, ZA, 1891, 82). The didactic papyri warn against adultery as well as fornication. Ptahotep says, 'If thou desirest to prolong friendship in a house which thou enterest in marriage, never enter thou without the permission of the master. Whether ever thou enterest, avoid approaching the women; no place prospereth where that is done. . . . A thousand men have been destroyed to enjoy a short moment of unlawful contact with death, in knowing it' (Priest Pup. ix. 7-12; Gunn, "Instruc-

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ADULTERY (Buddhist).—The last of the five Prectes binding an in the Buddhist law to act wrongly in respect of fleshly lusts (Anagutta, 3, 212). In a very ancient paraphrase of these Prectes in verse (Śutta Nipāta, 303–305), this one is expressed as follows: 'Let the wise man avoid unchastity as if it were a pit of live coals. Should he be unable to be celibate, let him not offend with regard to the wife of another.' This is evidence not so much of Buddhist ethics as of the general standard of ethics in the 6th cent. B.C., in Kosala and Magadha. In the Buddhist Canon Law we find a regulation to be followed by members of the Order, when on their rounds for alms, in order to prevent the possibility of suspicion or slander in such questions. (Pali Texts, l. 41). An adulterer taken in the act might be wounded or slain on the spot. This explains the implication of the words used in Samyutta, 2, 188. But adultery was also an offence against the State, and an offender could be arrested by the police, and brought up for trial and judgment (Commentary on Dhammapada, 300). In such texts of the law administered in Buddhist countries as have so far been made accessible to us, the view taken of adultery is based on these ancient customs. So, for instance, of the Siithulane, Panabokke says (Niti Nighanduwa, p. xxix) that adultery, unless committed in the king's palace, was seldom punished by the Kandian judges; (1) because the husband was loth, by complaint, to publish his disgrace; and (2) because he was allowed to take vengeance himself if the offender were caught under such circumstances that adultery was presumable. (See also Richardson, The Dhammathat, Burmese text and English translation, Rangoon, 1906). Nothing is said in the Buddhist law-books of any punishment to be inflicted on the adulterer, and it would seem that treatment on the adulteress. Buddhist influence in this matter, except in so far as it mitigated severity against the woman, was therefore confined to the maintenance of pre-Buddhist usages and customs.

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ADULTERY (Greek).—In Athens, adultery (μοιχεία) on the part of the wife implied criminal intercourse with any man other than her husband. On the part of the husband it was, strictly speaking, criminal intercourse with the sister, wife, or mother of a fellow-citizen, or with his concubine. The laws were a native Athenian (Dem. Aristoc. p. 637, § 53). This strict interpretation was in the classical period widened so as to include offences committed against maidens and widows. On neither side is there the offence regarded as a violation of a binding obligation, as but an offence against the family. Hence the special severity with which the wife was treated as compared with the husband. Any act of miscegeny on his part might introduce alien blood into the family and pollute the worship of its ancestors. Marital infidelity involved no such dangers to a man's own family, and wascondoned by law, except in so far as it infringed the rights of other families. There are traces, however, which show that the best opinion condemned it (Isocrates, Nicocles, § 42; Aristot. Pol. 1336a. 1; Plaut. Merc. 817f., where the reference is to Greek and not Roman life).

1. Punishment of the man.—If the husband caught the offender (φαντατον δελιτον &θος ους νεγος εν αναξια, Lucian, Eun. 10), he might kill him at once (Dem. Aristoc. § 53). That this law was no mere antiquated survival can be seen from the description of the code Eros. (§ 23 f., where an account will be found of the killing of the adulterer Eros, by the injured husband Euphiletus, who, it should be noticed, was careful to secure the witnesses to his act. The husband, however, might content himself with punishment short of death, e.g. ταραςιος και βασιλικειος (Suid. s.v. μακρομακριος αναξιας; Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1083, Plut. 168, Eccl. 729) or he might agree to a sum of money in compensation for the wrong done to him. He was allowed to keep the offender prisoner until satisfactory guarantees were given that the sum promised would be paid (Dem.) in Nemos. § 65; Lys. de code Eros. § 25; intere μη αντικα της αμερομενης). If the alleged offender denied the offence, he could bring an action for unjust detention (dαινειν εφερην η παρατηρητεστα) before the Thesmothetaes. Should he fail to prove his case, the Court directed his sureties to hand him over to the offended husband, who might inflict whatever chastisement he chose within the precincts of the Court, provided that sword or dagger was not used (dē se xwros, in Nemos. § 66). If the offender escaped, or had not been taken in the act, the husband or, in the case of maidens and widows, the guardian (εφερης) could bring an action for action (μοιχεια) before the Thesmothetaes. It is doubtful if any unconnected with the family could bring such an action. It is not known exactly what penalty was inflicted, but in all probability it was disfranchisement (αναιηα), either total or partial.

2. Punishment of the woman.—If misconduct was proved, the husband was required to repudiate his wife, under the penalty of himself suffering μαχαια. She was excluded from public temples, and, if she refused compliance, could be expelled with impunity by any citizen. Such assailant might tear off her clothes and ornaments, but might not maim or kill her (in Nemos. § 87; Εξοχιν. in Timarch. § 153). Heleodorus (q.v. l. 11) is mistaken in stating that an adulteress was punished by death. Little is known of the practice of other Greek communities in dealing with adultery. That it was everywhere regarded as a grave crime is clear from Xen. Hiero. iii. 3, where it is stated that many cities allowed the adulterer to be killed with impunity. Zaleucus, the Locrian legislator, disapproved the punishment of Winding (Plut. Vin. Hist. xi. 24. 5); at Cyme and in Pisidia the adulteress was paraded on an ass (Plut. Quast. Gr. 2; Stob. Anth. xiv. 41); and at various other cities, e.g.
ADULTERY (Hindu) — The view which Hindus take of adultery is founded upon the code of Manu, and a marriage. The whole of Hindu literature is pervaded by the pessimistic idea of the inconstancy of the female character, by complaints of woman’s unbridled indecency and passion, and by demands for the maintenance of a strict oversight upon her. The practice of polygamy, which has existed from ancient times in India by the side of monogamy, and the consequently slight esteem in which the Hindu woman has been held up to the present day, must necessarily have led to the occurrence of adultery, and to a lenient judgment being passed upon the fault. On the other hand, it should be noted that we do find, even if not so frequently an especially high value set upon the wife who proves true to her husband (paurava, and that the law threatens adultery with severe punishment.

As early as the oldest historical period, the Indian people, from the testimony of the Rigveda, are by no means found, as is sometimes represented, in a condition of patriarchal simplicity and of ascetic moral habit. The word ‘adultery’ is unknown to the Veda. But numerous indications point to the fact that the highly developed culture did not fail to produce its ordinary consequences in corruption of character and moral laxity. Women who betray their husbands (padari potri), and who are even punished by way of comparison in Rigv. iv. 5. 5: ‘Evil-doers. . . who walk in evil ways, like women who betray their husbands, shall be consumed by Agni.’ In verse 4 of the didactic poem Rigv. x. 34, it is said that ‘others lay hands on the wife of the man who abandons himself to the dice.’ If from these passages we may infer on the one hand a censure upon the transgression of the marriage vow, on the other hand matrimonial infidelity is spoken of as something in itself intelligible and of daily occurrence. To this effect are the numerous stories which relate the intrigues of the gods with married women, e.g. of Indra with the wife of Vrāṣṇava (Rigv. i. 61. 13, composed by Vatsya, according to Sāyaṇa, &c.; SańvītiBr. i. 16; Māitreyapāninihītā, &c.; 5. 5.), with Apālā Arēy; (Rigv. viii. 91, and Śatā. Br. in. l.), and with Ahāyā; the wife of Gauṭama (Śatā. Br. i. 11. 19-20); of the Āśvin with Sukunyā; the wife of Chyavana (Śatā. Br. iv. 1. 5). etc. The conduct of the gods is not here made a matter of reproach; and as little in other passages is adultery regarded from the ethical standpoint. It is because the Brahman is in possession of the secret whereby he can by his curse inflict harm, that therefore men must refrain from illicit intercourse with the wife of a Brahman (Saññiksetram, &c.; Rigv. 9. 4. 12; Pārāk. Gṛh. Sātā. i. 11. 6). Adultery is mentioned in a similar connexion in the Atharvaveda, viz., in the magical spells and incantations by which, for example, wives soothe the jealousy of their husbands, or keep their rivals at a distance, or by which the husband seeks to win back his unfaithful wife (Atharv. vi. 18; iii. 18; vii. 57). The following passages throw a light that is altogether favorable on the ethical conditions of the Vedic period:—

In the varṇaprayāhana the wife of the sacrificer is required by the priest to name her paramour.* Who cares whether the

* Kena chārayati, ‘with whom do you go?’ Satā. ii. 3. 20; cf. Kṛṣṇa. v. 6. 9-10.

wife is unchaste (parākṣaḥ purokshitaḥ) or no?** In τας. v. 8. 3 a special penance is appointed for the man who for the first time has performed adultery (aparākṣaḥ saṅgaham); he is to have intercourse with a rāmī (the wife of a Śūdrā). And he who has performed it for the second time must abstain henceforth from intercourse with any woman, a fine of whatever degree being imposed. The law is sufficiently clear as to the penalties which attach to the detailed pedagogy which were essential for ascetic-worship and other ritual purposes. That men were conscious of the actual or possible designed by the Hindus of the Brahmaṇa, the apamāṇa, the rāmī, and the chariots. In the śatā. Br. vii. 5. 8: ‘Inconstant are the ways of women. Of whomsoever (ājñā) I shall ask myself the son before both gods and men as witnesses, his son I shall be; and those whom I shall name as (my) sons, they will be my sons.’ The attempt, however, was made in ancient times, and has been rendered necessary by the detailed ignorance by strict oversight of the woman; for the begetting of a son of the body (yājya) is regarded even in the Rigveda as necessary for the preservation of the race.† A proof of this is afforded by an ancient gṛhṭūṇa quoted in Apastambhi, U. 13. 7, and in Baudhāyana, U. 3. 35, which is taken from the dialogue between Amoṣapān, a teacher of the white Yajurveda, and the mythical king Janaka: ‘Now am I jealous for my wife, O Janaka, though (I was) not before; for in Yama’s house the son is awarded to him who begat him. The begletter leads the son after his death into the dwelling-place of Yama. Therefore they protect their wives carefully, who dread the seed of strangers. Were I to be absolutely this property of my wife, let no strange seed fall on your field. When he passes into the other world, the son belongs to him who begat him; it is in vain that he beheld (the nominal father), who betrays this persecution of his race.’

A contrast between an earlier period of society and a later, makes it possible that the latter could hardly be derived from the passages quoted. Even when in later times a strict marriage law was developed, and in the Śaṅkṛṣī legal regulations were formulated with regard to adultery (avarṇa-प्रयय, polygamy and prostitution were frequent, and the mention of the term ‘born secretly,’ who may be heir to his mother’s husband, though he is her illegitimate son by some other man, does not testify to a strong regard for the moral of the other party. A change of view was effected in course of time only so far as under the increasing influence of priestly theories adultery was seen to involve a danger to the caste system established by the Brāhmaṇas, and an attempt was made to obviate the threat of severe punishments. It is essentially from the standpoint of caste distinctions that adultery is condemned in the Śaṅkrṣī. Whatever woman betrays her husband, proud of her beauty and her descent, the king shall cause to be born in pieces by dogs in an open place. The paramour shall be roasted on an iron bed; brickdust shall be thrown on (the fire); there shall be the evil-doer condemned. If these words in the Sanskrit text would indicate the condemnation of adultery in general, they would be in contradiction to the comparatively lenient punishments prescribed later on.** The crime which demands an expiation so terrible is certainly the intercourse of a Brāhmaṇa woman with a man belonging to one of the three lower castes. This is proved by the similar regulations of other law-givers,† and the parallel passages of the Mahābhārata and the Arjuna-puraṇa:

* Whatever woman abandons the nobler husband (i.e. a Brāhmaṇa, according to the commentator Nālakāṇṭha) and seeks another man is condemned (varṇaprayāhana); she is inferior to regard caste,’ Nālakāṇṭha, the king shall cause to be born in pieces by dogs in an open place; † ‘Whoever being born lower (in caste) has sexual intercourse with a woman higher (in caste) deserves death. But the woman, who betrays her husband, shall be exposed (in pieces) by dogs.’ ** *Yājñavallaka in Satā. i. 3. 1, 31.*

† Na dvitiyaḥ chārayati nyayaḥ parampara yugam.||

‡ Rigv. i. 13. 23, vii. 47.

* Saññiṣṭha, māmaḥpamāna.

† Saññiṣṭha, properly ‘seeks herself up above;’ according to the commentators, &c. (pramāpaṇamūntam Nārāyaṇaḥ, purusārvāra samāyata, desiṣṭasamāyata, she deserts him to go over to another man.’

* Manu, vi. 3711; &c.*

‡ Manu, vii. 3711.

* Ṭapārāyana, i. 10; 27, 8; 9. Gauṭama, xxii. 16, 15; Yājñavallaka, xii. 260.

* Sāyānyāśaṁ kṣūnāya nāmaḥ pāsāturvam īrpamati, śraddhāṁ tam ardeṇāṁ rāja saṁsthānaḥ bahuḥbhāvāḥ, Mahābhā. xxii. 165.*

* Ṭapārāyana, xii. 260.*

* Uṣṭahapāni ṣaśasnamandāḥ sthānoḥ kāthoḥ artham abhitāḥ khar teehe karthāhyatāḥ puṇya pījavabhūti, śraddhāṁ tāṁ ardeṇāṁ rāja saṁsthānaḥ bahuḥbhāvāḥ, Mahābhā. xxii. 165.*
ADULTERY (Hindu)

By the side of these savage penalties the punishments assigned in the law of the Agni, in expiation of the Agni-P, in expiation of the Aditya-P, and in expiation of the Surya-P, seem altogether ludicrous: 'The woman misused by a man belonging to an equal caste shall be allowed to eat only sufficient food to satisfy her; the woman misused by a man belonging to a lower caste, a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya for the first offence of intercourse with a Sudra woman, shall be fined.'

The punishments in Manu are similarly graded according to the caste to which the offenders belong. For adultery with the wife of a man of one of the three higher castes he is to be punished with confiscation of property and the cutting off of his organ of generation; if she were guarded,—a condition to which great importance is attached,—the penalty may even be death. In this latter case a similar punishment overtakes the woman she is found to be guilty of intercourse, not to sin again, and forgive them. As in other cases, which has been betrayed by his wife by all the sixty-four messengers whom he has known, the king seeks through the fields, gives orders for the guilty parties to be beheaded. The future Buddha, however, obtains their pardon by pointing out to the king that the men were led astray by the queen, and that she has only followed her nature, since women are insatiable in the indulgence of their passions. Elsewhere a minister who has transgressed in the royal harem, and is caught, is punished by being banished from the realm.

The wife guilty of adultery may justly be repudiated, and expulsion from caste also usually follows. Since, however, divorce is opposed to the principle of Hindu law, which regards it as a sin for husband and wife to be separated on the ground of mutual aversion, and according to the testimony of al-Biruni did not occur, we must assume that, as a rule, the adultery is not allowed to come to light, and that the rule of Vījan was observed, according to which the tribunals were to interfere only when the husband had no one to turn to for assistance but his wife.

In the view of certain Smṛta also, absolute repudiation of the wife was not always the consequence of adultery. Pāraskara ordains that repudiation is to be resorted to only where the adulterous connexion has not been without result, or where the woman has separated herself permanently from her family. Hārita even declares himself expressly against the repudiation of the adulteress.

According to the traditional accounts of the indigenous customary law of Ceylon, open punishment for adultery was usual only when the wives of the king were involved. In other cases the husband was at liberty if he had caught the seducer in the act, to beat, wound, or even kill him. If the husband laid a complaint on the ground of adultery, the accused, in the absence of proof, was to be dismissed without any punishment; but if convicted, to be condemned to life imprisonment, with imprisonment and fine.

The legal principles, also, which are in force in Burma, and which are traceable to Hindu law but little modified by Buddhism, do not generally recognize the severe penalties threatened in the Brāhmaṇ law-books. Members of the lower castes guilty of adultery with a Brāhmaṇ woman are to be punished with 100 blows of a stick, but with 1000 blows in case of intercourse with a Kṣatriya. More severe punishments, however, such as burning alive, may be inflicted. In other cases fines suffice for expiation, the amount varying with the caste of the parties concerned. Should the offender, however, be unable to pay, he is reduced to slavery. The seducer must further apologize, and give his promise not to repeat the offence. Should he break his promise, he is excluded, if a Kṣatriya, from intercourse with his relatives; if a Brāhmaṇ, he is excommunicated from his caste, and reduced to the condition of a Chandalā.

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- "Adhikarayata, 198.
- "Bhāṣa, 198.
- "Adhikarayata, 119.
- "Sātikā, 252, and similarly Sāyāsī, 252.
- "Mukhaḍhaṭhik śāstrī, etc.; Dhammakānātta, Sutta Nipata, Gof.
- "Vītā-Vyāhasūtra, Intro. p. xxiv f.
- "Muna Rayy, vi. 30.
- "Ib. vi. 8.

- "Pāṇini, xxv. 12.
- "Gautama, xxii. 35; Vasiṣṭha, xxii. 35; Yājñavalkya, 70; Vol. Nārada, xxii. 62-68.
- "e.g. Kṛṣṇārāja, 61. "Pañcii, iii. 16.
- "Samudra, viii. 374-375.
- "Nārada, xii. 90. "Indiś, ii. 154.
- "Hārsha, iii. 20.
- "Gautama, xxii. 35; Vasiṣṭha, xxii. 35; Yājñavalkya, 70; Vol. Nārada, xii. 62-68.
- "e.g. Kṛṣṇārāja, 61. "Pañcii, iii. 16.

**Cuttapadamāta, 192.**

**Notes:**

- "Cuttapadamāta, 192.
- "Akkācharāvijā, 119.
- "Ghāṣṭhā, 252, and similarly Sāyāsī, 252.
- "Mukhaḍhaṭhik śāstrī, etc.; Dhammakānātta, Sutta Nipata, Gof.
- "Vītā-Vyāhasūtra, Intro. p. xxiv f.
- "Muna Rayy, vi. 30.
- "Ib. vi. 8.
ADULTERY (Jewish)

same law-book, a which exhibits in general a remarkable contrast to Hindu law, the Brahman who is guilty of adultery with a woman of his own caste shall have his head shaved and be excommunicated from his caste.

The husband may separate himself from his adulterous wife, and may retain all her possessions. He will not leave the unfaithful husband, who belongs also to the wife, but she has no claim to the whole property.

In modern India adultery is regarded in the same light as in ancient times, since the regulations of the Brahmanic law-books only are still exact, and the social position of woman under consideration is little different from what it was then. The case of Latkami, the goddess of wealth and golden fortune, but how little confidence the Hindus place in the faithfulness of their wives is shown by the close watch which is now, as formerly, they are subject to. The best punishment is regarded at the present time also as the best security for the observance of the marriage vow. No punishment is thought too brutal for unfaithfulness, and of this there are well authenticated instances of the most

self seen instances, especially in the North-West Provinces, where a husband has cut off the nose of his wife, not even upon actual proof, but upon mere suspicion. Hands are sometimes cut off, and other mutilations are inflicted upon them.

The woman, robbed of her fair looks, is ruthlessly cast out.1) Even if this picture is overdrawn, yet other travellers confirm the fact that stoning to death is sometimes exercised by the husband. In Nepal the aggrieved husband has the right openly to cut down the sederer when found guilty; and here, as well as among certain Chittagong Hill Tribes, a wife whom infidelity has betrayed into guilt is deprived of nose and ears.

Divorce on the ground of adultery is allowed, according to the Madras Census Report for 1891. The Census Report, also, of the North-West Provinces and Oudh for 1901 mentions that the lower castes as well as the higher castes permit the divorce of the wife for unchastity. If, nevertheless, instances of divorce are rare, the cause is to be found less in a lofty morality than in the endeavour of the Hindu husband to rid their family life as much as possible from publicity.


ADULTERY (Jewish).—The substitution of monogamy for polygamy made no change in the Jewish law on adultery. From the time of the Babylonian Exile, monogamy became the prevalent rule in Jewish life. But the law continued to regard adultery only as an intercourse of a married woman with any man other than her husband. Thus a married man was regarded as guilty of adultery unless he had intercourse with a woman other than his wife. In theory he might have several wives, and an unmarried woman with whom he had intercourse

might become his wife. In fact, according to the Rabbinic law, such intercourse might be construed into a legal marriage. But concubinage was severely condemned. (Leviticus Rabbein 13:11,13) The difference between the legal position of the male and the female adulterer (using the term in its now current sense) was considerably affected by the manner in which the case was tried for or inflicted capital punishment. This occurred, according to the Jewish sources (Joreb, Sanh. 18a, 24b; Bab. Sanh. 41a), forty years before the destruction of the Temple (i.e. in the year A.D. 90); but whatever be the date of this exact case, there is no doubt that the death penalty was neither pronounced nor inflicted for adultery in the time of Christ. Hence it is generally conceded that the case of the woman taken in adultery (Jn 8:11) does not imply that the woman would actually have been stoned. In the first place, the law of Moses does not prescribe stoning except where a brooked virgin had intercourse with a man other than her alienated husband (Dt 22:23,24). In several cases (Lv 20:9, Dt 22:22) the method of execution is not defined, and in all such cases, according to Jewish tradition, the criminal was executed not by stoning, but by stoning him in the presence of the woman. Secondly, it will be observed that the woman had not yet been tried by the court. Finally, as indicated above, the death penalty had long ceased to be inflicted for adultery. The point of the incident in the Gospel of St. John was just the attempt to put Jesus into a dilemma, as the commentators point out. It may well be that the irregularities indicated above were an intentional aggravation of the record.

The punishment for adultery was modified into the divorce of the woman, who lost all her rights under the marriage settlement; the man was scourged. The husband of the adulteress was not permitted to cohabite with her; he was compelled to divorce her (Mishna, Soha vi. 1; Maimonides, Hitch. Ishuth, xxiv. 6). The adulteress was not allowed to marry her paramour (Soha v. 1). In case of the man's adultery, he was compelled to grant a divorce on his wife's application; the woman, of course, could not initiate divorce proceedings, but in the view of some of the mediavel authorities the Court would compel the husband to divorce her in case of his habitual lechitciousness (Euen 107:1, 90:1). The 'hath defiled the waters' (Nu 5:1-30) was abolished by Jochanan ben Zakkai during the Roman invasion (Mishna, Soha ix. 9), though Queen Helena of Adiabene—a proselyte to Judaism in the 1st cent. A.D.—is thought to restore it (Mishna, Yoma iii. 10; Tosefta, Yoma ii. 3). Of the ordeal itself, R. Akiba (2nd cent. A.D.) remarks: 'Only when the (suspicious) husband is himself free from guilt will the waters be an effective test of his wife's guilt or innocence; but if he has himself been guilty of illicit intercourse, the waters will have no effect' (Sifre, Nasso, 21; Soha, 47b). Mr. Amram (Jewish Encyc. vol. i. p. 217) comments on this passage as follows: 'In the light of this rabbinical dictum, the saying of Jesus in the case of the woman taken in adultery acquires a new meaning. To those asking for her punishment, he replied: 'He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her' (Jn 8:7). The abolition of the ordeal is attributed in the Mishna to the great prevalence of adultery; and it may be that in the disturbed conditions due to the Roman regime laxity of morals intruded itself. But it was but a temporary lapse. The records of Jewish life give evidence of remarkable purity in marital relations (cf. Abrahams, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, 1896, 90 f.). The sanctity of marriage is upheld as the essential condition for social happiness and virtue. The moral abhorrence felt against the crime of adultery is shown in many

1. Menu Ryas, vi. 51.
ADULTERY (Muslim).—In the year 4 of the Hijra, the Prophet went on an military expedition by his wife, 'A'isha. One day, at the removal from the camp towards night, she remained behind and reached Muhammad's caravan only on the following morning, in the company of a man. This circumstance caused great scandal. Even the Prophet at first suspected his wife of adultery. Afterwards, however, it was revealed to him that she had been falsely accused, and he was again reconciled to her. The verses of the Qur'an that have reference to this occurrence, Sura xxiv. 1-5, contain, amongst other statements, the following words: 'As for the whore and the whoremonger, scourge each of them with a hundred stripes, and do not let pity for them take hold of you in Allah's religion. . . . But as for those who cast (imputations) on chaste women and do not bring four witnesses, scourge them with eighty stripes, and do not receive any testimony of theirs for ever.' (cf. Th. Noldeke, Gesch. der Qorans, p. 539. A. Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Muham- mad, iii. 63 ff.; D. S. Margoliouth, Mohammed und the Rise of Islam, p. 341; The Koran, Sale's Eng. tr., ed. 1829, ii. 190.)

In Islam, therefore, according to these verses of the Qur'an, incontinence should be punished with one hundred stripes. Originally, however, Muhammad had commanded that those who had been found guilty of this misdemeanour should be put to death by stoning—a punishment which he had probably derived from Judaism. In the Muslim tradition, various instances are mentioned in which this punishment is said to have been inflicted at Mu- hadum's command (cf. A. X. Matthews, Mishkât- ul-Mas'ûdî, ii. 182-186, Calcutta, 1810; I. Goldscher, 'Mohammedisches Recht in Theorie und W.,' ed. 1889, § 193. Rechtswissenschaft, viii. 566 ff.). It may thus be understood that the Prophet had designatedly mitigated the punishment attached to adultery out of affection for 'A'isha.

After Muhammad's death, a difference of opinion arose amongst the faithful with respect to this point. Many thought that the punishment of stoning to death was abrogated by the verses of Qur'an xxiv. 1-5. But the second Khilîfah, 'Umar, set his face strongly against this view, and stoning to death was ordered by him. In Islamic law-books, the Qur'an xxiv. 2 is in fact regarded as having been abrogated by ii. 239, which makes the punishment of stoning only applicable to cases in which the woman and the man are both guilty, and thus abrogates the guilt of the man, whereas in the Qur'an xxiv. 2 the punishment is inflicted on both. This is the opinion of the majority of Muhammadan teachers, but there are a few who maintain that the punishment of stoning is still applicable in cases where the woman is clearly guilty, and the man, though guilty, is not completely convinced of the fact that the woman is guilty. In such cases the husband is allowed to order the punishment to be inflicted. (On this point see Elie Kessous, 'Beziehungen zur theologischen Diskussion des muslimischen Strafrechts,' ZDB 1901, p. 297. 290.)

ADULTERY (Christian).—1. Teaching of Jesus and the Apostles. — It is sometimes said that the Law of Moses deals only with outward actions, while the Sermon on the Mount is concerned with the inner disposition, and with the motives that prompt to action. The Decalogue, it is said, like other ancient codes of laws, forbids...
ADULTERY (Christian)

the sinful act by which the marriage bond is violated, but takes no account of the character or disposition. Jesus, on the other hand, shows us that the inward disposition which renders the sinful act impossible is the one thing of importance in the sight of God. A moment's consideration will convince us that, whatever element of truth there may be in this statement, it cannot be taken as a complete and satisfactory account of our Lord's comment on the Seventh Commandment (Mt. 5:27-28) inasmuch as it is simply untrue to say that the Decalogue takes no account of inward disposition or motives. The command, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife,' goes behind the outward act, and condemns the sinful desire which leads to adultery. It is true, nevertheless, that in this passage in the Sermon on the Mount our Lord goes beyond the teaching of the Decalogue, and gives a new and deeper meaning to the command, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'; that He does not merely recall to men's minds the teaching of the Tenth Commandment, which had been overlooked or forgotten in the Jewish schools, but that He lays down a great principle of the righteousness required in the Kingdom of heaven, from which obedience to the letter of the command will follow as a matter of course. The Tenth Commandment forbids a particular lust or desire, mainly because it tends to conduct which will injure one's neighbour; it is a safeguard against injury, and the thought of the injury done to one's neighbour is the prominent thought. In the passage in the Sermon on the Mount, on the other hand, our thoughts are centred on the moral injury to the man himself. 'If thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members perish, and not that thy whole body be cast into hell.' The indulgence in sinful thoughts and desires is not a minor offence tending to the injury of others, but is already the soul-destroying sin of adultery committed in the man's own heart.

It is now easy to understand why it is that, while throughout the NT sins of the flesh are unsparingly denounced, we have no detailed classification of such sins; and very little account is taken of these various distinctions—as between adultery, fornication, *stuprum*, etc. etc.—which are so often treated of at unifying length in writings on these subjects. The word used most frequently for such sins is *póresia*, 'fornication.' *St. Paul uses* *póresia* and derivatives about eighteen times; *μοιχεία* does not occur, while *μοιχία* (and derivatives) occurs only five times in his Epistles, and two of these instances are quotations from the Decalogue, viz. Ro 2:19, 1 Thess. 4:17.

**ad* *d* 3d* 4, in which St. Paul deals directly on the Sin of Adultery, may be placed side by side with these passages from Mt., as

affording an interesting illustration of the same principle. The Apostle does not ignore our duty towards our neighbour. Adultery is sinful because it is a kind of theft (ὑποθνατίσεως καὶ παρεκκλησίας *póresia*—the use of the article was no common feature in the life of the Greco-Roman world. St. Paul, no doubt, would have been quite ready to acknowledge that adultery, as inflicting a more grievous or irreparable wrong, was a graver crime than simple fornication, just as he recognized fully the gravity of the case of incest in Corinth (1 Co 5); but, in general, the object of the gospel was not primarily to develop a system of casuistry, but to call men to newness of life, and to produce a character which should make sin in all shapes and forms impossible. For the Christian, therefore, the Seventh Commandment is, before everything else, a law directing the members of the Church to conduct of no unlawful sensual indulgence, whether in thought or deed. Marriage is, first of all, a spiritual union between those who are 'heirs together of the grace of life' (1 P 7); and all other ordinances of the Church are directed towards the promotion of that social life which is absolutely necessary to man's well-being.

2. Ecclesiastical discipline. The case of the immediate disciples of our Lord gives us our first example of the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline by a Christian community; and the Epistles to the Corinthians make it plain that, while the Christian Church from the very beginning was accustomed to maintain discipline over the lives and conduct of its members, the idea that the offence of adultery necessarily involved final and irre- vocable exclusion from the Church was unknown to the earliest schools of the Apostles.

Tertullian's statement, therefore, that from the beginning gross sins of the flesh were visited with final exclusion from the Church, must be regarded as an exaggeration, so far as general principles concerned. Indeed, all the evidence goes to show that we have here rather the ideal picture of the glories of the Church discipline, as conceived by the enthusiastic Montanists, than a sober statement of fact.

Towards the close of the 2nd cent., there seems to be no doubt that the discipline in the Churches of the East was of this kind. In the case of an open sin, as that of *μοιχία* was, most familiar, was exceedingly strict; but the evidence available appears to show that there was no uniform or clearly defined system of discipline established throughout the whole of Christendom. Tertullian (c. Her. t. 11, 19) tells us of certain women in the Church of Lyons who had been found guilty of adultery, and subjected to penance. As he speaks of only one of these as not being finally restored to communion, it may be inferred that the others had been received back; hence we may conclude that the system of discipline in the Gallic Church was somewhat less strict than that which prevailed in Italy or Africa. During the whole of the sub-apostolic age, and down, at all events, to the close of the 2nd cent., the high standard of morality which we find in the Apostolic age was well maintained throughout the Christian communities. If any Christian fell away to vicious or immoral courses, he would in all probability forsake the Church and escape her discipline. Hence cases of grave offences calling for ecclesiastical censure would be of rare occurrence, and the conditions required for the establishment of a well-defined system of penitential discipline would not arise.

With the expansion of the Church and also, perhaps, as a consequence of the fading away of the early enthusiasm, it became necessary, the Church would have to maintain her position, she was on her work in the world, to relax somewhat the extreme severity of discipline, to make provision for the restoration of penitent sinners, and, at the same time, to make the Church's rules on such matters clear and distinct. 

*ad loc. Mar. iv. 9. Tertullian here enumerates 'seven deadly sins which exclude from communion;' viz. *adulterium, stigmata, incestum, heresiam, concubinationem, adulterium, stuprum, falsus testimonium, fraus.*
ADULTERY (Christian)

ADULTERY (Patrician)

The ancient Romans attached much importance to marriage, and hence they looked upon adultery with horror. In the Gāthā Uṣhtavaiti (Yaska, liii. 7) there is a carefully worded warning against what Mills calls...
ADULTERY (Roman).—I. Under the Republic.

The word adulterium is a noun-derivative of adulterare, which is probably ad alterum (as convertere). The offence on the part of the wife is sexual intercourse with any man other than her lawful husband. The word has a narrow meaning, and is confined to misconduct with married women, misconduct with other than married women being designated by the general term oflatus. The word sturprum is used to denote the breach of the marriage vow, and is applied to the act of the husband. The mensa of the husband is at issue when the offence is committed by the wife. The husband is at liberty to prosecute the wife, but he must be careful not to commit perjury.

2. Under the Empire: The Lex Julia.—By the end of the Republic, owing, among other causes, to the absence of effective legislation, immorality became so rife at Rome that the Government became alarmed at the prospect of a shrinkage in the population of Italy. In consequence of this, Augustus in 736/18 carried through the measure known (though the title is doubtful) as the Lex Julia de adulteriis coecernis (the Ostracism Law, 18 B.C.—24 A.D.; Suet. Aug. § 34). This, as its opening clause shows ("ne quis posthac sturprum adulteriavus facto sciens dolo malo"), was directed against immorality in general as well as against adultery. But now for the first time Roman law recognized adultery as an act done in contravention of the law of the State, and allowed others than the father or husband of the adulteress to prosecute. For this purpose a new court (quaestio perpetua) was established (Dio, liv. 30). The fragments of the law that survive will be found in Bruns, Fontes Juris Antiqui, p. 114. Adultery on the part of wife was considered a religious crime, and was punishable by the religious rites, like those of the Dvādshah Hōmāstā.
ADULTERY (Semitic) any matrona honesta, as well as against a married woman (materfamilias). It should be noticed that the concubitus, or inferior marriage, though of great antiquity, was now for the first time recognized as a permanent legal relation by the Decree of Justin (Paul. Sent. ii. 26. 14). Conviction entailed infamia (Dig. iii. 2, 2, 3), and the condemned became incapable of giving evidence (testimoniales, Dig. xxii. 3, 14, 18). The adulteress could not marry again (Dig. xxii. 2, 26), but she was not debarred from entering the condition of concubitus (Mart. vi. 22). The dissolution of the marriage was a necessary preliminary to any action taken against the wife or her paramour, and if her husband did not divorce her he exposed himself liable to the charge of procuratio (tenocinum). For sixty days after the dissolution of the marriage the right to prosecute was reserved to the husband or father of the woman (Ov. Fast. v. 235). If the woman was within this period of time, any one unconnected with the family (extraetus) could prosecute (Tac. Ann. ii. 85). Both offenders could not be prosecuted at once, and the trial of the one had to be completed before that of the other was begun. If the man was acquitted, the woman could not be charged. A period of limitation was prescribed within which an action must be brought,—six months for a husband and three for the paramour, if he had so incontinent, which was held to mean 'almost by one and the same blow.' The husband's right to kill his wife when taken in the act was withdrawn. Here we seem to see an attempt to abolish the right of life or death in the case of the man. The ancient right of self-help was never entirely abolished, but the exercise of it was severely restricted. A father who surprised his daughter in 

The Lex Julia formed the basis of all subsequent legislation against adultery. It was not seriously modified till Constantine, under the influence of Christian ideas, introduced the penalty of death for the adulterer, and, by a curious reaction, once more confined the right of prosecution to the near relatives of the adulteress. The death penalty was maintained during the reigns of succeeding emperors. It was confirmed by Justinian (Inst. iv. 18), who imposed in addition the penalty of lifelong imprisonment in a nunnery, unless the offended husband cared to reclaim her within two years.


F. W. Hall.

ADULTERY (Semitic).—The treatment of infidelity among the Semites can be traced through a great variety of evidence, extending from the codified legislation of Hammurabi, king of Baby-

lonia (c. 2550), to the unwritten, though no less authentic, tribal laws of the present day. So far as women were concerned—and, as elsewhere, the infidelity of the man was only tardily recognized as blameworthy—it must be understood that the offence implies a particular type of marriage, since it is obvious that where the woman has liberty of choice, does not belong to her kin, and may receive her suitors when or as long as she will, adultery is out of the question. Such a union is entirely one of a personal character, and gives the man no legitimate offspring. But the prevailing type in the Semitic world is that wherein the woman follows the husband, who has paid a 'bride-price' (Arab. mahir, Heb. mohar) to her kin, whereby he has compensated them for the loss of her services, and has acquired the right of possessing sons who shall belong to his tribe. By this act the man has practically acquired the exclusive property-rights, and deprives the woman of the right of disposing of her own person. Further, it must be recognized that this does not imply that paternity always means what it does to us. The evidence goes to show that the man is at first only the father of all the children of the woman he has taken; and he can transfer or dispose of her temporarily in a way that is quite repugnant to all ideas of chastity. At this stage, therefore, a distinction could be, and was, drawn between authorized and unauthorized laxity, and in the circumstances the term 'adultery' could be applied only to those acts of infidelity which were done without the husband's consent or knowledge. It required a great advance before any breaking of the union between husband and wife could be regarded as a desertion. See Marriage.

In tracing the growing strictness of ideas of chastity in the Semitic world, it is to be observed that there was a gradual development of institutions of law and justice. Primarily the offenses against a man are matters for him and for his kin or tribe to settle; adultery may thus be privately avenged, and it is not until society has taken many steps forward in government that the matter is taken out of private hands and referred to a judicial inquiry. There is a great social gap, therefore, between the parental authority of Judah in Gn 38, and the recognition that immorality is an offense which must be punished by judicial process.

It is undeniable that there was much in early Semitic life that cannot be judged in the light of modern ideas, and that primitive usages which were hardly thought to be dishonourable (Gn 19, cfr. Je 19) for which parallels could be found—bespeak a lack of refinement which leads to the inference that adultery, if recognized at all, could only have been the unauthorized infidelity referred to above. But a general advance in custom can be traced, and is peculiarly illustrated by three stories of the patriarchs: there is a distinct growth in morals in the account of Isaac's adventure at Gerar (Gn 26) as compared with the duplicate narrative of Abraham in Egypt (ch. 12), and these stories from the Jahvist or Judcan source are overshadowed by the Elohist or Ephrainite account of Abraham at Gerar (ch. 20), where the integrity of adultery is distinctly raised.

Under the ordinary type of marriage, known as the baal or marriage of substitution, the Semitic woman, if unmarried, is entirely under the authority of her father; if betrothed or married, of her husband. It is necessary, therefore, to observe that, if adultery is primarily an infringement of the husband's rights, seduction is no less a matter for the father of the unbetrothed virgin. According to the old Hebrew law (Ex 22:21), the man who was

* See Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, pp. 79-80.

1 Robertson Smith's researches are supplemented by Well-hausen (Gez. 5, 1890), who has observed that once the Arab mistrust and jealousy spring less from love or ethical considerations than from ideas of property.
ADULTERY (Semitic)

Guilty of seduction was obliged to pay the šubur or bride-price and marry his victim; * the later code (Dt 22:23) fixes the amount at fifty shekels, and characteristically prevents the man from turning his newly-made wife adrift, by removing from him the right of divorce. How the law worked in ancient Israel can be gathered from the account in Gn 34, where, although little of the oldest narrative has been retained, it seems clear that compensation was required, and dispute or hand-held action was frequent. Such intertribal conflicts, the usual penalty for adultery was compensation, but frequently the offender was put to death. Modern custom permits the guilty pair, if caught, to be killed at once, or, at the sentence of the shekels, all the men take an equal share in the execution. The last point is important, since bloodshed according to primitive thought is a responsibility which all members of the community must share. The old form of exacting the death-penalty is parallel, as Robertson Smith has observed, to the ancient ritual of sacrifice. In both, every member of the kin should as far as possible participate in the act.  The particular form of death—whether by stoning, strangling, impaling, burning—and— at the present day— even shooting.

Mere suspicion of adultery is not enough, and there are no general consequences may result from unconsented denunciation. Hebrew law required two witnesses, and (by an extension of the talio) the false accuser would bring upon himself the punishment his charge would have entailed upon another. It is noteworthy that the law in Dt 22:22 specifically provides that the guilty ones are ‘found’ in the act. The law in question belongs to a group which reflects that stage where moral ideas have become so advanced that the husband attaches importance to the chastity of his newly-married wife (the restrictions of Lv 21:14 apply only to the priests). The procedure (Dt 22:21-23) is detailed, and states that if the accusation of impurity brought against the bride is true, she is stoned to death by ‘the men of the city’; if false, the man must pay a hundred shekels to the father, and is not permitted to divorce his wife. § It is intelligible that, in the former event the girl is treated as an adulteress, since from the time that she was betrothed she is regarded de facto as a married woman. The same code in its treatment of betrothed women makes a noteworthy distinction in the scene of the offence. She is similarly punished in the city, both as a woman stoned; whereas, if it be in the open country, the woman goes free, since it is assumed that she cried for help and found no protector (vv. 22-27). §

The Babylonian code of Hammurabi implies a more advanced state of culture than the oldest Hebrew. The position of the married woman was secured by a contract which could specify the penalty for her infidelity and possibly vouched for her purity at the time of marriage. § The following laws require notice: —The man who is caught ravishing a betrothed virgin who is living in her father’s house is put to death, whilst she herself goes free. She was betrothed to his own son, and the distinction is drawn dependent upon whether the marriage had or had not been consummated. In the latter event, the man must pay half a mina of silver and give her her personal property, and she goes free. §

The code of Hammurabi is characterized by the strictness with which the man must make in the event of the father’s refusal, is apparently an additional compensation.  

Arabia Deserta, ii. 114 (see Bennett, The Century Bible, *Genesei*, p. 315.)  


§ See, further, Driver, ICC, *Deut.*, p. 255.  

* Cf. with this Boaz and Ruth (Rg 24:9, 72).  

*Jesu,* The Old Testament, p. 173.  

It will be noticed that in Dt 22:22 the accusation of impurity is regarded as a distinct refection upon the parents.  

is free to marry whom she will. In the former event, the man is strangled; the treatment of the girl is uncertain in the text. * Drowning was the ordinary legal penalty, although, according to a somewhat obscure law, the man might pardon his wife and the King the adulterers at his own cost. §

The Babylonian procedure in cases where absolute proof was not at hand is characteristic. In all ordinary cases the wife could take an oath and swear her innocence, and was allowed to return (or is it was) in the (father’s) house; but 'if the finger had been pointed at her on account of another,' and she is obviously the subject of scandal, she must undergo ordeal by water. Robertson Smith has cited the Arabian story of Hind bint 'Uth, whose husband sent her back to her father on suspicion of unchastity, and it appears that the case could not rest there, her treatment being clearly regarded as an insult; and from another incident it would seem that suspected wives could be conducted under ignominious circumstances to the Ka‘ba and there swear seventy oaths.  

The ordeal and oath reappear in the antique ordeal preserved in a late source, Na 5:21ff., where the suspected wife enters the house of her (father’s) house; but 'if the finger had been pointed at her in the humiliating titre before Jahveh. There the priest charges her by an oath which she accepts with the formula ‘Amien,’ and prepares a potion of holy water and a manna, as the material in which are the words of the oath. The procedure, which does not prescribe any punishment for unjust accusation, is treated at greater length in the Mishnah (Shea; cf. also Jos. Ant. 111, xi. 6), and is said to have been abolished towards the close of the 1st cent. A.D. (cf., further, OATH, ORDEAL).

The old Babylonian code handles acts of adultery in the case where adultery is consummated or is observable away from home. If he had left means of livelihood (life maintenance), and the wife enters the house of another, she is condemned to be drowned,—his family perhaps bring the charge,—whilst, failing these means, her desertion is not blameworthy; only, should the man regain his city she must leave the second husband (and children, if any) and return. Not unconnected with the subject is the further event that the woman who brought about her husband’s death in order to marry another is to be killed. In Talmudic law, moreover, the adulterer who is divorced may not marry her accomplice. The charge against the widow in Gn 38, and the betrothed woman is the city, both are stoned; whereas, if it be in the open country, the woman goes free, since it is assumed that she cried for help and found no protector (vv. 22-27). §

The extreme sentence was not always carried out. Usage varied according to the tone of public opinion and private interests. A man might not care to parade his wife’s disgrace (Mt 19), and the woman in Jn 8 who was taken in adultery ultimately departs unpunished. Cosmopolitan life in Palestine in the last centuries of the pre-Christian era was scarcely conducive to purity, and the women of the publican were no more sanctified than the men. Yet in no tribe of virgins was the father’s refusal not so much the immorality as the folly of the man who provokes the jealousy and wrath of the husband in a way which is likely to have unpleasant consequences for himself (cf. also Sir 22:23-25).

§ For ‘one shall cast her into the water’ we should probably read ‘she shall be put to death’ (cf. Winckler, Harper, etc.; see S. and J. Laws of Moses, etc., (1900) I. 101). In that case ‘strangled’ should probably be ‘burned’.  


§ For Semitic parallels cf. the Syriac šundu and Šagašt, and see Job 22:24; Prov. 7:20.  

§ For daughters of priests (Lv 21:9), for all cases of immorality (Job 20:14f.) and for incest (Code of Hammurabi).
ADVATA

The great advance upon primitive thought was the insistence upon the fact that adultery is as immoral in the husband as in the wife; purdah to this the adulterer suffered only in so far as he had been the object of the injured husband's revenge. Accordingly the Decalogue and related teaching mark a great step in ethics in denouncing adultery and in pointing the warning against the covetousness from which lust springs (cf. the development of the truth in Mt 5:32).

The peculiar character of Nature-worship and the native cults of Isra'el and Ashkeorth were direct incentives to impiety, and whatever may have influenced growth of refinement in this scattered field, it is evident that the purer conception of Jahveh among the Hebrew prophets went hand in hand with the refinement of moral ideas in Israel. The relation between worshipper and God was typified by the marriage-relation, and Jahveh was His people's bēal even as the husband was the bād of his wife: it was impossible not to perceive that intercourse with aliens tended inevitably to participation in foreign rites, and the symbolical use of such terms as 'jealousy,' 'fornication,' or 'adultery' becomes characteristic of the religious life of Israel, bound as it was to its God as surely as the wife was bound to her husband. Hosea's doctrine was thus in accordance with well-established belief, and lays stress upon the fact that, whatever may have been the customary attitude towards adultery in everyday life, Jahveh had neither destroyed nor utterly forsaken His adulterous people, but was willing to receive them again and pay the betrothal price of 'faithfulness.'

But this is not all. The Israelites were not the only race that had the same conception of the relation of man to his God. In Egypt, in Assyria, in Babylonia, the god was often called bād, and His people were His bēal, or wife. In this connection we may note, that while Hosea's conception is a conception of Yahweh, Hosea's conception is a conception of the human relation, and is an illustration of a principle which is common to all the nations that have had a history.

In the form of the six dvaita, the six recognized systems.

The predominant interest in all of these was religious, not philosophical. The Nyāya taught its logic in order to show that the Burgā (see art. VIŚVĀSA) of the Saṁyanti (see art. VIśvara). The explanation of life it sought in a purūṣa (soul), always in, but not a part of, nature. Unless in the presence of a Creator, it thinks to secure the same result by the joint action of this purūṣa and prakṛti. Purūṣa cannot create; prakṛti cannot be; the one is bound here; the other is blind. But the cripple and the blind work together for the benefit of the cripple. Purūṣa believes himself to be miserable as being bound in prakṛti; but when, by the destruction of karma (action), he is set free from the influence of prakṛti and attains to a correct understanding of the case of nature, he is set free from misery. The Yoga restored to this atheistic system the idea of a self-existent power of omnipotence, who, alone prūṣa could find his way to salvation. This result, however, could be achieved only through a long process of physical discipline based on a knowledge of the signs of nature (see art. YOGA). The Purāṇa Mimāṃsa was a return to the authority of Vedic doctrine, and ceremony, while Ulātra Mimāṃsa devoted itself to an exposition of the rationalism of the Upaniṣads, in which are found the germ of those conceptions which are peculiar to Indian teaching (see art. VAi'ta).

This latest of the six schools, basing itself on revelation (āśruti), asserts that revelation not justified by reason and not corroborated by common sense experience will not lead to any real knowledge. It addresses itself to a criticism of the creation theory, and the evolution theory of the Vaiśeṣika and the Sāṅkhya systems above mentioned. It calls into question the grounds on which our perceptions of prakṛti, and asserts that we are never conscious of anything beyond our own consciousness of phenomena, whether objective or subjective. Thought and being are, in fact, so inseparably united, that the journey of the one from the other is like trying to mount on one's own shoulders. Thought can never transcend thought, and all we are cognizant of is thought. Real existence (sat) is the same as thought (abhiṣakti).

We are cognizant of phenomena under various forms, and ascribe to them various names, but, of which they are the names and forms we do not know. The substratum of phenomena is per se inseparable of thought, and, it is indescribable (ulīvṛtipakṣita). Nor can it be maintained that these phenomena are evolved from thought, for to assert that thought changes itself into phenomena would be to contradict our experience of the essential nature of thought as one and the same in all states and under all conditions.

Abandoning, therefore, the theories of creation and evolution, the advaita has recourse to what it calls svācara, the more unaccountable assumption of the phenomenal in thought. Thought and Being having been shown to be inseparable, the supreme genus is a compound of both, which is named brahman. Thus the advaita proclaims itself a philosophy of non-dualism. It regards phenomena as phenomena; but it refuses to penetrate into the ultimate nature of their substratum, which it declares to be a profound mystery.

Matter without mind and mind without matter are alike unthinkable. Dvaita, duality, is an entire misconception. The philosophical accuracy, therefore, of the term advaita, which was selected to designate this philosophical position, is apparent. It does not assert that all is one; it denies dualism without asserting the convertibility of mind and matter. According to the advaita doctrine, the test of supreme or ultimate reality is unchangeableness. The eye does not change with the phenomena which it perceives; but it can be cognized as phenomenal by the mind, which can discern the changing conditions of the eye, the mind itself remaining unchanged throughout the process. This changing condition of the mind, with its apprehension of reason, volition, feeling, etc., is cognized as phenomenal by something which cannot be cognized by anything else, for it is unchanging and unique. This something is the ultimate self-convertible fact in all our perceptions. In and through it everything is. It is unconditioned, and therefore indescribable. It is neither he nor she; it is if.
Of it is all real being (sat), all thought (chit), all joy (ánanda). Hence the formula which defines brahman by which all is thought, joy,.

It is to be noted that the advaita does not deny the existence of matter, it simply regards it as per se unknowable, and therefore indescribable. We have a term in English in which it is phenomenally present in thought. All our knowledge contains two elements, one constant and eternal, which is the true, the real; the other changing and transitory, which is the untrue, the unreal.

The precise meaning of mâyâ becomes clearer when regarded from this point of view. Mâyâ is illusion, but not illusion without a basis. This basis, which is satisfactorily explained is that which traces it to the rise of the term in the Rigveda to describe the elevating and inspiring power of prayer, resulting in an elevation of spirit which seems to lift the soul out of the consciousness of its individual separate existence. It is also described as 'intrinsic self,' not as 'individual self,' for the consciousness of individuality must vanish in the contemplation of brahman, but because the sphere within which these higher processes of thought, which rise above the phenomenal self, have their being, is that of the thinking subject. Brahman is the Supreme, the unconditioned self, transcending all individuality. The relation of this brahman to the illusions that present themselves in our consciousness is illustrated in familiar comparative statements, the mirage assumed to be water, the rope assumed to be a snake, etc. As in some of these instances want of proper light is the source of the illusion, so want of right knowledge is the cause of our mistaking phenomena for realities.

The Advaitins were fully conscious of the gravity of the problem which still remained unsolved, viz., the real origin of these illusions. In many of their attempts at explanation they contradict the fundamental principle of their system. We are told that mâyâ is only a creation of the mind; that it is away to these false notions. But this explanation, which seeks to give definite objective existence to these false notions, is subversive of advaitism. The attempt is made to evade this difficulty by asserting that the mind has within itself from eternity ideals which it only reflects or dreams out. It thus only perceives itself. But eternal ideals seem also to constitute a separate reality. Others find the origin of mâyâ in the limitations imposed upon the unlimited. These limits, which give rise to the phenomena of perception, are the creation of the individual as an individual; in brahman, the unlimited, there is no individualization. To be emancipated from the sense of separation from the eternal is real knowledge, real bliss. This is the emancipation which finds expression in the formula tat-tat-paräntam, thon art it.

We have recourse to the theory of reflection, viz., that the varying phenomena of perception emerge through the reflexion of brahman in nature. But what is it that reflects? Here again we have no answer. The most generally accepted solution is that which repares of the solution, which contents itself with saying that separate existence in every form is false, all is as it is, all is brahman. It illustrates its position by the story of Yajñavalkya, the ancient sage, who, when asked by one of his pupils in a question, thirteen times the same question, the same answer; and, when pressed, replied that the advaita is best described by silence, for all describing means duality or dualism.

Religious writers have furnished the chief stimuli to the advancement of personal knowledge, the religious mind of the ancient Indians pressed on to seek that on which the gods and the worlds depended for their creation and their support. It found it in that elevation of soul experienced in prayer, which enabled it to transcend its individual existence, to which it gave the name brahman.

In the Taittiriya-Brahmana, 2, 8, 9, 6, the question is asked: 'Who is the supporter of the beings who are in the world? ' is answered: 'The Adityas, who are the controller of the entire world, is declared to be 'that out of which earth and heaven have been formed, and that which upholds the bearers of the world.'

In the Khādaka-Upanishad, v. 1–3, which represents the most advanced form in this process of thought, the brahman is described as the most inward and the noblest element in all the manifestations of nature, 'the sun in the firmament, God in the heavens,' as dwelling everywhere, as born everywhere, and he only freely suffers and dwells among those who reverence the 'unborn, the unchangeably spiritual' that dwells within him.

In the Chandogya-Upanishad is set forth in the clearest terms this exaltation of the atman, or self, in its identification with brahman. 'This Universe is brahman. Its material is spirit, life is its body, light its form . . . all-embracing, silent, undisturbed—this is my soul (atman) in the inmost heart, smaller than a seed of grain—this is my soul in the inmost heart, greater than the earth, greater than the heavens, greater than all these worlds. . . this is brahman; to it shall I, when I go hence, be united.' In many minds in this sense is 'the real,' 'the one without a second (advitya).

It is that out of which the whole world has been formed, of which the world is a mere transformation. He who knows the one knows all.

The fundamental problem of thought in the ancient and modern philosophies of the West have been frequently pointed out. The early Greek philosophy was inspired by the longing to discover a cover a principle of unity in the manifestness of the phenomenal world. The earlier attempts resulted in the assumption of some one common physical principle, out of which this variety was developed; the later attempts sought it in a spiritual cause. Xenophanes proclaimed the unity of the Divine, and his disciple Parmenides, denoting to this principle personality and change, reduced it to Being. To the unity thus reached by the path of pure abstraction he opposed the world of phenomena as non-being (ēs μὴ ἐστί). The correspondence between these successive stages in Greek thought and the course of Indian thought outlined above is interesting and suggestive. The other parallel is that presented by the Kantian philosophy. By a different path from that of pure abstraction, Kant reached the metaphysical quest. Having subjected to a minute critical analysis the faculties of human knowledge, he arrived at the result that 'the thing in itself' (das Ding an sich) is not accessible to human knowledge, as all knowledge of the external objective world, but is realized through the artificial conceptions of categories of thought, the categories of space, time, and causality, which are the mind of the thinking subject. The mind is itself, therefore, so far as these faculties are our means of knowledge, is unknowable.
method. The advocatus presents us with no critical analysis of the process of knowledge, for we can scarcely dignify with such a name the arbitrary and fanciful methods above indicated, by which the Advocate sought to explain the fact of magi in our present arrangements. So, as the advocatus is to be regarded as a philosophy, it is a philosophy of a purely abstract and speculative nature. By one supreme effort of mind it advances to a position which other philosophies have sought to establish. Thus, the advocate is a court of examination or court of the facts of experience. In its religious aspect it exhibits similar characteristics, and in its religious aspect is more important than its speculative interest. It is a doctrine of salvation through the attainment of the true knowledge, and this knowledge is to be realized in the advocatus conclusion. By a purely intellectual effort the emancipation of the soul from evil is to be achieved. In this solution of a deep moral problem we see the same inaptness of facts, the same summary method of reaching the desired goal, as marks the speculative side of this philosophy. How profound is the depth of the problem may be gathered from the illustration which it employs to describe it. One who wears a jewel round his neck is distressed when, having discovered that he has lost it, he searches and finds it and when he discovers that it has been lost. So, we are told, the distressed soul finds salvation in the knowledge that there is no diversity, no evil, no separateness. Pleasure and pain are merely the results of this false sense of individuality and separateness. The mind of the individual may be conscious of evil and of suffering; but the great mind brokens knowledge of these. Identification of the advocate is the source of all bliss, the sense of separateness is the root of all evil.

LITURGIE. — See ART. VERSICA. The view of Advocatus given above will be found fully expounded in M. N. Dvivedi's Monist or Advocate. Bombay, 1889.

D. MACKICHAN.

ADVOCATE. — The etymological meaning of 'advocate' (Lat. advocatus) is one called to, i.e. one called to another's aid. It may be used of one called in to assist another in any business, as, e.g., when an official appointed to defend the rights and revenues of the church was called advocatus ecclesiae. In legal phraseology an advocate is one called in to assist another's cause in a suit of justice. The Lat. advocatus had a wider significance than 'advocate' connotes in modern English; in Cicero's time it denoted a barrister, hence any legal assistant: not an advocate as in later authors (cf. Phil. i. 16, pro Cæc. §§ 24, 43). Like πράγματις in classical Greek, advocate might refer to any friend of the accused person, called to speak to his character, or otherwise enlist the sympathy of the judges (or, as we should call them, the jury) in his favour.

Field (Notes on Translation of NT, 1899, 122) supports the above statement by the following: 'The following classical quotation from Ascondus, ad Cit. in Q. Cæcil. : "Qui debet disputare inter homines, aut patronum dictur si orator est; aut advocatus, si aut huius suggestor, aut presentatione non comodat amico." For a similar use of πράγματις he refers to Dem. de F. L. I. init. p. 341, 10; Dig. Locut. Vit. Dionys. iv. 50. In Phil. Opt. § 6 the office intended is that of a monitor or adviser; but still preserving the leading idea of amicus advocatus in con-

'Advocate,' as a judicial term, now generally signifies pleader. This is a natural development of meaning, for assistance in courts of law usually takes the form of making the cause of one who is accused. As thus employed the word naturally corresponds to the English 'barrister,' whose office it is to plead the cause of his client.

Five uses of advocate fall within the limits of this article, viz.:
is a growing consensus of opinion in favour of 'Advocate' as a title of the Holy Spirit as well as of Jesus Christ. *Christ is our Advocate on high,* Thou art our Advocate within,*'

The argument in support of this view is succinctly stated by Field (op. cit. p. 103): "(1) "Another Advocate," i.e. besides Myself. (2) The word is only known from St. John's writings, where it is used in a general sense, but is the right word in the right place. (3) Ephremologically, advocate and executor are synonyms. (4) This is the only rendering which accounts for the passive form." The question is, 'Does the work of the Holy Spirit as described in the above four passages correspond with the functions of the 'Advocate'?' In three of them (Jn. 14:26, 15:26) the Holy Spirit is the 'Advocate within,' the hearts of Christ's disciples; as an Advocate he 'pleads the truth and makes reply to every argument of sin' (14:16); his pleading is without conjurative force, because he brings to remembrance the Saviour's words, unfolds their teaching (14:26), and bears witness to His glory (15:26). No strain is put upon the context of these passages by the interpretation shall be demanded of the disciples themselves will be 'judges against their own unbelieving hearts, and Christ will be triumphantly acquitted and declared to be the Son of God with power' (Hastings, *EzyT*, x. [1890] p. 170). The remarkable omission (16:12) of the Holy Spirit's work in convoking the witness he is Christ's Advocate, and for the Apostles themselves, the pleading of the Advocate was a sovereign vindication of their cause. In the great trial they were shown to have the right, whether their testimony was received or rejected (Westcott, *Com. in loc.*).

Zahn (*Königl.*, p. 1, p. 45) finds a difficulty in accepting the rendering 'another Advocate' in Jn. 14:16. 'Another,' he argues, implies that Christ Himself had already been His disciples' Advocate, whereas He had rather been their Teacher or their师傅 or teacher than their Advocate. But there is no need to make precisely the same meaning to 'Advocate' when it is applied to Christ's earthly intercessory with His disciples and to His heavenly intercession on their behalf. The difficulty seems to be sufficiently met by saying that on earth Christ was ever pleading God's cause with the men who had been given Him out of the world, whilst in heaven He is ever pleading their cause with God (cf. Cremers, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex.* vol. 20, p. 350). All admit that 'Advocate' does not adequately represent the varied work of the Holy Spirit. As a descriptive general title rather than as a precise tr. of the word in the passages discussed above, the felicitous suggestion of Dr. E. A. Abbott may be adopted: 'Perhaps the best paraphrase of Paraclete for modern readers would be "The Friend in need."' *Paradossis*, 1415a.

2. 'Advocate in Church History.—(a) Advocate in Church History.—The 'Christian' or 'General' Advocate was a civilian officially charged with the duty of defending ecclesiastical rights and revenues. At the six Council of Carthage (A.D. 401) it was resolved (Canon 10) that 'the Emperors shall be prayed to appoint in union with the bishops, protectors (defensores) for the Church.' At the eleventh Council of Carthage (A.D. 407) it was decreed (Canon 2c) that (a) in the necessities of the Church five chaplains, or canons, shall be demanded of the Emperor to collect the revenues of the Church' (Hefele, *Hist. of Church Councils*, vol. ii. pp. 425, 442). At different periods the duties of the advocate were not designated as opifex, defensores, or executores—included not only the defence and maintenance of the secular and legal rights of the Church, but also the protection of the poor and of orphans, the exercise of jurisdiction, including administrative functions, and the power to levy soldiers from among the vassals of ecclesiastics who claimed immunity from the service of the State. At first the office of advocatus ecclesi was not hereditary, but Hinschius states (PREB. i. 199) that before the end of the 9th cent. founders of monasteries, etc., sometimes stipulated that it should be retained for themselves and for their heirs. In Charlemagne's time the right of nomination beloved of the king but to the Church. Ecclesiasti- cal corporations the power of free choice was given, with the proviso that the secular authority of the district—the duke or count—had the right to reject the nominee of the Church.

When the office of advocate was held by unscrupu-lous men, it became an instrument of oppression and extortion. Historians record many charges brought against those officials of plundering the property of the Church and misappropriating its revenues. Kunz does not overstate the facts when he says: 'Many advocates assumed arbitrary powers, and dealt with the property of the Church and its proceeds just as they chose' (*Church History*, § 86). Hinschius (op. cit.) says that it was Pope Innocent III. who, in his negotiations with Otto IV. and Frederick III., first secured a promise that the State should protect the Church against the oppression of the advocates ecclesi". (b) *Advocatus diaboli.*—In the Roman Catholic Church, when it is proposed to honour a departed saint by Beatification or Canonization, it is the duty of the bishop's 'will's advocate' to plead against the proposal and to bring forward every possible objection to it. These objections may lie either against the saint's reputation for 'heroic' virtue, the orthodoxy of his writings, or the genuineness of the work in which he is venerated which they may also have reference to technical errors of procedure, or to flaws in the evidence.

Von Moy, in an article which has the approval of the Roman Catholic Church, says that papal canonizations are not certainly known to have taken place before the time of Pope Innocent III. (1198), when Frederick II., King of Sicily, had been canonized without consulting the Pope, but in consequence of abuses. Pope Alexander III. decreed (1170) that henceforth papal con-Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. The Librarian-Personal, on 12 Dec 2022 at 03:46:56, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107424185.002
recently 1900 by Westcott's and Milman, opinions, Cycladic civilization the of Mycen. wood, The easy. sufficiently Mycen?ean.' visible the later his states J. the demand 1895, 71 this; Nature, the the beatifications pold, dox exorcised 14i6 by advocatus miracles. Public duty Church advocatus before from rank, from the twelve 'W-Paper, Lambertini law, or Wettzer-Welte's religious. For 14i6 criven Schliemann, 'twelve name shown as in advanced all at once to comprehend and co-ordinate the mass of novels, raw material accumulating here and there, and it took time to make the necessary comparisons between the Aegean civilization and other civilizations, contemporary and posterior. Among its institutions none remained so long obscure as the religious. Up to this end, no sacred building had been recognized among Aegean remains, and no undoubted idol of a divinity. Of the small number of unquestioned cult objects discovered, almost all were still ascribed to foreign importation. The few ritual scenes represented on intaglions were, some of them, not observed to be religious at all, while others were ill understood for want of known parallels and of certain unexplored nature of an Aegean cult. Perrot and Chipiez in their volume on the Art of Primitive Greece, issued in 1895, found hardly anything to say on religious representations; and Evans, when about to show in 1900 how much light could be thrown on the religion by certain classes of small objects, not till then adequately remarked, had to confess that 'among the more important monuments of the Mycean world,' very little was to be found 'having a clear and obvious relation to religious belief.' Since that date, however, the inquiry has been revolutionized by the exploration of Crete; and we now have a mass of monumental evidence upon Aegean religious belief, cult, and ritual from which knowledge of the broad principles and much ritual detail have been obtained. Upon this mass of evidence any general account of the religion of a prehistoric civilization could be given; and only in the second instance should contemporary and posterior cults be introduced into the inquiry. For the present purpose no account will be taken of possible racial changes during the Aegean period, since the civilization evidently remained of one type throughout, and the popular religion shows development only, not essential change.

I. GENERAL NATURE OF AEGEAN RELIGION.—We have ample evidence that Aegean religion and ritual had originally both a natural aniconic and an artificial aniconic character. In the first state, man, conscious of a dominant unseen Spirit, and impelled by his instinct to locate in it some visible object in permanent relation to his own daily life, finds its dwelling in imposing features of Nature, e.g. the sun, a mountain, a wood, a stream, and even a single tree or rock. In the second, he attempts to take the Spirit under his own control, and to bring it into particular and exclusive relation to himself by placing its dwelling in smaller and even portable objects: in stones of singular natural appearance, or fashioned by himself into pillars; in trees or bushes of his own planting, weapons, animal forms, and all kinds of object known to us as fetishes. The transition from these to idols is easy. Having become familiar with the Spirit, and considering it more and more in his own image, he passes to the iconic state, and in that will remain till the advanced point of mental development at which he ceases to demand a visible home for his god.

These states, however, are not to be regarded as always successive. With primitive man they are often contemporaneous, the usages and ritual proper to one coexisting with those proper to another, and making his religious life more full and various. The facts of an early state can therefore be learned from a later; and this is fortunate for the student of an extinct religion, since man seldom reaches the point of making monumental records of his cult before he has passed almost out of the primitive states. Nor can the peculiar character of his religion, certainly intelligible to us, be any longer hid behind the veil of a obscure and unknown language. In the case of the Aegean religion, our monumental evidence hardly begins until the full iconic state is well in sight. But from that point it is sufficiently full and intelligible to
inform us not only how the deity was conceived and how worshipped from the beginning of theoanthropism, but how worshipped previously, before being endowed with human attributes on the monuments, or perhaps with any very precise attributes whatever in the minds of worshippers. Moreover, more than most religions, the ΑΕgean remained to the end full of aniconic cult-practices.

ΑΕgean religion, then, was from the first a Nature cult, in which the heavenly bodies and imposing terrestrial features were objects of worship, while at the same time a Divine Spirit was understood to have its dwelling therein. From this state there survived in the ΑΕgean religious art of a later stage such cult objects as the solar disc, the lunar crescent, the star symbol passing into various forms of cross, the rocky mountain, and the grove; while from the other state, the artificial aniconic, persisted the single tree or group of trees, generally three in number, the pillar, single, triple, or many, sacred animals, weapons, conspicuously the dipenisa, or double war-axe (chosen as a fetish very probably from its obvious likeness to the star dwelling), the large body shield, and other objects, notably a pair of horns, perhaps a ram, symbolic of a sacrificial bull. All these attributes of the primitive religion will be dealt with more fully below in the section on the Cult; but in order to discern its essential idea, dependent as we are for all first-hand information on artistic monuments, we must pass at once to the iconic stage and inquire how ΑΕgean man, so soon as he had clearly conceived the Divine Spirit, represented it in terms of his own nature.

ii. The Deity.—It has been said that, previous to the exploration of Crete, no idol or icon of a deity had been certainly recognized among ΑΕgean remains. It must be borne in mind that in dealing with novel monuments of a prehistoric civilization, it is not legitimate to presume that a representation of the human figure is intended to be Divine until and unless it be found with clear concomitant indications of the supernatural—unless, for example, it be represented as emitting light, or accompanied by wild beasts, such as lions or large serpents, fatal to ordinary humanity, or, again, of superhuman relative stature, or, lastly, receiving adoration. In the cult-scenes found first, e.g., those on the bezel of a gold ring found in the Acropolis treasure at Mycenae (fig. 1), on impressed glass plaques, on a painted stela from the same site, and on other monuments, a manifest deity was not generally recognized, although there were undoubted religious votaries, even monstrous demonic forms,* and at least one figure accompanied by doves. Acute observers, however, familiar with the monuments of other Near Eastern religions, had already noted the prominence of female figures in these scenes, and began to guess that the ΑΕgean peoples embodied their principal conception of the deity in feminine form. In particular, Evans had been observing a class of gem and ring subjects which showed a female between lions, goats, etc.; as the excavation of Knossos proceeded, this female form, represented under circumstances implying divinity, appeared with increasing frequency on a class of objects first found there, and of great value in this connexion, viz. well-preserved clay impressions of intaglio gems. On several such impressions the female figure is seen seated (fig. 1), while other figures stand in attitudes of adoration or pour libations before it; on one found in 1901 the figure is standing on a mountain peak, while lions mount guard on either hand and an adorer stands below; on another the figure in flocced dress lays her hands on the backs of two lions;* on another the figure, holding a spear, is accompanied by a lion regardant;§ on another the figure bears on her shoulder the sacred bipenisa.* This female figure with the axe appears more frequently in central and western Crete. And, lastly, on one found by Halbherr at Hagia Triadha, in the south of Crete, a female of relatively gigantic stature stands between two smaller females before a shrine.¶ In the third year of the excavations the discovery of actual shrines began. In the first found, a miniature shrine of early date, there were no idols, but among other obviously sacred objects was a trident of three-stylistic pillars with the perched atop; and presently, in the same season, a small chapel, very small, but sufficient for its purpose, which was no doubt domestic, was opened and found to contain, in company with sacred axes on pedestals and 'horns of consecration' (see below), three feminine idols in painted terra cotta and semi-anthropomorphic, of which the largest had a dove perched on her head. In the same year other and ruder idols of the same sex and type, but with snakes coiled about them, were brought to light at Gournia, an ΑΕgean site in eastern Crete, dug by Miss H. A. Boyd, and also at Friniás in the Cretan Messara. This snako-goddess was not found at Knossos till 1903, and then she appeared as a faience idol, which is among Mr. Evans' greatest prizes. Three serpents coil about her and form her girdle, while a fourth rears its head above her tiara (fig. 2). That this figure, whether shown on intaglios or as an idol, is a goddess there is no manner of doubt; and that she is one and the same, whether accompanied by doves or serpents, has been conclusively proved by excavations in East Crete carried out in 1904. At Palaikastro the remains of a shrine were discovered wherein a goddess held a triple snake in her arms, while votaries danced round her, and doves perched on pillars bare by.

This goddess, however, is not alone. In a much smaller number of intaglio impressions a youthful male figure has been observed, accompanied by

* The 'Swarthā' (oru nanamata), the cross paté, and the plain Greek cross.

** S. A. Sch. viii. pp. 18, 19, 29, 101.

† JHS xlv. p. 51.

‡ TPC ii. 44, 45. † Δ. Annual Brit. School at Athens (1902), p. 43.

§ Mon. Anatich., nii., Rusti, etc. fig. 37. † The gigantic seated female from the pearly seal, JHS xxii. p. 72, fig. 2.

¶ ESA x. p. 234. This ritual dance seems also to be figured on an impression from Hagia Triadha (Rusti, etc., cit. supra, fig. 90).
lions, and sometimes armed (fig. 3). On a gold signet of Knossos such a figure with hair flying behind is seen in the upper field, and is supposed by Evans to be the deity descending on his shrine. But no actual idol of a god has come to light, unless the male of short stature offering adobe to the goddess in the little chapel at Knossos is to be interpreted as a Divine figure.

This list is not exhaustive. The goddess is probably to be recognized in many other intaglio scenes, e.g. those wherein a female holds up goats by the legs, as elsewhere she holds lions; and perhaps in certain other feminine idols. But it includes all unoubted representations of a deity so far found, and is more than enough to prove how the Minoan peoples, when they arrived at the iconic stage of religion, conceived of their deities. They personified the Supreme Principle as a woman, to whom was subordinated a young male, less in honour and probably later in time. There is no evidence for more deities than these. The religion was what may be called a Dual Monothelism.

iii. Cult.—There is evidence for several classes of cult-objects, considered to be dwelling-places of the Divine Spirit, and surviving through the theoanthropic age as fetishes; for inanimate accessories of various kinds, of which the origin and later significance are often obscure; and for animate accessories of cult, perhaps also at first dwelling-places of the Spirit, but tending more and more to be regarded as symbols. These all played a part in a customary ritual, of whose practices, strikingly uniform over the Minoan area, we have many illustrations.

1. Dwelling-places of the Spirit (fetishes).—(a) Betyls (sacred stones or pillars, Gr. SfarXos or £sπαρσάς, esp. the stone swallowed by Kronos, which was really Zeus in his betyllic form, but also others, e.g. the black Cone of the Sun at Baalbek = Sem. Bethel 2). The character and use of Minoan sacred stones have been very fully treated by Evans in TPC, and subsequent Cretes, and discoveries have confirmed but not contradicted his view. There can be small doubt that, as cult-objects, they represented in a convenient fetish form the original Divine mountain, still seen in intaglio cult-scenes of a late period. They themselves became in time the outfits of altars and of iconic statues, passing through gradations of rude shaping. A remarkable example of this transition has come to light lately at Knossos in the large building to the west of the palace, where lay several natural stone freaks, roughly resembling human forms, and evidently carefully preserved in a shrine. Whether pillars or wooden posts, descended from sacred trees, eventually acquired a symbolic significance as phalli, is less certain. An upright object imitating a triangle occurs in any case in semi-scenes, and is strongly suggestive of a phallos in connexion with a vase.

Further, there is reason to think that betyls originated upright tombs, which from being Divine or ghostly dwelling-places became merely commemorative in a late age.

Betyls passed in Minoan cult through various modifications, retaining their significance as dwelling-places of the Spirit. At first unshaped single rocks or carvings, we find them developed in the majority of earlier Minoan cult-scenes into pillars, monolithic or built up. The Divine pillar stands alone, sometimes, as over the Mycene Gate, between sacred animals, a position wherein it precedes the iconic figures of a later period; often also in front of a shrine, while a votary adores before it; and it is very often associated with trees. Almost equally often it does not appear singly, but in groups of three, and less commonly of more. Occasionally the dove is seen either descending towards it or perched upon it; more rarely rays issue from it. Thereafter the pillar, from standing free, becomes a support,—a 'pillar of the house,'—but is still betyllic, and its double function is sometimes shown by the free pillar bearing a fragment of superstructure. It is seen rising from behind 'birth horns of consecration' in fresco pictures of the façades of shrines, and in one case bearing sacred axe-heads affixed to its capital; and it props up 'tables of offerings,' with accessory supports round it. It is possible that such sacred pillars of the house have actually been found in certain chambers at Knossos and elsewhere, which seem too small to have needed a central prop for purely architectural reasons, and the probability is heightened by the fact that the blocks of which two such pillars in the Knossian palace are made, are marked with the sacred sign of the double axe. There is reason to think that the original Minoan sanctity of pillar-support has something to do with the later Greek fashion of using a redundancy of columns in sacred architecture.

(b) Triktoi (dolmen).—These are much less frequently represented than betyls, but sufficiently often to leave no doubt that the triads of stones forming a free standing portal had a sacred character in Minoan as in so many other lands. They are seen framing a betyl, or standing before a sacred tree. On a remarkable gem impression from Zakro in East Crete, such a triklith is well shown with lions conchent on either hand.

(c) Treks (Sem. asbrrn).—These, being perishable, are now to be looked for only in imitative representations, and especially on intaglio impressions. They are as frequent as betyls, and they
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occur singly or in triads (very common) or in groves. They are often seen growing out of the shrine itself, or in close proximity to an altar. The goddess sometimes sits under the shade (fig. 1); at other times she plucks the fruit. Many botanical varieties can be distinguished, the palm, the fig, the cypress, the pine, the plane, the vine; but the first three are most frequent. As has been said already, the tree occurs very often in the same scene with the pillar, a coincidence frequently observed in the case of megalithic monuments elsewhere.

(d) Weapons.—The great body-sheild, curved inwards at the waist, which is so often used as a decorative motive in Ægean relief work, occurs in cult-representations as an independent object, lying before a shrine, or placed in mid-air. Compare two gem-impressions from Zakro, which show shields lying, in the one case, before a group of five pillars (probably not towers, as stated in the text); in the other, before the façade of a shrine.* The most decisive monument is a small painted stela found at Mycenae, wherein is depicted a great shield between two adoring votaries.† Miniature shields in clay and ivory, found at Knossos, were evidently cult-objects or amulets.

Figures of both the goddess and the god bear spears, but we have no evidence yet for the use of either that weapon or the sword as a cult-object.

With the bipennis or double-axe the case is very different. The evidence for its cult-use is overwhelming. It is seen in the field of a gem-impression with a votary adoring;‡ It forms the central object of a cult-scene painted on a clay colis found at Paliaskastro; and is being adored in both the chief scenes on the great Haghia Triadha sarcothaphus§ where it is seen in conjunction with sacred palm-trees and doves, and stands upright on a stepped pyramidal base, similar to the basis with socket for a staff, found in the palace at Knossos. In the small chapel on the latter site, it evidently stood between the sacred horns of consecration,∥ a position in which it is often shown on intaglions (cf. fig. 4). Sometimes it appears in a reduplicated form, as in a steatite example from the small shrine at Knossos; on the gold signet from Mycenae (fig. 1); and on the sestus mould from East Crete, mentioned already: and, a propos, Evans recalls the fact that, since it appears in the hand of the goddess on a Knossian gem, and in company with her idols in the small shrine, it was at least as much her weapon as the god's. The dual axe is, he thinks, the fetish of a bi-sexual god. Miniature axes in bronze have often been found on Cretan sites, e.g. in the lower part of the holy cave on Mt. Dicte, and were evidently very common fetishes or cult-offerings. The sign of the axe is found more often than any other on Knossian blocks; whether as symbol of consecration or as a mason's mark. It is not impossible that its name labrys is to be detected in that of the Cretan labynth.*

2. Other inanimate accessories of cult.—Certain objects are not represented in cult-scenes, or are only actually been found in connexion with shrines, about which it is less safe to say that they were dwelling-places of the Spirit. Even if originally so, and long in use as fetishes, they seem in the iconographic stage to have become rather articles of ritualistic furniture.

*(JHS xii, figs. 29, 30.)
† Perrot-Chipiez, Hist. de l'Art, 'La Grèce Prim.' fig. 440.
‡ See figs. JHS, Lc. fig. 5.‖
§ Paribeni, Rendiconti R. Acc. Lincei, xii. fasc. 70, p. 30.\
‖ ESA ivii. 190.
∥ See Kretschmer and Max Meyer quoted by Evans, TpC p. 109, n. 6.

(a) 'Horns of consecration.'—These long misunderstood objects, of commonest occurrence in gem and fresco cult-scenes, and found modelled in stucco, clay, terra-cotta, and stone, were almost certainly fetishes at the first. They consist simply of a base with two erect horns, which, in the more elaborate examples represented, bend outwards at the tips, like the horns of oxen (fig. 4).* They are seen either on the top of a shrine or altar, or beside sacred pillars or trees, with which cases seem to rise out of them (cf. figs. 5, 6). Also they are seen in the same way the sacred bipennis, actual examples having been found in the small shrine at Knossos with sockets for axe-shafts. Upon a vase from Enkomi (Old Salamis) in Cyprus the picture shows not only one bipennis so rising from a shrine, but two other axes fixed between the horns of actual bucrania, depicted in full (fig. 5).‡ This seems to confirm the inference, which in any case suggests itself, that the horns of consecration, as verses and rude wall decoration, were merely a fragment of wall decoration of an original bucranium, itself a reduction of the entire bull, known from abundant evidence to have been a sacred animal, and probably a Divine dwelling. The horns-object serves to stamp any scene as religious, and its very frequent appearance is of great importance as a clue to the sacred character of other objects.

(b) The knotted tie or zone.—A representation of a knotted scarf or tassel seems also to have sacred significance. Found modelled in alabaster by Schliemann in the Myceenaean Aprocles graves, and supposed sacred, it is merely a fragment of wall decoration, it turned up again in the small shrine at Knossos as an independent object. It is possible that this 'tie' is a votive model of a zone, dedicated with a sexual significance, as in later Hellas. On a ring found at Mycenae, these knots are seen suspended from the capital of a lion-guarded pillar; and on a gem from the Argive Heraeum they perhaps appear on either side of a bucranium.§

(c) The cross.—A cross in marble was found in a Knossian shrine; and the cross sign is common on gems and seal impressions. See, e.g., the coloured plate appended to TpC, showing a fresco painting of a Knossian shrine.

‡ Paribeni, l.c. p. 5. Model altars with horns attached were found in the sacred Temenos near the royal villa of Haghia Triadha.
§ TpC fig. 5.†
∥ Halbherr doubts this (Resti, etc. p. 42), preferring to interpret the objects as corals.
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3. Animate accessories of cult. — What are known in late stages of religion as animals sacred to such a divinity, in art appearing as mere attributes, and in real life devoted to the Divine pleasure, whether by being preserved as "tamb" in the sacred precincts, or by being sacrificed that they may pass to the world invisible, have probably all a common origin as Divine dwelling-places or fetishes. In Ægean cult there were many such sacred animals:

(a) Serpents, seen twined about the Tripods, are held in the hands of votaries. These were probably her original dwelling-place as a spirit of the sky.

(b) Doves, settled on her person or offered by votaries; also settled on, or seen approaching, bats, and shrouds, with trees, and axes. They represent probably her original dwelling-place as a spirit of the sky.

(c) Lions and lionesses, which, in the iconic stage, are represented as the companions, guardians, or supporters of the deity.

(d) Bulls, cows, and calves. — The bull is most frequent. It is seen crowned with the sacred axe (fig. 5). In a magnificent relief, he guarded the main portal of the Knossian palace, and both there and at Tiryns appears again and again in frescoes on intaglios and on intaglios in frescoes. Lion-headed demons are seen performing ritual acts, as, e.g., pouring libations. Human figures with heads of ass, lions, goats, birds, and bulls occur, e.g. on a carved shell found at Phaestos.* A procession of ass-headed figures bearing a pole on their shoulders, in a Mycenaean fresco painting, has been interpreted as a scene of votaries wearing skins and engaged in thieriomorphic rites; but this is an unsupported guess. An extraordinary variety of wildly monstrous combinations was found on intaglio impressions at Zakro; but it is possible that these were the product of heraldic fancy, and owed their variety to the necessity of differentiating signet types.

(b) Monstrous animals. — Not only the Minotaur, but the Griffin, the Sphinx (two sphinxes draw a chariot on the Hagia Triandha sarcophagus), and various composite monsters appear in intaglios and on frescoes. Lion-headed demons are seen performing ritual acts, as, e.g., pouring libations. Human figures with heads of ass, lions, goats, birds, and bulls occur, e.g. on a carved shell found at Phaestos.* A procession of ass-headed figures bearing a pole on their shoulders, in a Mycenaean fresco painting, has been interpreted as a scene of votaries wearing skins and engaged in theriomorphic rites; but this is an unsupported guess. An extraordinary variety of wildly monstrous combinations was found on intaglio impressions at Zakro; but it is possible that these were the product of heraldic fancy, and owed their variety to the necessity of differentiating signet types.

4. Temples and ritual. — There is no good Ægean evidence as yet for the existence of such large free-standing structures, having no relation to domestic buildings and devoted to Divine worship, as were the temples of the Hellenic period, although intaglio scenes show small shrines, either isodomic or of the dolmen type, standing apparently within enclosures or temenoi, and containing bats, sacred trees, and 'horns of consecration.' Such constructed shrines have actually been found are small plain chambers enclosed in palace blocks, as at Knossos, and, possibly, at Palaikastro and Phylakopi in Melos. These, if they do not contain a sacred pillar, show only a ledge or platform at one end, upon which fetishes, idols, and other sacred objects stood. Such domestic 'shrines,' even if beautifully decorated with frescoes like the Melian chamber, can be regarded as little more than mere repositories for secret. As for the representation of shrines, characterized by bats, horns, and horns, seen through openings in the façade, and in almost all cases tripartite, it is very doubtful if they are intended to show distinct temples.

* Knossos, ESA viii. figs. 7 b, c; Zakro, ib. fig. 45.
* JHS xxii. p. 92.
* FIG. 5.—VASE PAINTING FROM PALAIKASTRO.
** FIG. 6.—SOLD SHRINE FROM MYCENA.

The cow and calf, very frequent on intaglios, seem to have typified the goddess's maternity.

(c) Goats, nannies, and kids. — The goat is very frequently held by the leg in the hand of the goddess, or of the greater. A clay goat was found in the west shrine at Knossos. The nanny

* KNOSOS, ESA VII. FIGS. 7 A, C; ZAKRO, IB. FIG. 45.
* VOL. 1.-10

and kids seem to have the same significance as the cow and calf.

(f) Deer and eagles are frequent intaglio subjects; but beyond the fact that all Ægean engraved gems were probably in some degree amulets, we cannot adduce evidence of the sacred character of these animals.

(g) Fishes appear in fresco paintings at Knossos and Phylakopi in Melos, in two cases at least in possible connexion with shrines, recalling their

well-known connexion with the Semitic goddesses.
and not rather parts, or the whole, of a palace or other domestic structure. We have such repre-
sentations in the Knossian frescoes, on intaglios, and in beaten metal (the gold miniature dove shrine of Mycene, fig. 6). It seems clear that certain parts of the Knossian Palace had a peculiarly sacred character;* and if it be admitted that the whole block of this 'Labyrinth' was the sacred house of the Labry,' and that Minoan rulers were priest-kings (which is very probable), the whole palace is perhaps to be regarded as a temple, and may be assumed that palaces and temples had not yet been differentiated. Cave-sanctuaries there certainly were, wherein Nature often provided bætyls ready made in the form of stalactites and stalagmites, as in the lower grotto of the Dictæan Cavern. Crete has surpassed in the most notable

FIG. 7.—PYXIS FROM KNOSSOS.

heads, arrow-points, knives, sword-blades, razors, tweezers, hairpins, rings, and other bronze objects, taken off the persons of worshippers and offered to the Deity. It also yielded simulacra of weapons, e.g. especially the double-axe, a miniature chariot, miniature oxen, sheep, and goats, and figures of men and women. The latter figures belong to a large and widespread class of Egean remains, found in silver, bronze, lead, terra-cotta, ivory, and faience, and of every grade of art. They are conventional representations of worshippers, dedicated to the Deity and placed in the Divine precinct to ensure Divine protection and a share in the Divine life for the dedicator. Even when placed in tombs, as at Kamps in Laconia, such statuettes were probably not sakhbti (servants to answer the dead man's call in another world), but simulacra of surviving relatives who wished to be under the protection of the deceased and the Deity to whom he had gone. Less common objects of ez veo dedication are models of garments, e.g. skirts and girdles (found in the faience deposit at Knossos), and of human limbs, birds, and vermin (found in

terra-cotta at Petaosa near Palaikastro). The Tenemos of Haghia Triadha yielded a great variety of simulacra of all kinds.

Perished vegetable substances have often been observed in little clay cups, in one locality (a 'pillar room' in a private Knossian house) lying under up-turned cups, disposed in orderly rows round the pillar. Certain long-stemmed vases with a spreading bowl, often richly painted, and always perforated to allow liquid to run away, which have been found on many Egean sites (e.g. Knossos, Phylakopi), and were of frequent occurrence in the Dictæan Cave deposit, are supposed to have served for offerings of fruit. Corn was found in the cists containing the faience objects at Knossos. Animal remains lay thick in all strata of the Dictæan Cave, being chiefly the horns and bones of oxen, sheep, goats, and birds, which must be assumed to have been dedicated, cooked or raw; and stags' horns occurred with the sacred faience objects at Knossos.

It remains to be added that on the sarcophagus of Haghia Triadha, a scene is represented which has been interpreted as an act of worship to the Minotaur. The particular interpretation is not certain; but we have long had evidence of a practice of ancestor worship in the shape of the altar found above the Acropolis graves

* See the specimens from the Dictæan Cave (ESA vi. pl. xi), and Knossos (ESA ix. fig. 20).

† See the specimens from the Dictæan Cave (ESA vi. pl. xi), and Knossos (ESA ix. pp. 9, 55).

‡ E.g. on the steatite pyxis from Knossos, TFC fig. 2, fig. 7 above.

§ See the specimens from the Dictæan Cave (ESA vi. pl. xi), and Knossos (ESA ix. fig. 20).
the hoard of sacred objects accompanying a snake-goddess described above.

The spiritual community between Aegean and other Near Eastern religions being so close, it is not surprising that almost every recognizable cult-feature in the former can be paralleled in the latter. The indwelling of the Deity in stones, whether natural petrulae, pillars, or statues, is a most familiar Semitic belief, and one which left numerous traces on Hellenic worship. A cult of weapons appears to have existed in early Asia Minor among the Hittites of Pteria and the Carians of Laconia, and it is not going too far afield as the Alani on the Eastern Euxine, who in a late age adored a standing blade. The horns of consecration are seen in Semitic sacred representations, and appear in Hebrew ritual as 'horns of the altar.' The 'sacred animals' are all widely related. The serpent as an embodiment of chthonian Divinity is not only Greek but Egyptian (snake-form of Nekhebes); the dove as the vehicle of the Divine spirit from on high has survived from Semitic literal belief into the symbolism of Christianity. The great *felidae* were guardians and supporters of Anatolian Cybele. The bull, as the embodiment of a dwelling Divinity in Egypt, is the counterpart in the Greek legends of Zeus; and the cow of Hathor is known to all. The infant Zeus was wrapped in the goat-skin, and the goat continued to a late time peculiarly sacred in the cult of western Asia Minor. The monsters of Aegean cult-scenes have so many affinities with the Egyptian (those on the Pheasant shell actually carry the Nilotic life-sign, the ankh) that they have all been referred to an Egyptian original, the maternity personification, Thetri, the hippo, reared on her own quarter. The parallelism in ritual observance is too extensive and obvious to need detailed mention. It is not to be understood, however, that such parallelism implies the derivative character of Aegean religion, least of all derivation from any single civilization, such as the Semitic or the Egyptian. If there be parentage between Semitic and Aegean civilization, it is the former that is the offshoot, given the comparative youth of its art and system of writing; † while, as for Egyptian religion, though there is good reason to think that it came to exercise a considerable influence on *Aegean* iconography, and even a larger part of the ideas that it in turn produced, no one, comparing the complexity of early Egyptian cult with the simplicity of the early *Aegean*, could suppose the one derived bodily from the other. It is needless, indeed, to look for the derivation of the essential features of *Aegean* cult at any later epoch than that of the primeval expansion of mankind. Its fundamental religious ideas were those of a vast proportion of the common human stock, and they continue to be the present day. The *Aegean* race sought Divinity in the life principle of Nature, spontaneously originated and reproducing itself to eternity. It placed that Divinity in great features of Nature visibly related to human life. When it came to define its idea in terms of man, being yet in that social stage in which man in relation to reproduction held his naturally subordinate place, it represented the principle of life as an unsexed woman, its property of reproduction as a son unbegot, and its relation to the humanity resultant from this woman and man as an unseen Spirit, descending on wings and indwelling in certain material objects, the source of which was to some degree determined by their inherent suggestion either of great natural features or human organs of life. From these fundamental

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* *3* Amm. Marc. xxxii. 2, 21; cf. TPF p. 9.
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* Some influence actually derived from Crete to Philistine Gaza, commemorated by a cult of Zeus Kutragenes.
ideas all the features of Ἀγείς cult representation and ritual practice known to us can very well have proceeded naturally and independently.

D. G. HOGARTH.

AEGIS.—In Greek mythology, the aegis is an attribute of magic power, which seems to belong originally to Zeus, the supreme god, who is therefore called ἀγιός. It seems to have the power both of protecting its wearer and of inspiring terror in his enemies; and for this purpose, according to Homer, it is borrowed both by Athene and by Apollo. Its form is not easy to realize in the earlier descriptions, of which we find the fullest in H. v. 758, where Athene puts it on.

About her shoulders cast she the tasselled aegis terrible, wherein is panic as a川 own all about, and strife is to her, and valor and horrible onsmght withal, and therein is the dreadful monster's Gorgon head, dreadful and grim, portent of aegis-bearing Zeus.'

Here it appears to be some sort of defensive mantle, like what is worn by Athene in later art; it is provided with 'a hundred tassels of purple gold' (H. ii. 448), and is also described as ἀμφιδίαστος, fringed all round or hairy on both sides, as if it were a skin of some sort, but it was made by the smith-god Hephaestus (xv. 309); when it is shaken, it scatters terror over all around. It is used by Apollo (xxxi. 20) to wrap round the dead body of Hector, and so protect it from injury.

The views both of the Greeks themselves and of modern mythologists as to the form and meaning of the aegis have been greatly influenced by opinions, as to the etymology of the word. The Greeks often associated it with ἀίγα or ἀιγίς, 'a goat-skin'; and Herodotus (iv. 189) suggests that the aegis of Athene was derived from the tasselled goat-skins worn by the Libyan women near Lake Tritonos. It was interpreted by later Greek mythologists as either the skin of the goat Amalthea, which had suckled Zeus in his infancy, or that of a monster slain by Athene. Modern mythologists have usually preferred the connexion with ἄσσων, 'to rush,' ἄγις or καραγίς, 'a squall'; but their interpretation of it as symbolical of the thundercloud, though found in many modern books, is not supported by any satisfactory evidence of early date; though Zeus thunders while he shakes the aegis (H. xii. 593), the two actions are not necessarily related as cause and effect; for a clear example of the aegis as causing the thunderstorm no earlier authority can be quoted than Silius Italicus (xii. 720); Virgil (AEn. viii. 352) connects it with clouds. Such instances are, of course, of no mythological value, but represent later theorizing.

In artistic representations the aegis regularly appears as the attribute of Athene; there is no certain example of its being associated with Zeus, and the restoration of the Apollo Belvedere as holding it is more than doubtful. In early representations of Athene it is a kind of sealy cloak, fringed with serpents, and with the Gorgon's head fixed in it; it extends over the left arm, and so can be held up as a shield. In other cases it takes the form of a short breast-plate with similar adjacent, and this is the usual form in later art; sometimes it is abridged to a mere band across the breast of the goddess.

ERNST A. GARDNER.

ÆONS (Gr. ἄοινοι = ἀγείς, 'periods,' 'dispensations,' probably related to αἰλέως = 'always,' 'for ever').—This term was employed by the opponents of Gnosticism, and by some of the Gnostics themselves, to designate the succession of the world-order, when it is regarded as unreal and illusory, without arising directly to this, common to all Oriental theosophical systems; and the philosophers of most of them attempted its solution by an evolutionary (devolutionary) series of Æons or emanations. Close parallels to the Gnostic Æons may be found in Japanese Shinto, Mahāyānist Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, the Platonic Ideas, Philo's Powers, the Stoic Logos, etc. The Shinto system (as set forth in the Kojiki) seems to rest upon pure pantheism. To give a character to the infinite which the infinite becomes differentiated into the male and female principles Izanagi and Izanami, personified and conceived of as grossly hateful. These procreative Æons are thought to be derived from certain archetypical Æons that are beyond the infinite. These produce, first, three other Æons (aion), representing the great powers of nature; and these still others, some working for the good and some for the evil of man. In the Buddhism of the Northern School the Adibuddha (q.v.) produces the five ‘Buddhas of Contemplation,’ Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi; from whom, in their turn, emanate five future Buddhas of Contemplation, the sources of the five worlds which successively make up the universe. This number five may perhaps be compared with the five elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether, classified by the Zoroastrians, and the Zoroastrianism has a similar, but twofold, system of Æons in the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness, the head of the former being Ahura Mazda and that of the latter being Ahirman. From each of these five is derived a graduated host of personified powers of nature, those proceeding from the former working for good, and those proceeding from the latter working evil, the two hosts being in perpetual conflict the one with the other. Philo, who typifies the Supreme Being as exalted above all possibility of contact with matter, which he characterized as ‘lifeless, erroneous, divisible, unequal,’ and hence as fundamentally evil, sought to bridge over the gulf between God and the world by the hypothesis of certain ‘creative and regulative Powers.’ These Powers are represented as God’s thoughts, as the heavenly archetypes of earthly things, as that which gives life, reality, and durability to matter, as the breath of God’s mouth. He sometimes seems to regard them as personalities. His Logos doctrine is particularly significant in relation to Gnostic Æons. The Logos is designated many different names, including the Absolute, the Sophia, and ‘the Sum of the Thoughts of God’ (Gnostic έννοια, or Σοφία).

Plato (Timæus, 37 D) applies the name ἀοί to the eternal Being which has Time as its counterpart in the world of sense. Aristotle in like manner describes the ultimate principle which sums up in itself all existence, as ἄοι (άτοι ὡς εἶναι, de Mundo, 1. 9. 11). These and similar speculations of Greek metaphysics exercised a profound influence on later Gnostic theory; but it may now be regarded as almost certain that the Gnostic doctrine of the Æons was immediately derived from Mithraism. At the head of the Mithraic hierarchy, as in the earlier Zarvani heresy of Zoroastrianism, from which this trait in it is derived, stood Infinite Time. This supreme god, inconceivable and ineffable, was worshipped under the name of ἄοι, and was represented in sculpture as a figure whose body was inscribed with the signs of the Zodiac and encircled by a serpent, which typified the course of the sun in the ecliptic.

The earlier Gnosticism, like the Gnosticism of the Mithraic, typifies the absolute emanation from the Absolute Æon, which was conceived impersonally—sometimes as the Absolute itself, sometimes as the sphere of the Absolute. Thus in the account of the 'Gnostics' (seons) of the Absolute Æon (adv. Haer. i. 30) we read of an ascendant εἰς τὸν ἀφθονόταν ἄοινα,—and similar language is employed
ÆSCHYLUS
by Epiphanius (Hier. xxxvii. 1) in his description of the Cynics. Trace of this original spirit appears in the highly developed Gnostic systems. Valentinus himself (Frag. 5) speaks of the living Αἴων as of a unity, although he discovers a principle of distinction within this unity. As beliefs, indeed, to the essence of Gnostic speculation that the Αἴων remain ideally one, while they manifest themselves as a plurality.

In later Gnosticism the Αἴων are represented as a system of Divine entities, paired in male and female (syzygies) from the supreme Father. Each pair originates another, and each descends in dignity as it stands more remote from the source of being. The doctrine of syzygies has its analogies in Mithraism as in the other Eastern religions mentioned above; but it was no doubt borrowed by the Gnostics from that Babylonian tradition to which they were indebted for so many details in their cosmology. Hence they constitute the Pleroma,—the 'fulness' in which the Godhead exhausts its hidden potencies. The Pleroma, composed of the several Αἴων, is the world of Light or higher reality, and is divided by a great gulf from the 'darkness' of phenomenal being.

The different Gnostic systems are widely at variance in their accounts of the number and arrangement of the Αἴων. Basilides, if we accept Irenaeus and Hippolytus i. as our authorities for his teaching) would seem to acknowledge only six (Μήθος, ὑπόθεσις, θεότης, θυσία, θεότης, κοίτα). The Plutarch Sophia assumes thirteen, and conceives of the Αἴων as the spheres inhabited by the Divine powers, rather than as the powers themselves. Valentinus enumerates thirty Αἴων, which are grouped in three divisions—the Ogdoad, the Decad, the Dodecad. Ideas of a geometrical nature are probably involved in this grouping; while the number 30 is apparently suggested by the thirty γυναῖκαι (angels) of Zoroastrianism. In the various systems which branch off from this main stem of Valentinianism, the Pleroma of 30 Αἴων is normative, but this number is subject to continual modifications.

A brief account of the system of Valentinism will suffice to illustrate the general character of the Gnostic Αἴωνology. He starts with Bythos (depth) the Absolute One, and Sige (silence) as his female companion. These generate Nous (mind) and Aletheia (truth). These in turn project Logos (word) and Zoe (life), and these Anthropos (man) and Ecclesia (church). Nous and Aletheia afterwards produce ten οἶκος (a perfect number) as an offering to the Father. Logos and Zoe follow in the production of the Αἴων, but produce twelve (not a perfect number), including Faith, Hope, Love, and the Lower Wisdom (Achamoth). This last, being unduly ambitious, and aspiring to produce οἶκος without conjunction with a male οἶκος, brought forth a 'formless and undigested substance' (the Demiurge), which evolved into the present order of things, with its mixture of good and evil, and with man in whom the two are at war. This disturbance of the Pleroma alarmed the other faculties and deeply distressed Achamoth. In response to the tears of Achamoth and the supplications of the οἴκοι, the Father permitted Nous and Aletheia to project Christ and the Holy Spirit, to destroy the restoration of form, the destruction of the Demiurge, and the comfort of Achamoth. These have for their task the separation of the life and light that have become imprisoned in humanity, from dead, evil matter, through a long series of magical rites (mysteries), and through the promotion of ascetical living.

In Gnosticism generally, as in the teaching of Valentinus, the creation of the lower world is explained by the hypothesis of a disturbance within the Pleroma. The error, or the undue ambition of one of the Αἴων results in the origin of an inferior power, who in his turn originates others, until a whole world of darkness and illusion comes into being. Nevertheless, since the process has its beginning within the Pleroma itself, some portion of the higher essence becomes intermingled with the baser elements, from which it yearns to be delivered. The Redemption, according to the Gnostic thinkers, consists in the sifting out of this higher essence and its restoration to the Pleroma. In order that this may be accomplished, an Αἴων of supreme dignity descends into the phenomenal world, to be identified, really or in seeming, with the man Jesus.

The Αἴωνic theory, as we have seen, was in the first instance derived from the Zoroastrian idea of Time as the ultimate fact in nature. Thus it was allied from the beginning with speculations of a purely physical character, and from these it never succeeded in entirely freeing itself. The greater Gnostics, and Valentinus more especially, sought to resolve the Αἴων into spiritual facts or processes. They were construed as modes of the Divine Being, activities in which the Absolute One unfolds and manifests His inward life. It proved impossible, however, to effect a complete transformation of a theory which was, in its essence, physical. Valentinus himself wavers in his conception of the Αἴων,—regarding them now as ideas, now as heavenly Persons, now as creative forces. His philosophical construction loses itself at every turn in primitive astrology and cosmical speculation. To this may be attributed the eventual failure of Gnosticism, alike as a philosophy and as a religion. While it professed to open a way out of the bondage of the natural world, it was itself grounded in ideas derived from nature-worship. See, further, GNOSTICISM.

LITERATURE.—Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra (Eng. tr. 1909); Hagestedt, Ketzergesch. des Urchristenums (1864); Mead, Fragments of a Faith Forgotten (now ed. 1908); Schmidt, Die Gnosis (1901); Lietzmann, Die religiöse Atomistik (1910), pp. 165-141; E. Buckle, Universal Religion (Chicago, 1887).

ALBERT H. NEWMAN AND ERNEST F. SCOTT.

ÆSCHYLUS.—Æschylus, son of Euphonius, an eunuch of Eleusis, was born B.C. 525, commenced as a dramatist c. 490, gained his first victory in 484 and his last (with the Oresteia) in 458, and died at Gela in 456. He fought at the battles of Marathon, Artemision, Salamis, and Plataea. From about 476, when he composed for Hiero of Syracuse The Woman of Athens at the foundation of that town, he was frequently in Sicily. There is no satisfactory explanation of the statement of Herodotus Pontius that he was tried on a charge of revealing the Mysteries, for which he was condemned on the ground of ignorance (cf. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. iii. 2); the further details are probably unauthentic. Partizanship in politics can hardly be imputed to him on the strength of the supposed reference to Aristides in the description of Amphaians (Sept. 592-594), * still less on the theory that Prometheus, son of Themis, stands for Themistocles. His eulogy of the Areopagus, however, in the Eschyleis (esp. 651-700) testifies to conservative sentiments. In the same play (754-777), as well

* All references are to the text of Sidgwick (Script. Class. Bibl. Æsch.); whose numbering hardly differs from that of Dindorf, Wehrlein, and most modern editions. Hermann, Faley, and a few others use their own special notation.
as in the *Supplices*, he approves of the democratic friendship between Athens and Argos. He expresses the strongest detestation of tyranny in all forms (*Pers.*; *Prom.*; *Ag.* 953-955; *Enn.* 185-190); but has no objection to constitutional monarchy (*Supp.* 398, 517, 600), or to moderate democracy (*Pers.*; *2. Supp.* 485-488). His general ideal is a balance of order and liberty (*Enn.* 529-528).

Schylus may be called the Father of Tragedy (Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* p. 220), in the sense that he first perceived the possibilities of the drama as a literary form, rather than as ritual or ceremonial, for the expression of views as to life and character. His plays are τεχνή των ὁμιλων μετάλων δεινών, because the personages are derived mainly from the Epic cycle; but he drew upon other 'genres' as well, and on contemporary history; and he dealt very freely with the plots. He was evidently acquainted with Hesiod and other cosmological writers. In a few cases he cites the legendary moralists (*Prom.* 890); more often (*Sept.* 439, *Ag.* 1331, *Cho.* 60, *Enn.* 239) he expresses similar sentiments about wealth, fortune, pride, moderation, etc. He has much in common with his contemporary *Phidas*; and his general attitude towards the popular *deeds* (164) is almost certainly influenced by the poems of Solon and Thoegnis. The common statements that he was indebted to Orphic or to Pythagorean doctrines cannot be seriously supported from the extant plays or fragments.

Of the 80 to 90 plays attributed to *Schylus*, many of which can be grouped in trilogies or tetralogies, the majority are cited only by the lexicographers. Little is known of their plots or the views contained in them, except in the case of the *Prometheus Solvinus*. The *Danoïda*, *Myrmidones*, and *Niohe* seem to have dealt with various aspects of the passion of love. Certain grimace fragments (*Nos.* 70, 156, 159, 161, 177, 255, 266, 301, 353, 385, 401, 475, Sidgwick), which are striking aphorisms about the nature of the gods, good and evil, life and death, do not necessarily express the mind of the poet himself. His own moral and religious doctrines must be sought in (1) the general tendencies, (2) the choric odes, (3) the emphasized speeches of the favoured characters, in the seven extant plays. The selection of the themes is apparently not later than the 5th cent. A.D., if not entirely accidental, may be due partly to celebrity and partly to special reasons. The *Orestes* (*Agam.*; *Choep.*; and *Enn.*), constitutes his masterpiece in all respects. The *Persae* and the * Prometheus contra Thebous* are cited by Aristophanes for their literary and patriotic qualities. The structure and style postulate an early date for the *Supplices*, though the theology is already remarkable nature; either of these features may have saved it. The *Prometheus Vinctus*, which might easily have aroused popular suspicions of impiety, appealed to the popular fancy for the marvels in spectacle and music. From these plays, after all allowances for the exigencies of dramatic form and popular taste, there emerges a body of gradually developed views attributable to *Schylus* himself. His philosophy, by which the ideal cannot be sharply demarcated from the theological, may be discussed in the order of its development, as it deals with (1) the Divine nature, (2) the Divine agencies, (3) the moral nature and action of man, (4) the special questions of responsibility and heredity, the fate of the soul, the blood-feud, and the blood-feud, while (5) the nature of the problem dramatized in the *Prometheus* requires separate consideration.

For in his earlier plays the Olympian gods are invoked jointly as a πατὴρ (290), or a κοινωνία (*Supp.* 229); they are θεοὶ ἐγγέλαι, γείτοναι, τελεοσθείς, ἀνίκητοι, with temples, altars, and images (βρότα). The Theban maidens pray to Pallas, Poseidon, Ares, Cypris, Lyceius, Artemis, Hera, Apollo, and the local *Pandias* Orbe (*Sept.* 126-180), as παρακλήτται, τελεοσθείς, but also Διός, under Zeus as the πατήρ πατείᾳ (116); *Eteocles* adds Earth and the Αὐτή Κύριος of *Edipus* (70). Popular language is useful of augury, foracular epigram, river-gods, and Hades (286, 518, 269, 272, 584-580). But the same play finely describes Justice as the virgin daughter of Zeus (682); both the pity of Amphitaurus and the impiety of the hero is repelled; and the *Supplices* could invoke *Eteocles* in ἖ρρα for the βρότα of his determination to defend the gate attacked by his brother (*767-708, 949-956*). Similarly, in the *Supplices* the fugitives appeal to Artemis, Poseidon, Apollo, Hermes, and especially (*Supp.* 1034-1042) to Aphrodite, by whom Πυρευμάστα was perhaps defended (Fr. 44); also to Zeus as ἔπος, σωτήρ, ἀδίων, ἱερεῖα, κλάρος, κτησίμα, etc.; and to local deities, as the hero Αἵτης (117, 263). The *Schylus* has added the ἔπος Zeus who 'judges the sins of men by final judgments among the dead' (290), is deliberately identified with the Zeus who is θεῖος, θαυμός, and παγκοσμίος, the Zeus who is also the Orphic Zeus, and the Κυρίος of *Prom.* 44); who is to be feared and worshiped by all men; the slightest association of injustice with the gods is impious (921); cf. 395; and everywhere the lyrics extol the power and righteousness of Zeus, with the fervor of Hebrew prophecy. He is 'king of kings, most perfect in strength of the powers that make perfect' (524-526); 'hostile in the highest, he directs destiny by venerable enactment' (673); 'he beholds violent deeds not gladly, but with eyes of justice' (812); 'the beam of his balance is over all' (822); 'what is fated, that will be; there is no transgressing the mighty, the limitless will of Zeus' (1047-1049). This is not merely poetical optimism.

'The desire of Zeus is not made to be easily grasped. Everywhere it glows, even in the gloom, with fortune that is sombre to mortal races. ... For dark and dusty went the ways of his mind, and his desire was born by human gaze. He heaved sighs; he groaned; he groaned in the weight of his desire, which the gods sent to bring his burden down. He heaved sighs; he groaned; he groaned in the weight of his desire, which the gods sent to bring his burden down. He heaved sighs; he groaned; he groaned in the weight of his desire, which the gods sent to bring his burden down.'

The *Thebaid*, which has once designed, he works out withal, from above, from his holy seat (67-103).

Such theology is essential to the *Schylus*. In essentials that of the *Orestes*, though the more ethical conceptions are tentative and far from correlated.

The theology of the *Persae* (472 E.C.) is dramatically Oriental. Zeus and Phoebus and the Sun are invoked; Pallas has favoured Athens. The birth of the dead (ιδία φωτός, *Pers.* 215, 226, 607-622) is supplemented by appeals to Earth, Hermes, and Hades-Aiakounos, who λαβεῖν δέμονας εἰσιν ἑκάστου (*690*); though Darins as a δαίμων or even a *Phoebus* is rarely the case. The allegorical mysteries of a Divine Nemesis or φωτός, arbitrarily afflicting excessive wealth or happiness (163, 354, 375, 842), are akin to the fatalism of Herodotus' famous legends; and all the characters arrange a destiny who agrees to men for their weakness and selfishness; *Prometes* 93, cf. Fr. 301; ὁικεῖα φωτός, 750; ἔκτωρ φωτός, 472), or at least abet their folly (ἈΠῚ ἐν ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἐποίησε, χαί τοίς εὐσκεκατέρωσε, 742). But both *Darius* and *Hades* (742) are heroes, who are driven in a picturesque ἰσόν in binding the sacred Hellespont (745, 72), and in destroying images and temples (807, 815, 830), and blame him rather than the alleged
It is insolence (ὑπερήφανον) which flowers and is full in the ear with ruin (τὸ κατακεραυνησμένον), from which it has gone over. For words of hate dwelt in the heart are dealt forth (ἐπιδημοφόβες, ἠτέλλας, θεῖα, θεία), Athens survives as the higher civilization.

So far the moralization of Homer's popular theology has not been violated in the Olympics, where Zeus is the giver of oracles and εἰργάζεται of rites, and Athene as the inspirer of political wisdom, retain some genuine personality with impaired divinity; perhaps Hermes also and Artemis, for whose interference and presence in the Agamemnon, in which Zeus is too great for the stage, even in the Promethesian plays. Theology is to be sought not in mythology, least of all in Zeus, the lord of hospitality, and in conscience (μοιραίαισ, πύρων, Ἀγ. 150; cf. 975-983). The supreme deity is not only powerless but all just; thus Electra challenges for Orestes the support of 'Strength and Justice with him who is the free spirit.' Zeus is the greatest of all' (Chor. 244). To Zeus are applied not the old departmental names, but such epithets as πανύπνητη, παγακρητή, πάντα κραίνων, πανοίδης, and δινομόρφον. There is surely more there of an 'Illusion of monotheism' in the first theological passage of the Agamemnon (160-175):

'Zeus, who's ever he be, if by this name 'tis his pleasure to be called, this name I address him. Weighing all things well, I can conjecture nought but Zeus, if the burden of this vanity is in truth to be cast off from my mind... But whose heartly giveth titles of victory to Zeus shall hit the mark of wisdom full; even to Zeus, who hath guided mortals in the ways of wisdom, who hath hardened learning 'by suffering' as an ordinance for ever.'

To those only who have learnt on these lines to know and to judge, 'Zeus, lord of hospitality, and Fate (Μάσα) have condescended' (Enm. 1046).

Thus, in harmony with the conception of deity as normally personal, there emerges the conception, increasingly impersonal, of universal order. As physical law this is Μάσα, τὰ μέρον, τὰ πεπτωμένα, ἡ πεπτωκομία, ἡ ἅγια, ἡ ἁγία; as moral law it is ὁμοίον, δίκη, νόμος διακόσιος; but these terms admit of many degrees of personification, and not only overlap, but not uncommonly involve the circular in deifying to which idealistic systems are liable.

The statement that Zeus is weaker than the Μάσα and Ἐρίνειες (Prom. 513-518) is isolated and controversial; generally the established order is the expression not so much of the will of Zeus as of his being. God is subject only to the law of His own nature as consistent and just. He cannot be on the side of evil (ἐπιτείμηται ἐπὶ τὸ κακόν τὸ μη κατακεραυνησμένον) (ἀντίκρησις) moraously either way (οὕς ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς μὴ κακοῖς, δίκη τοῦ ἔθνους, Supp. 403). The working of this supreme authority is described in many combinations of constantly changing personal and impersonal. When in defiance of Right (δίκη) men trample on the majesty of Zeus (Δίκης ἐναλίτης), then 'Justice sets up her anvil and Destiny forgives the words,' (τὸ κατακεραυνησμένον τὸ ἐναλίτην). This works its destruction, but the divine deed of implacable purpose is whetted by Fate (Μάσα) upon a fresh whetstone (Chor. 1355, 1560). The μεγάλα Μάσα are

besought (Cho. 306-314) 'to grant success from Zeus to that cause to which Justice (τὸ κατακεραυνησμένον) has for its minister the words of hate and words of hate be rendered; so Justice proclaims aloud as he exacts her due. For a bloody stroke let him repay a bloody stroke. Thus the doers must suffer,' there speaks a saying thrice ancient.' Even Clytemnestra's 'thoughtful and carefully considered' is that 'in the exacting order of everything that has been foreordained with Divine sanction' (παρακαλέστω ἐν θείον ἐσαρμασάτω, Ἀγ. 912). Themis the Titania and the image of the δινομόρφον Μάσα is the same (Enm. 171) no less than Justice, the daughter of Zeus.

2. The determinations of this supreme authority are intended to man not only in history and in conscience, but also by direct agencies. Positively, Ἐρίνειες attaches importance to dreams; the visions of Atossa, Io, and Clytemnestra reflect popular beliefs. 'For the mind is sleep is bright in its vision, though in daytime Fate is undisclosed by mortals' (Enm. 104). His attitude towards oracles is ambiguous. Thereupon be he unaware arrêre-pensée in his treatment of the relations between Apollo and Orestes; Athens and not Delphi has the final word in the termination of the blood-guilt of the house of Atreus. The words of the Ἐρίνειες are all-important. The meaning of the word fluctuates considerably in the extant plays, and evidently has a long history behind it. It is hardly likely that Ἐρίνειες himself first identified the Avengers of the underworld with the Divine or Venerable earth-goddesses of Athens and Sicyon (Εἰρήνης or Σευρά); but he certainly accentuated both factors of this conflation, and, while first in promoting the Puria (puria) with the infernal horrors of Gorgons, etc. (Paus. 1. 28, 6), was also conscious of development from objective to subjective associations, from punishment as retributive to punishment as remmdial. The Ἐρήνη is the activity of Divine justice in the presence of lawlessness; Zeus is a constant θερεφός (Chor. 246); even for birds robbed of their young, 'a god on high, some Apollo or Pan or Zeus, hears the shrill complaint of his demnizens; and sooner or later sends on the transgressors a Fury of requital' (Ag. 55-59). Much less for Paris's breach of the laws of hospitality will Zeus shoot an arrow in vain, either short of the mark or too high in heaven (Ag. 365). One said that the gods do not deign to trouble about men by whom the honour of sacred things (χάρα δὴ λαλῶν) is trampled on; but he was not pious (Ag. 372). Helen herself becomes for the house of Priam by 'the sending of Zeus (τὸν Ζεὺς) a Fury of weeping to other brides' (Ag. 749). The Ἐρίνειες apply the laws of retributive and educational suffering. 'We deem ourselves,' sings their chorus (Enm. 512-520), 'to be direct in the course of justice. On the man who holds out pure hands, there comes no wrath from us; unscathed he traverses the way of life. But if one in guilt, like this man, hides his gory hands, we appear as honest witnesses for the dead, and visibly to the uttermost exact from him the price of blood.' Again, 'Great power have the awful Ἐρίνειες both with the gods immortal and with those below the earth; and in their dealings with men they vividly bring things to pass, to some giving songs of joy, but to others a life blotted by tears' (950-955). As the play draws to a close, they serve to link Μάσα and Δίκη; and in their final metamorphosis there is as much conscious symbolicism as the dramatic form permits.

3. If, then, innocence is rewarded and guilt punished, at any rate, in the long run (Ag. 730-771; Enm. 526-556), human morality, as Grote saw, is still in throes of development, and for the time being is bounded by the traditional laws, just as in tragedy and comedy, and it is as if the Ἐρίνειες were the embodiment of the unenacted ordinances of religion, and the intractability of the human heart is as if it were held in check by the new spirit of the times. So the idea of Justice is still a secondary one, not a first principle; and he who seems to be 'discharged by the law' is as if he were 'let off by Fate' (Μάσα) upon a fresh whetstone (Chor. 1355, 1356).
universal law as applied to the life of the family and the city. By Ἀeschylus, as by Dante, types of good and bad character are exhibited rather than the dignity or individuality of heroes drawn on a grand scale even in the case of Clytemnestra, without casuistry or sophistry. There is the same note of distinction about the characters which are presented for admiration, the king of Aulis, the Oracle, Orestes, Electra, and above all, Prometheus. The whole range of Greek piety is displayed in the choruses of the Oceanids, Danai, captive women, Persian and Argive elder (Cho. 4). The fine series of contacts in the Septem shows the poet's concurrence in the normal Greek ideas of αἰδός, αἰγύπτωσις, συφροσύνη, and εὐφόροι; also in the connexion of morality with religion. He does not absolutely avoid the popular language which makes ἄμφορα a disease of the intellect (νόθος φρένων, Per. 751; σὺ νοφάρη φρένων, Sept. 601; παρασκέφασις προελεύσατα, Enum. 330; ἀτοσκαλείται φρένων, Prom. 473); but in his own view passion at least is bestial character and originates where there is no law. The lustful 'have the tempers of random and unholy brutes' (Supp. 762); and 'the inordinate love which masters the female mind both in brutes and in men wins a perverse victory over reason in the most wicked and involving the calmest of calamities (Cho. 508-501). Generally sin is ἔρως, immorality plus impiety, as the wilful transgression (παραβασία) of the fixed limits of human action. It is not a phrase and its fruit is ἐρως, the criminal infatuation which in our own punishment. Αἴγνω is δόλος, μελάνης, ἀστήρωνων; the moment of its supervision may be inevitable, but it is neither less nor more voluntary than happiness and the fruit of virtue (Enum. 442-445)."Moral pathology has never been more convincingly expounded than in the locus classicus on ἔρως (Ag. 750-751):"

'An ancient saying has been fashioned in the generations of old, that a man's prosperity, when it has waxed great, brings forth and does not live without issues, but that out of good fortune springs evil, and the wisdom of the ancient says right. But I hold not my own mind apart from the rest on this. 'Tis the immodest deed that gives birth to more after it, more, and like to their own breed; but the fate of righteous houses has ever a fair progeny. But old insolence is want to beget an insolence of the same quality, and when and the time of birth has come due, yea and a fine, against whom there is no battle, no war anywhere; and these are the black bane (ἀρίστη) unto manum, and like are they to their progenitors.'

Nur has the moral man ever been drawn more relent-3ingly?

'Reverence the altar of Justice, nor trample it down at the sight of gain with godless foot: for retribution will ensue. The righteous are in force. Therefore let a man put in the place of honour, piety towards parents, and pay reverence to the claims of strangers to hospitality. He who is just of his own will without constraint, will not be unprosperous; utterly ruined he will never be. But I say that the transgressors who dare to offend, and is laden with goods all amased without Justice, shall perform in time haul down his mainsail, when trouble seizes him and his yardarm is splintered. And he calls on those who hear him not and struggles in the midst of the whirl; but the god mocks at the hot-headed man, seeing him who boasted he should never be powerless in helpless woes nor able to weather the point. And so, for ever wreaking his former prosperity on the red of Justice, he perishes unaverted, unhealed' (Enum. 528-565).

A religious moralist is sure to emphasize the inevitability of ἄργνω (e.g. Ag. 1560; Cho. 1076), but there are careful evasions against Malianism:"

'Instruct my son pleasedly," says Darius, "warned from heaven as he has been to wise in time, that he leave off from offending the gods, and whatsoever boldness (παράταξις)."

The murderers of the house of Atreus are even freer agents than the avengers. But if there has been no repentance and no purification, vengeance proceeds even to the very uterus (i.e. 351).

'For this office has piercing Pates allotted to us to hold for ever, that all mortals to whom they wanton deeds of blood, we shall sow the guilty as guilt-bearing to the world; but even in death he is not over free' (Enum. 331-340).

"The Xenophilos allusions to life after death are marked by a more frequent and more poetical descriptions of Hades; as to continued consciousness he is perhaps consistent (Cho. 517); but he recognizes the possibilities of prolonged retribution and of remorseful memory, such as that indicated in Clytemnestra's".

The terror and despair of the father (Ag. 1555-1559). Apart from the functions of an Alastor (Supp. 416) or an Eriny (Enum. 267), there may be a judgment in Hades by a presence of the (Supp. 228-231). The ghost of Orestes will remain and the vengeance of the Erinyes will deal with them they deal with Athens (Enum. 767-777). The curses of the slain subsist by the survival of their personalities (but πολυκράτεις ἀρης ἐπιμυθηκόν, Cho. 406); the Erinyes are called Ἀρης in the underworld (Enum. 417)."

4. But the more vividly sin is pictured as prolific and its effects as incalculable, the more difficulty there is in escaping from fatalistic theories, such as those implied in the popular ideas of the ancestral curse and the μεταλλονίς developing into a blood feal. These subjects specially fascinated the mind of Ἀπερίδας. In the "Suppl" there is a simple form of the danger of starting a curse: '

'For your children and your house, in whichever way you determine, it remains to pay in full a corresponding penalty' (383-346); and in the sequel there was some purification from blood-guilt. In the absence of the idea of a curse not clearly defined as invoked or inherited by him (832-833), nor always alluded to in the same way (for the various phrases see Cho. 707, 645, 698, 709, 729-726, 857, 977-978). The curses (ἀρης, επιμυθηκόν) proceed in the γένους a criminal propensity (ἀρης), sometimes personified as an evil spirit (παράσιθω, ἐρανός, ἀλατώρ, even μοῖρας οἱ kyr) hounding it to destruction and infections by its φηλλα κκατ: 'the fury proceeds to wreak death' (Sept. 601). The chorus, indeed, makes Eteocles a responsible agent on account of his savage desire to shed unlawful blood (ἀρης οἱ θεματω, 669-694, but to the question τί οἱ καταρ- μόμος ποίαι, the poet has not yet found his solution: ὅτι οἴκη γῆρος τῶν τῶν μασμάτων (682), unless one is indicated in the self-sacrifice of Antigone. But ten years later the double problem of hereditary criminality and blood-guiltiness is treated in the "Orestes" with a breadth of design which is not only poetic but 'prophecy.' There is little reason to suppose that early tragedy was necessarily written in trilogies, but the scheme is admirably suited to the chorus' exposition of origin, commission, and extinction of a πύραρχος ἄρης (Ag. 1192).

The principal terms, ἄρης, ἀρην, ἄρης, are developing specific meanings; besides them are vogue phrases (μια, Ag. 155; μια, Enum. 575, ἄρης, Cho. 155; παρασιθω, Ag. 218; παράς, Ag. 346; παράς, Cho. 947, etc.). The phenomena are best stated in Cho. 400-405: 'Law it is that drops of gore spilt upon the ground demand the shedding of other blood. For Havoc cries on the avenging Fury, who brings up from those slain before calamity (ἀρης) to attend upon calamity; and then who will expel from the house the breed of the curse? εκδιάγγελλος γένος πόλεμον (Ag. 1556). The story of the house of Pelopis is not laboured; but a sufficient number of points—the adultery of Thyestes, Atreu's horrid revenge, the sacrifice of Iphigenia—lead up to the murder of Agamemnon. At each point the chain might have been broken, but each link is fresh riveted: 'Where will the force of this Αρης make an end? where will it cease and be lulled to rest?' (Cho. 1075). Has the curse acquired a personal force (παράς) below: εκδιάγγελλος γένος πόλεμον (Ag. 1470), demanding new blood before the old is dry, or as the παλαιός δρόμος αλάτωρ (Ag. 1501), masquer-
Along the instrument of justice? (Cho. 641). Yet among the consequences may come a deed which, though terrible, is really innocent, an ἀνευφαμένος ἔργον, while declaring that the house is "fast-bound," grasps the truth that saves the morality of the situation. All retribution is and must be deserved;* the role is that of the elders, robbed and marked in full. There abides, while Zeus abides on his throne, the rule that the doer must suffer; this is the eternal law (Ag. 1562-1564). The curse, then, is not an overwhelming fatality, but a hereditary proscription which marks the race and even the individual. The original transgressor was free to sin, and his descendant is free to adopt the prescribed means of purification. The actual development of this theme in connection with the traditional obligation of the blood-feud is perhaps confused by a political motive; and the special pleading in the Eumenides about the nature of kinship is certainly rigid, as also the insistence on blood is not mystic, μετρητές, σωφρόνεις; the idea of blood for blood was so deeply rooted in popular sentiment and religious institutions, that *Aeschylus, no less than the legislators of his time, may well have been hazy in guilt, except by instinct. If the law is simply ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀρίστακτον (Cho. 144), Clytemnestra may be allowed to swear that she sacrificed her husband to the Δίον, ἀρην, and Ἐφίππος of their daughter (Ag. 1453). If not, how can Orestes ever say that his mother's blood 'sleeps and is fading away from his hand, and the pollution is being washed out'? (Eum. 280). No divisions are of any use (Cho. 289—especially if the blood is κατάκοινον even 1068); the spirit of the dead is not tampered with the funeral fires, φαίνει ἀνώτερον ὅραμα (Cho. 336); and the feud would go on for ever, or till the family become extinct. In *Aeschylus's solution of the problem there are really two stages, of which the latter is the more important. Orestes can plead innocence because he acts under the 'interpretation' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱεράς τοῦ μαρτυροντος, Eum. 305) and even threats (Cho. 289-289) of Apollo-Lexins, and is ready to perform the ritual purifications (Cho. 1039); and the Delphic oracle had since the 8th century really exercised an ethical and educational influence in Greece. On the other hand, *Aeschylus felt that neither the payment of blood-money nor the performance of ritual can quiet the conscience or carry civilization very far. It is perhaps too much to say that Apollo is 'kein guter Gott'; but the ultimate and really moral solution is to be found in the judicial decision of Athena on the divided vote of the Areopagus, which herself represents as the victory of the νοῦς πολιτικοῦ regarded as the νοῦς Δεί; ἄνωτέρως Ζεὺς ἰτομόριος (Eum. 978). The Oresteia, then, is certainly a 'tendency' poem to this extent, that it expresses a view in the moral and religious speculations of the age as to heredity and responsibility, though it fails to answer on any particular question of justice or equity.*

5. In the Oresteia the final reconciliation is provided by the gods; in the Prometheus they sustain the whole drama. Except in a few details attributable to a re-reading of his Supplicies, the surviving play of the set (probably two tragedies with a satyr play) is totally opposed to *Aeschylus's theology in all its stages. Prometheus, son of Theban Zeus (Sicily 374f., in *Aeschylus was worked out in the older dynasty (221), but is now tortured for having saved the human race by the gift of fire, the chief instrument of civilization, of anger and medicine, and of other means of providing for the

* This view of the Eumenides is to be considered even than that which makes the Furies represent law, Apollo and Zeus as in a virtual question of moral casuistry. For that view see Haigh, p. 119.

future, and of Hope as the main spring of effort (249-250, 442-450). All who visit the victim, whether as Zeus's agents—Strength, Hephaestus, and Hermes—or as sympathizers like the Orcans, Oceanus, and Io—have suffered more or less in person or in character from Zeus, who is a νοῦς τόρας, governing gods and men arbitrarily (σαβ' ἀναφ. 189; οἰόν τοῖς τόρας, 404), unjustly, piously, but foolishly, and odoiously (975). But Prometheus, by virtue of his parentage, knows a secret; if Zeus contracts a certain marriage,* his son will be greater than the sire (706, 907-927); in this respect Zeus's power is weaker than the sire (913-915). The fragments of the Solstis indicate close parallelism in form and episodes to the Vinctus; in the solution Zeus and Prometheus meet one another halfway in a reconciliation, of which the agents are Heracles and Chiron the Centaur (cf. Prom. Vinct. 188-194, 1026-1029). Now this conception of a Zeus, inferior both in righteousness and in power, is out of all relation to the Supplicies and the Oresteia alike, and no theory of the problem's meaning can be accepted which minimizes this fact. Apart from purely fanciful explanations of the plays as political or scientific allegory, two views have been very commonly held.

(a) A tragedian was at liberty to develop his dramatic situations freely, provided he kept to the main lines of some recognized myth. *Aeschylus found Hesiod's story of Prometheus suitable for the exhibition of character as affected by injustice, and susceptible of brilliant episodes about geography, anthropology, etc. This view, as developed by (e.g.) Patin and Paley, may be called the literary explanation. *Weil, in his theory, that Zeus is in the right and Prometheus wrong, and shortsighted, but a tragic hero by virtue of a certain dignity of character, like Milton's Satan, comes under the same head. But no such theory really explains the boldness of the idea, the conflation of myths, or the intensity of the passion with which the hero is supported.

Accordingly, (b) most modern scholars, including E. de Faye, regard *Aeschylus as deliberately inculcating the position that even the supreme personal authority in the Universe is itself subject to the eternal laws (Μορφαί) which constitute the ultimate necessity (Ἀρχαιοκρατεῖν). Prometheus, the mythical representative of these forces, is, then, really in the right, and Zeus is in the wrong with him and with Io; but Zeus's submission is effected by the educational value of time (Ἀκόλουθοι τοῦ ἁγίου τηρέατος ἱστορίας, 981); and Prometheus, too, can yield without loss of dignity to an improved Zeus. This view gives an adequate meaning to the play as a whole, but it seems to lay undue stress on lines occurring in mere dialogue and not specially emphasized, and also to ignore the human personality of the protagonist. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine the author of the Oresteia and its epitheus for Zeus acquisicing even temporarily in the idea of such development in the god, nor indeed in the hero.

Those, therefore (c), who hold the view first enunciated by a brother poet, Shelley, that Prometheus stands for Man, anxious to be moral and religious as well as rational, but convinced that he is the victim of forces incompletely understood, of the de facto supremacy of 'Nature,' prefer to trace in this drama the Greek parallel to the Book of Job. *Aeschylus was too great a poet to be a mere allegist; but when his mind was occupied with the problem of undeserved evil, he found in the arch-aggressor Hesiod that the origin of evil was the gift of fire and the creation of woman by Prometheus. He selected with a free hand from the poem of *Aeschylus's Prometheus the story of Peleus and Thetis with even less connection than Io with the myth of Prometheus, and wrote an apparently astrological explanation of certain fire ceremonies.
AESTHETICISM—AESTHETICS

this and other myths the more dramatic parts of the symbolism. The mention of Heraclés may have suggested the insertion of his ancestress Io, the passive as a foil to the actively-resisting victim. The same may be said of the geography, for if they bring out the dignity of human reason and the universality of human suffering. The heroic sympathy of the Oedipus illustrates the value of this motive in the Hellenic. The philosophical answer seems to be indicated in the words συνέδρια, repeated at every point of the play (see 64, 79, 436, 907, 964, 1012, 1034-1038), and φύσσευμα, the special quality of Themis, set in antithesis to it in the last lines of the dialogue. In the two recitative passages assigned to the hero in the Exodos, the boast πάντως λέει γ’ ο θεάτηρον (1053) must have special significance as balancing the protest τούτοις ἡ λέει ἡ λέει φύσσευμα. But it is likely enough that the solution of the problem, like the conclusion of the Book of Job, was too formal a compromise to be altogether satisfactory; and that may be the reason why it has perished. The whole tendency of Eschylus’s mind is so strongly optimistic in theology, that it would right itself naturally after a reactionary period of what is possessimien rather than scepticism, however dramatically intense.

Eschylus’s originality as a thinker consists, then, in his attempts to moralize the traditional beliefs, embodied in myths and institutions, by the light of certain religious presuppositions and certain moral convictions which have been intimated above. In his main ideas there is little variation, except in their poetical expression; in the detailed application of them his language fluctuates too much to add considerable interest. His dealings with the divine law so completely, that Plato could employ the myth of Prometheus without reference to a treatment of the subject which the modern world has long considered one of the most sublime efforts of poetic genius.

LITERATURE.—Besides the introductions to editions of Eschylus, sections on him are to be found in all the general works on Greek literature or mythology. The most useful summary in English is in A. B. Haigh’s Tragic Drama of the Greeks, ch. ii. (1859). Of the innumerable essays on Eschylus those by J. A. Symonds (The Greek Poets, 2nd series) and E. Myers (Hellenics) are best known. Of older books the most frequently referred to are K. O. Müller’s Disertaciones de Zum Enniusen (Eng. tr. revised, 1850); F. Walcker’s Griechisches, Göttertale (1857), and K. F. Niælbach’s Theochymische Theologie (1857). The principal monographs are Klaffen’s Theologie und Eschyle (1859); G. Drenke’s Religion und Mythologie des Alten Griechen (1863); A. Bochholt’s Sittliche Weltanschauung des (Pleiadas und) Eschyle (1882); and E. de Faye’s Étude sur les idées religieuses et morales d’Eschyle (1884).

HERBERT E. D. BLAKISTON.

AESTHETICISM (εσθήτικη, ‘sense perception’).

—The theory of life which fails to distinguish moral from aesthetic values, or subordinates the moral to the aesthetic. Ordinary the term is not used as a distinctive title for specific theories, but as denoting a tendency of theories otherwise named. Three usages of the term may be conveniently distinguished:

1. Aestheticism may denote the identification of moral goodness with beauty, such as is suggested in the common Greek phrase ‘beautiful and good.’ Morality and art may be looked upon as the realization of a common principle, that of order or harmony. The good man, like the musician to whom Aristotle is fond of comparing him, is the man who can introduce harmony into his subject, who can maintain that balance and symmetry of parts essential to the highest music, that is, the life of the good man.

2. Aestheticism may also be used to denote the theory that all ultimate values are aesthetic, moral good being a means towards an ultimate aesthetic good. Under this conception the moral life is not itself beautiful, but it exists for the sake of aesthetic enjoyment. The concept of morality, with its sense of obligation, is a result of mal-adjustment, in consequence of which we are compelled to do much which we do not value for its own sake, but as the necessary means to an enjoyment which itself has no further use.

This conception finds literary expression in the writings of Mr. Walter Pater in which the end of life is stated as a rich and varied experience. This richness of experience is best realized in the life of aesthetic enjoyment.

3. Aestheticism also denotes the divorce of art and morals, usually implied in the popular use of the phrase ‘art for art’s sake.’ Beauty is held to be independent of goodness, the technical aspect of a work of art being emphasized at the expense of its human significance. Art thus becomes a kind of higher morality, free from the objective laws which hold in the lower. The immoral may thus enter into the beautiful on the ground of its immediate or perceptual experience.

LITERATURE.—Zeller, Aristotle and the Later Peripatetics (1897), ii. ch. xv.; Muirhead, Chapters from Aristotle’s Ethics (1900), ch. vi. § 5; Martineau, Types of Ethical Theory (1850), i. bk. i. Branch 1; Santayana, Sense of Beauty (1896), pt. 1; Pater, The Renaissance (1875), conclusion, also Martineau’s Epics of Art (1896); Shaftesbury, Character oft Art (1850); Bignor, History of Aesthetic (new ed. 1900), ch. iv.

AESTHETICS.—Aesthetics is the philosophical study of beauty regarded in itself and in its application to art and nature. (1) Meaning of the word. —Considered solely from the etymological point of view, art (from the Latin, aestern, the senses), the word means the study of sense-per-
exceptions. Kant remains faithful to this etymological acceptance when he applies the name of ‘Transcendental Ästhetics’ to the chapter of his *Critique* in which he sets forth his *Time and Space*. Baumgarten was the first to use the word ‘Ästhetics’ for the science of the beautiful; and the change that has taken place in the history of the term may be understood when it is realized that he first showed that the beautiful exists in the obscure regions of the lower consciousness, that it belongs to the rank of sensations, and is opposed to the ‘clear thinking’ of the intellect. In today the term ‘Ästhetics’ has lost this connexion with sensation, and denotes in general the philosophy of the beautiful.

(2) *Place of Ästhetics in philosophy.*—The philosophy of the beautiful is bound up with and forms an integral part of a general system of philosophy. But Ästhetics is one thing in Plotinus or Thomas Aquinas, and quite another in Kant or Taine, because the philosophical systems of these scholars are so widely divergent. In the opinion of the present writer, Ästhetics is a mixed science, borrowing its principles from both metaphysics and psychology; so that (see art. BEAUTY) it includes two classes of questions, the one class belonging to Ästhetics properly so-called, and the other reproduces in the person affected by its charm, and the other relating to the qualities of the things to which we ascribe beauty.

(3) History. Ancient writers devoted special attention to the objective side of beauty. Plato and Aristotle consider the beautiful as identical with order and proportion; Plotinus and the Neo-Platonic school make it an attribute of everything that exists, as an aspect of the doctrine of Ästhetics. While sharing largely in the objective theories of the beautiful, they supplemented them by a study of impression or aesthetic pleasure. Modern philosophy, on the contrary, takes its stand almost exclusively on the psychological side of beauty, and regards it as a purely subjective phenomenon. With Kant, for instance, beauty does not belong to the object itself, but only to our perception of it. ContemporarÄsthetics perpetuates and emphasizes these ultra-subjective tendencies.

**LI\_T\_R\_A\_T\_U\_R.**—See under BEAUTY.

**AÉTHER.**—Derived from a root signifying to burn, *Aether* is a term appropriated in Greek literature to the blue vault of the upper firmament, as contrasted with air, which is applied to mist and vapour.

In Homer *aether* is the abode of Zeus (II. i. 412, etc.). In Hesiod (Theog. 124) *Aether* and Day are the offspring of Night, and in at least one of the Orphic cosmologies, *Aether*, as representing light or fire, is contrasted with Chaos, and proceeds from Kronos (see Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr. 1901, i. 921). Pherecydes, who occupies the borderline between the mythical and the scientific, traces the origin of all things to Zeus, Earth, and Kronos, and identifies the first of these with *aether* (Diels, *Vor Sokratikern*, p. 508, No. 71, A 9).

The current conception of *aether* passed into the keeping of the philosophers, by whom it was variously defined and modified. In the Fragments of Parmenides *aether* is found as the region of the fixed stars (Fr. 10, 1, Diels), and as the fiery element of which their substance is composed (Fr. 11, 2, Diels); and although *Aëtias* indicates a distinction between either as the outermost covering of the universe and the subjacent fiery heaven, we cannot attach much weight to his authority (ii. 7: 1; cf. ii. 15, 7, and see Kriese, *Forschungen*, pp. 114, 115). In Homer *aether* is signified as *air,* except in one doubtful passage (Fr. 38, 4, Diels). On the other hand, Anaxagoras regarded *aer* and *aether* as the two primary differentiations of being—the cold and dark contrasted with the bright and warm (Fr. 1, 2, Diels). Indeed, we are informed that he expounded other as consisting of air (A 73, Diels). In the formation of the world, the dense, wet, cold, and dark sank into the centre, while the rare, hot, and dry went to join the enveloping *aether* (Fr. 15, Diels). From Anaxagoras it is convenient to pass to Empedocles, who is said to have been largely influenced by his teaching (Diod. i. 7, 7). There are various references to *aether* in Euripides, which may be the reflexion of either of popular forms of the current science of both. Thus the identification of Zeus with *aether* carries us back to Pherecydes, and anticipates the pantheism of the Stoics (Fr. 935; cf. *Asch. Fr. 650*). The conception of *Aether* as the husband of Earth, quickening all things into life by his fertilizing showers, is the common property of many poets and philosophers (Eur. Frs. 485, 836; and see Munro on Lucr. i. 250). Similar to this is the notion that the vital breath is derived from *aether,* and that the soul, retaining its consciousness after death, is absorbed in the source from which it sprang (Hdt. 1014; Suppl. 531; cf. Lucr. v. 319). Though it has often been supposed that *Aether* is the place of the soul in the Empedoclean cosmogony, it is noteworthy that the same thought is found in the inscription over those who fell at Potidæa (C.I.A. i. 442), and may well be due, as has been recently suggested (C.I.R. xiv. 431), to a popular belief which arose in connexion with the practice of cremation. The soul of the dead man was thought to ascend with the smoke which rose from the burning corpse.

By the side of the four elements generally recognized in philosophy, from the time of Empedocles onwards,—fire, air, water, and earth,—*aether* ultimately came to be admitted as a fifth; but it is still open to question whether this view was derived by the Platonic school from the Pythagoreans (Zeller, *Pre-Socratics*, vol. i. p. 318, n.). Plato, in the *Timæus,* does not adopt this position (581d); and though there is strong evidence that it formed part of his oral doctrine (Xenocrates, *op. Simplici*, Phys. 268a), and it is accepted by the author of the *Epinomis* (981c), its definite establishment is generally connected with the name of Aristotle, from whose statement of the theory through the scholastic gloss *aether* is derived our word *quintessence.* Eternal and immutable, providing the substance of the heavenly spheres and stars, ceaselessly rotating round the world, but transcending the strife of the terrestrial elements (de Cad. i. 2. 269a 9, 1. 3. 270a 13, 6), *aether* was at once material and divine. The Stoics took a further step by identifying the substance of *aether* with God. It is described as fiery breath or creative fire, the rarest and most subtle of all bodies (*Chrysipp. op. Ar. Did. Fr. 31, Diels*), which produces out of itself the phenomenal world, passing through the medium of the elements. The universe, subject to a law of ceaseless flux and reflux, moves either in creative progress or towards periodic conflagration. When everything is consumed by fire, the world-soul and the world are united in the single essence of *aether* (*Chrysipp. op. Plut. Comm. Nat. 36*). But when, by the expenditure of its constituent forces, the created world is in existence, the ruling power resides in the outermost periphery of *aether* (Diog. Laert. vii. 129; *Ar. Did. Fr. 29, Diels*). This *aether* as the world-soul, it permeates every part of the universe, and is the immanent cause of all individual existence (Diog. Laert. vii. 135). Thus may be justified the summary assertion of Chrysippus, that *aether* is the something, being at once all-fair and son (Philodem. *Piat. c. 13, p. 50. 26*).

A. C. Pearson.
ÆTILOGY (αἰτιολογία).—The doctrine of causes. The latter part of the Categories of Aristotle (chs. 10–15), early suspected, but possibly compiled from Aristotelian fragments (Zeller's Arist., Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 66), contains the Post-prædicamenta which give the clue to the subsequent position and treatment of ætiology. In the treatises on Metaphysics which are based on the scholastic philosophy, 'General Metaphysics' is distinguished from 'Special Metaphysics,' notwithstanding the existence of a point, precisely as 'General Philosophy' is distinguished from 'Special Philosophy' by H. Spencer (First Principles, § 38). General metaphysics treats of—(1) Being and its properties; (2) the highest kinds of beings, i.e. the categories; (3) the relations of beings to each other. The third head embraces the same subject as the Post-prædicamenta, the whole division being foreshadowed by the Anta-prædicamenta (due to Abelard), Prædicamenta and Post-prædicamenta of the medieval logic. Of the five relations treated of in the Post-prædicamenta—oportet, prioritas, simulitas, mutus, and habere—two, prioritas and simulitas, are especially concerned with causality. The first two divisions of general metaphysics, dealing with universals, the six transcendentals, the nature of being, the supreme characteristic of a being are somewhat regarded as constituting Ontology. The third division, which deals with the relations of finite beings to each other and to the Infinite, will thus contain as its most important part the doctrine of causes—Ætiology.

If we turn to modern philosophy, the position of ætiology is not different. In the contents of Burgerdyck's Institutiones Metaphysicae (Mansel, Metaph., p. 288), the doctrine of causes occupies a similar position, and has a place in Wolff's Ontologia. K. Rosenkranz (Wissenschaft d. log. Idee) divides metaphysics into Ontology, Ætiology, Teleology (Erdmann's Hist. of Philosophy, tr. vol. iii. §346.11). E. von Hartmann (Katarmischenlehre) under the categories of speculative thought, puts Casuality (Ætiology), Finality (Teleology), Substantiality (Ontology).

We do not propose to enter into an examination of the various forms and shades of meaning which the doctrine of ætiology assumes in these several systems. Nor does it belong to this article to view the subject of causation from the point of view of the theory of causation as such. It is the theory of the causation of the universe which is here to be considered. We shall confine ourselves to considering simply the leading forms of the theory of the nature and classification of causes in the successive periods of the history of philosophy. For this purpose the history of philosophy may perhaps be divided as into three periods—the ancient, the medieval, and the modern. The leading characteristic of each of these periods is as follows: in ancient philosophy (Greek) the antithesis of subject and object, of mind and matter, as two substances over against each other, is absent. Thought and being, the one and the many, are objectively equal. In the second period, owing to the development of Aristotelian philosophy itself, and the spread of the Roman conceptions of authoritative law and duty, but above all, owing to the influence of Christianity, the spiritual and material are conceived as essentially opposed, and the attempt is made under this altered point of view to retain the Greek solution of the problem. The substance of this solution is dogmatically affirmed in Scholasticism. What is not shown is that it is possible under the changed point of view. Modern philosophy consists in the constant effort to prove the possibility of the solution, to explain the manner in which spiritual and material being interact, affect, and condition each other. In modern philosophy, not the dogmatic result itself, but the way in which it is obtained, is the leading interest. The ætiological problem becomes an essentially different one in each of these periods.

In Greek philosophy the antithesis of subject and object is absent. Nature is instinct with motion, life, reason. The notion of personality is undeveloped, but at the same time the tendency to personification is omnipresent (see Jowett, Plato, vol. i. p. xiv). Thought is not a modification of a conscious mind, but consciousness is the accident, a ripple on the surface of nature (see Martineau's Types of Ethical Theory, vol. i. p. 23). From this point of view the antitheses with which Greek philosophy dealt—the one and the many, the real and the apparent, thought and being—are all reconcilable by one concept—that of mixture. 'There is only mingling, and then a separation of the mingled' (Empedocles, v. 36). This mingling, or, as Plato termed it, 'participation (αἰτιολογία)' when conceived as the union of the one and the many, of form and matter, ὕσσεσι καὶ ἄτομα, gives the well-known fourfold classification of causes of Aristotle—the formal, material, efficient, and final (ὑσσει καὶ το ὕσσει ὕσσει καὶ το ὕσσει καὶ το ὕσσει). The principles intermingled are the four, and the active form, the composition is effected, and the end to be realized by the efficient, are the efficient and final causes. The latter causes, however, are never considered as distinct from the principles intermingled. The individual Greek thinkers illustrate this position. Aristotle has pointed out that the early ætiologists recognized only the material cause (ἡσιός). The water of Thales, the air of Anaximenes, were material causes. The ἡσιός of Anaxagoras must not be conceived as a mere prime mover, a distinct agency detached from the universe to which it communicates motion. It passes into things. It is in all eternity the mover of the cause of the universe, but with them in the coarse sense, but it permeates them (cf. Zeller, Pre-Socratic Philosophy, Eng. tr. vol. i. pp. 222, 223, vol. ii. pp. 27, 28). In like manner, even when the efficient cause begins to receive distinct recognition, as in the lover and hate of Empedocles, or the ἡσιός of Anaxagoras, it still is not separate from the material cause. The ἡσιός of Anaxagoras must not be conceived as a mere prime mover, a distinct agency detached from the universe to which it communicates motion. It passes into things. It is in all eternity the mover of the cause of the universe, but with them in the coarse sense, but it permeates them (cf. Zeller, Pre-Socratic Philosophy, vol. ii. pp. 243 ff.). When Socrates, in the Phaedo, complains that Anaxagoras did not make full use of his principle (Aristotle makes the same complaint), this is not an ignoratio elenchii, as Leves (Hist. of Philosophy, vol. i. p. 84) represents it. Socrates does not desiderate a physico-teleological theory of the universe in the modern sense. It is only to be expected that, in moving the universe, should impart something of its own sublime rational nature to things, should more or less pass over into them. The Platonic ideal doctrine does no less. Socrates and Plato thus bring to the focus the causal idea itself, and the spread of the causal idea.

As is well known, the causal activity of the ideas is the crux of the Platonic philosophy. In one of its forms, at any rate, the formal cause is naturally regarded as essential existence, and the efficient cause identical with the form, the Ideas. The demiurg in Plato is most probably to be viewed, not as the exclusive activity of the highest idea, the idea of the Good, the One (as by Martineau, Types of Ethical Theory, vol. i. p. 23), but the manifestation of the principle of activity or efficiency flowing from the Good, and pervading the whole world of ideas. We thus see that efficiency, action may be identified with either the matter or the form.

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When Aristotle brought down form from the far-off ἀνάμισθος or intelligible world of Plato, and incorporated it into the existing world, he remained, to which side action, efficiency, was to be attributed, and Aristotle is generally interpreted as assigning it exclusively to form. In favour of this view is held to be the insistence of Aristotle upon ἀνάμισθος, the thought of thought; but the interpretation is probably one-sided. There is much in Aristotle to lead us to regard the Absolute as dwelling in a sort of supersensuous sensuous world. Aristotle is a transcendental thinker. The various grades is a σύνεσις, a composition of matter and form—not merely through the element of form, but also through that of matter. In *Metaph.* viii. (ix.) s. end, the argument against the ideal theory contends that the ideas, as such, are mere potentialities (δυνάμεις). This view would help to solve the ancient controversy as to the pantheism or monism of Aristotle, the immunance or transcendence of the Absolute.

In the Neo-Platonic philosophy the ideal world of Plato and the Divine σοφία of Aristotle is hypostasized into a series of personal beings. This philosophy is an attempt to give a philosophical world or universe itself a form. The second part of the *Philosophie der Wissenschaft* philosophy itself to pass over into that antithesis which dominates Christian philosophy—the antithesis of subject and object, spirit and nature. St. Augustine views the Platonic ideas no longer as independent substances, but as ideas in the mind of God. The hierarchy of ideas and emanations yields to the heavenly hierarchy. With this change of view the combination or composition of form and matter, of idea and reality, becomes a most difficult problem. The community of idea and reality, the intercourse of mind and matter, can no longer be conceived as a mere mingling or composition of the two, if the idea as universal dwells in a separate substance—mind. The great controversy of the Middle Ages, of Realism and Nominalism regarding universals, is the struggle with this problem. Yet in regard to etiology, the real interest does not lie in this problem, but in a greater one connected with it. Granting that reality is the union of matter and form, which factor in this union is the active one? Thomas Aquinas answers, 'form': 'Forma est agendi principium' (*Stöckl, Geschichte der Philosophie*; *Scheffler, Geschichte der Philosophie*; *Hartmann, Geschichte der Philosophie*). The problem of the relation of the causal power in the universe to those principles of matter and form, the union of which to the Scholastic as much as to Aristotle is the problem of the great rival systems of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, and from which their other differences proceed. In both Aquinas and Scotus, however, the source of the efficiency is transcendent, whether it be the Divine intellect or will which determines the thing.

Modern philosophy, from Descartes and Spinoza to Hegel and Hartmann, Spencer and Lewes, is engaged on the problem of explaining how the interaction of matter, spirit, and nature, takes place. It has been held by Bayle and Roussetel that Spinoza's philosophy is contained in that of Scotus. This is true in a sense. But the ultimate causal principle is in Scotus transcendent; in Spinoza transcendental. This difference is characteristic of modern philosophy. The solution is no longer taken from the transcendent sphere. If the Absolute is called in, it is, as in Spinoza, Leibniz, Schelling, Hegel, an immanent, not transcendent Absolute.

Of the problem thus handed down it cannot be said that the solution has yet been reached. In the *Metaphysica* of Leibniz and the Absolute Idea of Hegel it is form, the ideal side, that contains the principle of all causal agency in the universe. These principles differ from the Platonic idea in this, that they are subjects, have the objective world over against them, even if that world have no being apart and be a nullity or contradiction at the core. In Schelling and Hartmann only the Will, the material side, actualizes the representation or idea. The 'willing to will' of Hartmann answers to the *materia prima* of Duns Scotus. It is the same in our English philosophy. Out of the unknowable Absolute of Spencer, and the known Absolute of Lewes, the material, organic, and mental worlds proceed. Yet the relation of these higher forms to the primordial matter and motion is unsolved. The physical and teleological problems are still unsolved.


**AFFECTION.**—A psychic aspect of life which comes to consciousness as concrete states of Feeling (which see); the abstract quale of feeling consciousness. In the newer divisions of the fundamental or rudimentary aspects of conscious process it has been found necessary to distinguish the concrete given states of mind, characterized as Knowledge, Feeling or Emotion, and Will, from those abstract and largely hypothetical qualities which, although never found alone, nevertheless serve to define the concrete states. For example, a state of feeling is always or usually both of knowledge of an object and of active tendency or will. Since never realized in its purity, it becomes necessary, therefore, to define such a state by what it would be if so realized. The characteristic aspect of consciousness whereby it is not knowledge or will, but feeling, is what is called 'affection.' It is the differential characteristic of feeling or willing. Similarly, a state of knowledge is never feelingless nor will-less; its differential as knowledge is its reference to an object; it is called 'cognition.' With active process, or in a large sense Will, the same sort of distinction leads us to the determination of its differentia as a certain active quality called 'conation.' Affection, cognition, and conation are therefore the three fundamental aspects of conscious process, considered as irreducible phases of what in a case of concrete happening is, usually at least, all three. Cf. Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, art. 'Affection,' 'Cognition,' 'Conation,' and 'Classifications of the Mental Functions' (by Stout).

**AFFIRMATION.**—1. In legal parlance an affirmation is distinguished from an oath in that no penalty is invoked upon himself for false witness by the person affirming. It seems to have arisen in the scruples of those who felt the danger of invoking the name of the Deity in case of memory or statement led to unforeseen consequences. Courts, seeing that testimony from persons of this character might be quite as reliable as any supported by an oath, finally accepted
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2. Affirmation, in logical and philosophical discussion, is distinguished from negation or denial. It thus means the statement of a fact. It may represent nothing more than a belief that a given thing is a fact, but, so long as it takes the form of a positive statement, it is called an affirmation.

To assert, to posit, to assererate, to declare are the equivalents of affirmation, and, of course, mean at least the formal assurance that the thing affirmed is a fact. In formal logic, affirmation is a name for a certain type of judgment which is distinguishe by the grammatical form or mode of statement, and not by the meaning or content of the sentence, or by the particular state of mind out of which the statement issues.

Psychologically speaking, however, affirmation denotes a degree of tenacity in conviction which looks towards assurance, and it expresses that state of mind. Negation or denial expresses the same kind of mental state, while doubt is the opposite of both affirmation and negation. Hence psychologically there is no difference between affirmation and negation, in so far as assurance is concerned, but only a difference in reference to the relation between the ideas involved in the mental process of comparison and judgment. That is, the difference between affirmation and negation concerns the content of the judgment, and not its mental state of conviction. Affirmation implies a certain kind of connection between subject and predicate, and negation excludes it.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

AFGHANISTAN.—Afghanistan (lit. 'land of the Afghans') is a country of south-central Asia, whose location and political importance have led to its playing a part in the religious history of the Orient from the time of Zoroaster to the appearance of Muhammad. The present boundaries of this mountainous land are political rather than geographical, as they are largely defined by the fact that Afghanistan is a buffer-country between the English empire of India on the south and south-east and the Russian provinces of Bokhara and Turkistan on the north, while Persia and Baluchistan limit its western and southern frontiers.

In the first chapter of the Avesta (Vd. i. 7) the ancient northern capital Balkh (Bakhidh) is referred to as a beautiful city with banners floating from its high walls, and there is a persistent tradition that the city was a strong religious centre, the Lohan, the father of Vishtasp, patron of Zoroaster, and that Zoroaster himself was slain there when the Turanians stormed Balkh during the Holy War which Iran had started against Turan. The modern capital Kabul (Kával in Persian) is probably the successor of Balkh. It appears in the Avesta (Vd. i. 9) as Vackereta, and the region of the Helmand, the chief river of Afghanistan, the Etymonds of the Greeks, is called Haetamant (Ph. Hétamant) in the same Zoroastrian low-look (Vd. 1. 13). The old Afghan district in south-western Afghanistan was the home of the Zoroastrian dynasty of the Kaianians and the place of the holy lake Kan-suaya (mod. Haimon) of the Avesta, from whose mountains the Persian invasion of the west Indies was said to have proceeded by the Millenium. Zoroastrianism appears also to have prevailed in the land during the Parthian and Sassanian eras, from B.C. 250 to A.D. 650, although some Greek religious influences may well have followed in the wake of Alexander's invasion. Buddhism made some progress in Afghanistan, being traceable chiefly to Indians who emigrated from the Indus to the Helmand region after the scythian invasion, and who carried with them, among their sacred treasures, the water-pot of the blessed Buddha himself. This relic was preserved in a shrine near the ancient site of Kandahar, and is described by Bellow, who says it, as 'a huge bowl carved on a solid block of dark green serpen time' (see Races of Afghanistan, p. 22).

The conquest of the country by the Arabs in the 7th cent. destroyed all previous religious foundations, and paved the way for the building up of Islam. Muhammadanism became the national faith of the Afghans, and has remained, mainly in its Sunnite form, their creed and chief bond of union, although they acknowledge the political hegemony of an Amir over their loosely connected tribes.

The Afghan nation consists of a number of tribes considerably divergent in their character, with a population variously estimated at between 3,000,000 and 6,000,000. Most important are the Afghans and Pathuns, who constitute the chief element of the population, together with the clans known as Ghilzais in the east, Yusufzais and Afridis on the Indian border, the Durans to the west, and the Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbegs, and Aimaks, mostly showing traces of Mongolian blood, to the north and north-west. The great majority of the Afghans belong ethnologically to the Iranian stock; and although there is an intermixture of blood, especially on the borders, there is no good reason for accepting the view that they were of Semitic origin, while they may preserve some much later and later date and show certain slight Semitic traces.

The language of the country is generally called Afghan, but often Pukhtun or Pashtun, the former (Pukhtun) being North Afghan, the latter (Pashtun) South Afghan. The literature of the people is but scanty, and no monuments have been traced farther back than the 16th century. Most interesting among the remains are the Afghan folk-songs, a collection of which has been made by the French scholar Darmesteter, and among these ballads are a number that deal with religion.


A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

The name 'Afghan,' first appearing in literature in al-Biruni's India (tr. Sachau, i. 208), is of uncertain origin. In the old Afghan charters the term 'Pashtun' appears to be a designation of Pukhtun or Pushtun, older form Pashin, Pashán (whence their Indian name

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the World, Edinburgh, 1876, p. 141), where the natives even now treat fire with reverence, being reluctant to blow out a light (Wood, in the Sources of the River Oxus, new ed., London, 1872, p. 333). Buddhism, however, has left not only many small figures at Hilla and Kabul (Vigne, Personal Narrative of a Visit to Afghanistan, Kabul, and Afghanistan, London, 1849, p. 207), but also some ninety topest, dating mostly from the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., and found chiefly at Darunta, Chunar, Hilla, Kabul, Koh Damani, and Kohiwat; as well as ruins of Buddhist monasteries at Jamalgiri, Takh-i-Bahi, and Sahi Bahlol, which show distinct influence of Greek art. Sculptures of the Buddha have also been found at Bamiyan (Wilson, in Vigne, op. cit. pp. 187-192); and the Chinese travellers Fa Hsien (tr. Legge, Oxford, 1886, pp. 33-40) and Huen Tsang (tr. Beal, London, 1884, i. 98-103) both describe Kanishka's magnificent dasgoba at Peshawar.

Modern Afghanistan, as noted in the preceding article, is wholly Muhammadan. Besides official Sunnite orthodoxy, however, there exists a mixture of Semitic and Indian folk-belief. To this category belongs the vast number of saint-shrines, which consist either of the domed tomb of some saint or of a heap of stones, enclosed by a wall and usually surrounded by trees or bushes (Bello, Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan, London, 1862, pp. 70-71, 107-109, 338)—a religious phenomenon common amongst both the modern Semites and Hindus (Cartiss, Primitive Semitic Religion To-day, New York, 1902, passim; Cooke, Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India, Westminster, 1896, i. 183-185, 189-228). Again, levirate marriage is practised, and it is a grievous affront not to ask the brother's consent if the widow be again married, though, if she have children, it is considered more honourable for her to remain unwedded (Elphinstone, Account of the Kingdom of Cabul, London, 1825, i. 236). Amongst some tribes, moreover, it is customary for the suitor to serve the father of his would-be bride for many years, as Jacob served Laban for Rachel's sake (ib. p. 240; Bello, Journal, p. 27). The blood-feud, as amongst the Semites, is a sacred duty (Elphinstone, op. cit. i. 220-221; Conolly, Journey to the North of India's, London, 1835, ii. 163-165); and blasphemers, as amongst the Hebrews, are stoned to death (Bello, Journal, p. 68). In time of pestilence a buffalo or cow is led through or around the village or camp. The sins of the community are then ceremonially transferred to the victim's head, after which it is either slaughtered and its flesh divided between the priests and the poor, or it is driven into the wilderness (Bello, loc. cit.). This practice, familiar from the Hebrew scapegoat, is also found extensively in Northern India (Cooke, op. cit. i. 142, 166-167, 169-170).

Dreams, the evil eye, exorcism, ordeals, and omens are, of course, attentively regarded by the Afghans; so that a high wind for three days is a sign that a murder has been committed, since, when Cain slew Abel, there was a similar commotion of the elements (Conolly, op. cit. ii. 157-164). The popular demons of Afghan folk-belief are jins, peris, als, and parrais. The jins and peris are common to all popular Muhammadan mythology, but the als and parrais (the latter words by logic variation of the former) are plainly Indian in origin. The als, described as a woman about twenty years of age, with long teeth and nails, eyes curving down the side of the nose, feet turned backward, and a beard foremost, and the parrais (op. cit. pp. 211-212), is manifestly the churel of Northern India (Cooke, op. cit. i. 269-271; Calcutta Review, No. cliii. p. 180 ff.), who, though
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she may assume a beautiful form, is in reality 'very ugly and black, breastless, protruding in stomach and navel, and feet turned back' (Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, Bombay, 1884, p. 318). In Armenian folklore the ał is also found, though differing materially from the Indo-Afghan concept (cf. 'Amiran, *Armen. Volksglaube*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 118-120). The paryat, a huge monster, with flabby breasts thrown back over her shoulders, stretching out her hairy arms to any length, and devouring those who answer her plaintive cry for help (op. cit. 1, 554-555), is clearly the Indian rakhāsh (Crooke, op. cit. 1, 246-253), who plays an important part in Hindu folk-tales. Though the Afghans are essentially an Iranian people (Deniker, *Roses of Men*, London, 1901, p. 420), they thus exhibit a tradition of prehistoric concepts, for which they have substituted an amalgam of Semitic and Indian beliefs.


LOUIS H. GRAY.

AFRICA. (The purpose of this article is to give a general account of the ethnology, religions, and ethics of Africa. A detailed description of the various religions will be found in the following articles: BANTUS AND S. AFRICA, BERBERS AND N. AFRICA, HAMITES AND E. AFRICA, NEGROES AND W. AFRICA.)

A line drawn from the mouth of the Senegal river, through Timbuctu, eastwards to Kharthoum, then southwards to the equator, and along the equator again eastwards to the Indian Ocean, will roughly divide Africa into two main ethnic sections of nearly equal areas—Caucasian in the north and Ethnique or Negro in the south (for the sense in which these terms are here taken see art. ETHNOLOGY [Caucasoid]). Of the northern section, which comprises the Mediterranean seaboard from Morocco to Egypt, the Saharan and Libyan deserts from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, Arabia, and the Galla, Maasai and Somaliland lands, there are two great divisions—the Hamitic Caucasians, who are here indigenous, and the Semitic Caucasians, who are later immigrants from Asia, but have long been almost everywhere in the closest contact with the Hamitic aborigines. Most probably the two races originally constituted a single Hamito-Semitic group, whose primeval home was North Africa, whence some moved in remote times across the Sahara to South-West Asia, and here became specialized as Semites; while others—Iberians, Ligurians, Pelasgians—ranged northwards into Europe by the land-connexions still preserved between the Old and New World at various points across the Mediterranean. In those days the Saharan wastes were not a marine bed since upraised, as is popularly supposed, but, on the contrary, a plateau which was higher than at present and which received a genial climate, was traversed by great rivers (now reduced to dry wadys), and clothed with a rich sub-tropical vegetation; in a word, a region in every way suited for the evolution of the higher (Caucasian) division of the human family.

In North Africa this evolution has from prehistoric times been represented by the ancestry of the present Hamitic populations, who are still found in possession of all the inhabitants, both the undifferentiated, or in association with their Semitic kindred who have returned at different times to the common cradle-land. The Hamites, who are called Libyans (Africans) by Herodotus, and recognized by him as the one people in the north of Africa (v. 197), have throughout all recorded time formed not merely the substratum but the great majority of the inhabitants of the Sahara and the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. They are the language-drift of the Egyptian temple-inscriptions (n.c. 1500-1300), and the Mazgwy of Herodotus (iv. 191, 193), this term and its later forms as given by Ptolemy, *Mosises*., *Moses*, being identical with Amos (*plur. imosizes*), 'free' or 'noble,' which is still the collective name of all the Mauritanian Hamites. There are three well-defined divisions, which, with their chief sub-groups, may here be tabulated.

I. EASTERN HAMITES: *Ancient Egyptians and Copts*; Nile valley from the Delta to Nubia.

II. WESTERN HAMITES: *Hamites of the Saaran or Mauritanian Berbers*, Kabyles, Rifis, Shihua, Shawas, Zenaga, Mazab, Khumins, Harratis, Wajila; Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Senegal, and coast.

the apostle Frumentius from Alexandria. Then the Bible was translated into Géez (e. supra), the liturgical language of the country; and this tongue has preserved some early Christian documents, the Greek or Syriac originals of which have been lost.

Having received its teachings from Alexandria, the Abyssinian Church is a branch of the Coptic, and consequently professes the Monophysite doctrine of Eutyches accepted by the Alexandrian exarch. In the 4th and 5th centuries, the Abyssinian bishops were in no respect inferior to those of the Syriac and Arabic churches. The Abyssinian Church, which has always maintained its independence, is a thing of the past. The Abyssinian language is a name of the church, and no longer of the nation. The Abyssinian language is a name of the church, and no longer of the nation.

AfricA

The first relations between the two great African powers, the Christian and the Muslim, were established during the 7th and 8th centuries. The Christian king of Axum, who had a strong army, was able to conquer the Abyssinians and to make them pay tribute. The Christian king of Axum, who had a strong army, was able to conquer the Abyssinians and to make them pay tribute.

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Ennedi district Allah has not yet been dethroned by Yido, the native name of the Supreme Being. In the same district a kind of mona or supernatural virtue is ascribed to the Ibiki, a species of motiled stone of somewhat rare occurrence in the country. During the prayers addressed to Yido this stone is sprinkled with flour and with the blood of a sacri-ficed goat, and it then acquires for its fortunate owner the success of all his projects and confusion to all his enemies (Nachzigal, Sahara u. Sudan, ii. p. 176). Polygamy is not controlled by the Qur'an law, the number of wives being merely a question of ways and means, while the son is obliged to marry all his father's wives except his own mother. Matriarchal custom persists, as is shown by the fact that the wife continues to reside in her parents' home till the birth of the first child, and permanently if there is no issue; in which case the husband receives back the camels paid to his father-in-law for his bride.

Although passing for good Muhammadans, the Tuareg (Northern Thuss) do not abstain from Ibiki (palm wine), and now and then sacrifices a goat for rain or other favours. All wear amulets attached to various parts of the body, and think that all medicines, including the water used for washing out Qur'anic texts written on the inside of a cup. Similar texts contained in little leather bags make their spears and other weapons more deadly, and also protect horses and camels from the evil eye. Their half-Arabized Pezzanee cousins put great faith in the marabouts, who are more numerous and influential in Pezzan than elsewhere. They are much employed as sorcerers in thwarting the machinations of the great demon Illis or Shaitan and the marabouts, and other writers of ostriches— to be sacrificed for the recovery of the sick. In such cases incense was burned, and the cooked meat was served to the patient and those present, the bones, and feathers being buried as a sacrificial offering to the dead saint.

Amongst the Muslim Tuareg the belief is universal that below the surface the Sahara is everywhere copied by a class of supernatual beings called Ahl at-Trab, who delight in playing mischievous pranks on wayfarers in the desert. They seize and pull down the camels' feet, causing them to sink in the soft sands; they gnaw off the roots of the desert plants, thus killing the scanty vegetation; on the approach of the thirsty traveller, they drink up the water of springs and wells; they even come to the surface and assume bodily forms to deceive and torment the living. All unexplained natural phenomena, such as the pillars of sand raised by the whirlwind, are referred to invisible agencies, and the mysterious roaring heard on a still night in many parts of the wilderness is the voice of the jins conversing among themselves (Harding King, A Search for the Masked Tamaraees, pp. 39, 42).

Although little influenced by the teachings of Islam, the moral character of the Tuaregs and Moors is in a degree inferior to that of their Arab neighbours. Apart from the blood-feuds, vendettas, and predatory expeditions permitted by tribal usage, the vices so common amongst the Moors are unknown in the homes of the Berbers. The is a passion that is so large a feature in the Arab character, and its place is taken by affection and sin-
uncivilized pagans, who speak a great number of radically distinct Negro languages, and exhibit Negro physical traits, often to an exaggerated degree. These traits, which prevail so prevalently and uniformly throughout the whole of Africa, have already specialized in remote times, as we see from the portraits depicted on the early Egyptian monuments, and as we find them graphically summed up in the descriptions of a negroes attributed to Vorgil (Moresmus, 20-35):

"Ara genus, tota patrion testante figura,
Tortam conan labeare tamen et fusce coloris,
Pectus aequaleque haud una, aut alia,
Cruruibus extus, spatiosa prodigis planta."

Standing out in marked contrast to all these primitive peoples are the relatively civilized Hamito-Negro or Semito-Negro nations, such as the Mandingo, Songhai, and Fulbe in the west; the Hausas, Kanuri, Baghirmi, and Mabes of Wadai in the centre; and the Furs and Nubiens in the east, who are all Muhammadans, and of diversely modified Negro type, but still speak independent varieties of Negro stock. From these striking contrasts between the pure Negro and the mixed Negroid peoples the inference has been drawn that the Negro left to himself remains a Negro in every sense of the word, incapable of making any advance beyond a low social and intellectual level. For this arrest of progress seen everywhere in Africa and the New World (West Indies, Southern United States), a physiological explanation has been sought in the early closing of the craniial sutures, preventing any further expansion of the brain after puberty. 'A cet âge intellectuel doit correspondre la soudure des sutures crâniennes, lesquelles n'arrêter et empêcher le cerveau de s'élater davantage' (Binger, du Niger au Golfe de Guinée, ii. p. 346). Hence it is that the Negroids often display in early life a degree of intelligence even superior to that of European children. 'They acquire knowledge with facility till they arrive at the age of puberty, when the physical nature masters the intellect, and frequently completely deadens it. This peculiarity has been attributed by some physiologists to the early closing of the sutures of the cranium, and it is worthy of note that throughout West Africa it is by no means rare to find skulls without any apparent transverse or longitudinal sutures' (Ellis, The Ewe-Speaking Peoples, p. 9).

The chief subdivisions of both the Sudanese and the Bantu sections will be found in art. ETHNOLOGY (Conspicuous). Between the two sections the most conspicuous difference is the linguistic confusion which prevails in Sudan and the linguistic unity which is the dominant feature in Bantu land. Except in the Bambuti-Hottentot territory, in Madagascar, where a Malayo-Polynesian tongue is exclusively spoken, and perhaps among the Negroes of the forest zone, all the current idios are closely related members of a common stock language. And as the tribes themselves are not so closely related, but, on the contrary, often present considerable physical differences, it follows that Bantu is far more intelligible as a linguistic than as a racial characteristic; strictly speaking, nothing more than a half-blood or more often a half-blood Negro of Bantu speech. In general, all are mestizos, showing every shade of transition between the Negro and the Caucasian. The African is essentially a heathen, but strange to say, been lavished in diverse proportions by very old and later Caucasian infusions. These together with the negroid influence have resulted in endless modifications of the physical characters, but have left the original Bantu form of speech untouched, as is always the case where two or more races are merged in one. The ethnical groups form new combinations by miscegenation, while the languages being merely combinations of miscegenation, all persist except one. Hence it is that in the Bantu domain we have many physical blends with only one unblended form of speech. There are many mixed races; indeed, all races are mixed; but there are no mixed languages, but blended vocabularies' (A. H. Keene, Ethnology, 1896, p. 199; also M. L. Lapicque; 'Les langues se tenant; les peuples se mêlent,' MS note). For details see art. BANTUS AND S. AFRICA.

From the religious and ethical standpoint there is not much to choose between the pagan Sudanese and the Bantu peoples. Everywhere amongst both sections are met the same crude animistic notions, gross superstitions, cruel practices associated with ancestor-worship, ordeals, omens, witchcraft, fetishism, human sacrifices, and other observances which are specially characteristic of all primitive African cults. Everywhere also is noticed the clear line of demarcation which is drawn by all tribes between their religious practices and their rules of conduct. Here is plainly seen how religion and morals belonged originally to two different orders of thought, and how the one is made subservient to the other, as when the invisible powers are asked to aid and co-operate in deeds of violence, murder, vendetta, rape, theft, plunder, and other acts regarded as immoralities in higher social systems. Thus on the Gold Coast's religion is not in any way allied with moral ideas, whose source is indeed essentially distinct, although the two become associated when man attains a higher degree of civilization. Murder, theft, and vendetta against the person or against property are matters in which the gods have no immediate concern, and in which they take no interest, except in the case when, bribed by a valuable offering, they take up the quarrel in the interests of some faithful worshipper. The most atrocious crimes, committed as between man and man, the gods can view with equanimity. These are man's concerns, and must be rectified or punished by man (Ellis, The Tshi-speaking Peoples, p. 11). In fact, all these gods are themselves originally malignant superhuman beings, born of fear, and authors of evil, as is even indicated by some of their names, such as that of the Ashanti god Ewe, said to be 'Producer of Calamities.' Hence sickness, death, and all other miseries are attributed to them, either directly, or indirectly through witchcraft, since 'it is from them that wizards and witches obtain assistance and mysterious knowledge' (ib. p. 13).

From such venal deities no correct views of right and wrong could ever have been acquired, and it must be obvious that moral ideals flow from an essentially different source than religion, that both cannot have sprung from a common root' (Th. Waitz, Introd. to Anthropology, Eng. ed. i. 279).

Ancestor-worship appears to be the most outstanding feature of all African primitive religious systems. That the spirits of the dead are the gods of the living is a formula that applies equally to the Sudanese natives of Upper Guinea, and to the Bantu populations of Uganda, the Congo lands, and Dahomey. Amongst the Gold and Slave Coast peoples there are many local and general personalizations of the powers of nature; but these were held in slight esteem compared with the ancestral gods and spirits, whose beings were immediately current in the life of the native and to whom heathens of human victims were immolated at the periodic 'CUSTOMS' during the flourishing days of the kingdoms of Ashanti, Dahome, and Benin. It was the same with the Benin, where the former kings of the Benin dynasty were revered as demi-gods. Their souls were supposed to dwell in and inspire the witch-
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drvers; shrines were raised over their graves, the maintenance of which was a religious duty, and here were offered the human sacrifices, as many as two thousand by the late King Mtesa. The demon Munakulunkulu, whose abode is on the Gombaragura heights, whence he plagues the people with small-pox and other evils, is also a departed spirit, identified with one of the early members of the Uganda dynasty. Only the trees planted round the ancestral graves were solemnly tended by wise women, whose oracles, like those of the Pythian priestess, were taken as decisive in certain political crises. The course of events was thus still controlled by the deceased rulers of the land, while the very trees overshadowing their tombs gradually acquired that sacred character which led eventually to general tree-worship.

Along the eastern seaboard the dominant spirit was Munakulunkulu, who ruled, under endless variants, from the Tana river round the Cape to the Cunene. He is often spoken of as the 'Supreme Being,' but such a concept was not grasped by the African aborigines, and the fundamental idea is revealed in the root *inakulana* = 'old,' 'great' (cf. Lat. *altas*; cognate with Teutonic *alti*; *old'); so that the word really connotes a deification of the great departed, and is thus a direct outcome of the African ancestor-worship. This is also fully in accordance with the view of Bleek, who holds that the term originally meant 'great ancestor.' Thus, as in Cebelles, where *empungu* (= 'grandfather') is the generic term of the gods, the *dead* becomes the Divine progenitor of the Zulu-Xosa Bantus; while of Mulungu, the form current in Nyasaland, the Rev. Duff Macdonald writes: 'In all our translations of Scripture where we found the Hebrew term for spirit, we used *Mulungu*; but this word is chiefly used by the natives as a general name for spirit. The spirit of a deceased man is called Mulungu, and all the prayers and offerings of the living are presented to such a spirit. It is here that we find the great centre of the native religion. The spirits of the dead are the gods of the living' (*Africana*, p. 59). And again: 'Their god is not the body in the grave, but the spirit [the *mulungu*], and they seek the spirit at the place where their departed kinsman last lived among them. It is the great tree at the verandah (khwengu) of the dead man's house that is their temple; and if they erect a shrine, they erect a little shrine, and there perform their simple rites' (ib. p. 60). Here we have the very incipient stage itself of ancestor-worship again closely interwoven with the tree element. Then comes a further development, in which the departed spirit reveals himself first in dreams, and later through the *jikwawemba*, the priestess or prophetess, as in Uganda and Khilasa. The god comes to her with his commands at night. She delivers the message in a kind of ecstasy. She speaks (as her name implies) with the utterance of a person raving with excitement. During the night of the communication her ravings are heard sounding all over the village in a high key' (ib. p. 61). We seem to be reading an extract from Paussendorf on the Delphic Oracle. And the broad statement is made that 'the spirit of every deceased man and woman, with the solitary exception of wizards and witches [who become *lukamana*], becomes an object of religious homage. The gods of the natives, then, are nearly as numerous as their dead' (p. 68).

In some parts of Nyasaland, as in Uganda and elsewhere, ancestor-worship eventually became associated with human sacrifice. If the deceased owned several slaves, an enormous hole is dug for a grave. The slaves that were caught immediately on his death are now brought forward. They may be two and two, a pair of slaves being placed under the body (the people made fast to the stake-slits), or the undertakers may cut all their throats. The body of their master or their mistress is then laid down to rest above theirs, and the grave is covered in' (ib. p. 167). We know from Commander Cameron and most other early travellers that similar and even more atrocious were constant occurrences all over the Bantu lands, before their suppression by the European Powers in 1884. It is thus again seen that in these respects the Bantu peoples are the same low social level as the Sudanese negroes.

On the West Coast nature-worship was, as a rule, perhaps more prevalent than on the east side. Here Munakulunkulu was generally replaced by *Nzvubz*, who also has many variants, and is similarly described by some observers as a 'Supreme Being.' But this is denied by the Rev. W. H. Bentley, our best authority on the subject, who rejects the fetichized explanations of Kole and others, adding that 'the knowledge of God is most vague, scarcely more than nominal. There is no worship paid to God' [in Kongoland] (*Dict. and Gram. of the Kongo Language*, p. 96). Further south, Mulungu reappears, under the form *Mukura*, amongst the Bantu Hereros of Damaraland, and it is noteworthy that here also ancestor-worship prevails almost exclusively. 'The best missionaries who have worked among the Hereros could find nothing going beyond the stage of primitive nature-worship. This is also the case with the Mulungu, so named by the Damaraland, that is, the "Ancient," is a spirit whose dwelling is placed in the Far North. His grave is regarded as a sacred spot in many places. Every tribe has its special *mulungu*, its spiritual progenitor, the *Unkulunkulu*, exactly as in Nyasaland, to whom all superstitious usages and customs are referred. Above all, he sends rain and sunshine. MukurI's "grave" certainly points to the weight assigned to ancestor-worship among these people, and further on, the highly-developed tree-cult of the Hereros is shown to be 'a direct offshoot of ancestor-worship, for it ultimately leads to the tale that a sacred tree gave its origin to the Ovaherero race' (ib. p. 364, n. 3). One particular species is specially revered, and, when seen from afar, is hailed with the words, 'Holy art thou, our ancestor.' The evolution is thus obvious. A given tree is first respected for the sake of the man who was attached to it when alive, or else buried beneath its shade in death. Then the tribe during its wanderings meets the same tree elsewhere, and by association of ideas transfers it to the reverence or worship formerly paid to the now perhaps forgotten ancestor. But a tree is always something visible and tangible. Hence, under changed conditions, tree-cult may well outlive the ancestor-worship in which it originated. Here it may be noted from Paussendorf that the *bush maker* for special homage was probably due to a popular etymology confusing this term with *Mu- kura*, the Herero form of *Mulungu*, the 'Ancient.' Other more or less characteristic features of the African religious systems and superstitions—fetishism, human sacrifices, oracles, ordeal, talismans, cannibalism, war-animals, witchcraft—are dealt with in separate articles.

AGAMA—AGAOS

AGAMA.—In the oldest Buddhist writings this is the standing word for 'tradition' (Vinaya, ii. 249; Aṣṭāvatara, ii. 147). This usage is maintained in the Mīdāna (215, 414) and in the Mahāvata (ii. 21). But from the 5th cent. A.D. onwards the word means usually a division of the Sutta Pitakha— the same portion as was, in the older phraseology (Vinaya, ii. 257), called a nikkāya. The reason for this change was that the latter word (nikkāya) had come to be used also in the sense of a division of disciples, a school or sect, and had therefore become ambiguous. In Buddhist Sanskrit books this later use of agama seems to have supplanted entirely the use of nikāya; but our edited texts are not sufficient in extent to enable us, as yet, to decide this with certainty.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

AGAOS.—1. The Agaos or Agows, a name applied to various groups of Hamites who are, or have been, the primitive Hamitic population of Abyssinia. Formerly they occupied a large extent of the plateau, but were gradually driven, in prehistoric times, towards the south and west by incoming peoples—the Hamitic Semites speaking the Ge'ez tongue. The latter are now divided into the Tigrē and Amhara branches, but the Amhara, who crossed the Takkazè, are much mixed with the Hamitic elements and speech. They are named chiefly in the province of Lasta, on the upper Takkazè (where they were completely reduced only in the 17th cent. by the Emperor of Abyssinia), and in the districts to the south-west of Lake Tānā or Tana (where they give their name to the Agao-land, which is almost entirely peopled by them). They are characterized by broad faces and high cheek-bones, yellow complexion, and strong, coarse, straight hair, and are of the Caneasic type, like their Semitic conquerors, from whom they do not differ much in appearance. The name Agao is probably to be found in the Astrāko of the inscription of Abulis, dating from the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D., discovered and preserved by Cosmas. This may be the district of Addago on the Takkazè, with a population of Agao blood. Cosmas (A.D. 525) refers to the 'Agæ', and says they acknowledged the authority of the kings of Aksum. About 400 years later, the Agao of Senem, under their queen, Judith, were strong enough to expel the Menilek dynasty from the throne of Aksum (A.D. 1800). The Ago speech is said by Beke to be the language of the people of Abyssinia, as Amharic is that of the court, the army, and commerce. It is spoken from the Shashihat district in the N.E. to Gopam and Sosa in the south, under different names and in a variety of dialects, and in some provinces is almost exclusively in use. By the people themselves in Lasta it is known as Khamitinja; this group also call themselves Hungarite (Huggare). By the Abyssinians the name is applied by the district between the Takkazè and the Abi, and suggesting that the present Hungariite Amhara people may have borrowed their name from that of some of the Hamitic aborigines. D'Abbadie calls the Lasta Hamites Khamitø—a word connected with Khemit, Khemtia (Aethiopica, i. 255); the same (JRS xiv. 50) calls their language Hsemara, Khamtia, still borne by the Khamats of Lake Ta'ānā, and Hamesa were probably names of earlier dominant Agao tribes.

2. The principal divisions of the peoples who may be classed as Agaos are the Agaos of Lasta (Bruce's 'Tcheratz Agaos'), including the Khamats; those of Agomidir and the surrounding districts enclosed in the zone of the dominant tribes from Lake Ta'ānā; and the Falashas. Both the first groups are divided into seven tribes, probably from some sacred number in this number. The second group call themselves Agbagha, according to Bek (JRS xiv. 10). The Falashas, whose language closely resembles the Agao, are found scattered through the province of Senem and neighbouring districts, as well as in Agomidir. They claim to be descended from Jews who escaped from Judea with the Queen of Sheba, and follow the rites of Judaism. Hence they are frequently called the Jews of Abyssinia. But they are certainly not Jews by descent, nor are their features especially Semitic, since in physiognomy they closely resemble the Agaos. Possibly their Jewish faith is the survival of some earlier diffusion of Judaism through Abyssinia before the introduction of Christianity, as there is no record of their conversion. They are divided into three sects, each with its high priest; they hold themselves aloof from the other peoples of the land, do not practise polygamy, and never marry out of their own tribe. Entering a Christian house is strictly forbidden; when this has been done, ritual purification is necessary. Their places of worship or masjids are distinguished by a red earthware pot placed on a pinnacle. They are divided into three compartments, each of different sanctity, as in the Jewish tabernacle, and admission to each is strictly regulated by the Levitical law. Behind is a small enclosure with a stone on which sacrificial victims are slaughtered. Though they have incorporated with their customs several ceremonies drawn from Christian sources, they carefully observe the Law, especially in the ritual of purification and of feasts and keeping the Sabbath. Some of their ceremonies, however, differ from those of the Jewish law. They observe great ritual scrupulousness. The dying and the unclean are taken to a hut set apart for this purpose. They fast twice a week, as well as for forty days before Easter. Their ideas about the Messiah are vague, but they believe that Jerusalem will again be rebuilt. The priests must observe several tabus from which the people are free; some of them are great ascerets, passing years in disual swamps, and sometimes in a frenzy throwing themselves into the waters. As a people the Falashas are inoffensive. They are devoted to agriculture, are metal-workers, and furnish skilful artisans in various towns of the province (see D'Abbadie in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, iii. 814; Stern, Wanderings among the Falashas, 1862; Beke, JRS xiv. 89).

3. The other branches of the Agaos were pagans, or possibly pagans with a veneer of Judaism, as the name of their queen, Judith, would suggest, until the advent of the Portuguese missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries. By them they were, in part converted to Christianity of a modified type, and the process was probably completed by their final subjugation to the Abyssinian emperors. Like the rest of the Abyssinians, they are of the Monophysite sect, and assert their orthodoxy as strongly as any; but it is probable that, beneath their nominal adherence to the faith, there are many
survivals of their earlier paganisin with its cult of sun and moon, trees, rivers, and animals, of which the cow was the chief. No complete account of that primitive paganism is now available, but it was a mixture of worship of a high order, and in its observances the fertility of the land was aimed at. Hence the worship of rivers, and especially of the Takkâzi and Âkûl, was prominent. Survivals of these rites are described by Lobo and Brindley, and springs from which the Nile rises were the scene of an annual gathering of the tribes for this cult. A small mound formed the altar upon which the sacrifices were placed. To this place once a year, on the appearance of the star Sirius, the shum or priest called the heads of the Aago clans. A black heifer which had never borne a calf was slain, its head cut off and plunged into one of the springs, and then wrapped up in the hide, which was sprinkled with the sacred water. The carcass was laid on the mound, washed with water, and divided into as many pieces as there were heads of clans. Each head received a piece, and the flesh was eaten raw, with draughts of the Nile water. Lobo says that each then sacrificed one or more cows. The bones were collected into a heap, and the priest, having anointed himself with the fat, sat down on the heap, which was then set fire to. When the flames increased, he ran amongst them, the fire doing him no injury. When all was consumed, each person present made him an offering. The head of the animal was carried to a cave, where other ceremonies were performed, apparently for the purpose of ensuring rain and good seasons. The spirit of the river was called by the highest Divine names—Eye of the World, the Everlasting God, etc., and the priest told Bruce that it entered into him in holy shape like a venerable man (Lobo, Voyage to Abyssynia, Eng. tr. 1733, 99; Bruce, Travels, i. 370). This cult is obviously based upon the importance of the river to the whole region through which it passes, and is not unlike the rites performed by the ancient Egyptians at the rising of the Nile and the appearance of Sirius, the star of Isis (Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Oesiris, 228). Similar rites were practised by other tribes (La grande Encyc. l. 177), and human sacrifices to river-divinities are also spoken of; these also occurred in Egypt (Johnston, Travels in S. Abyssynia, 119). A modified form of these rites still prevailed in Beke's time (1804), and sick persons brought to the springs of the Aago state and left there for seven days in hope of their recovery (Beke, JIRGS xiv. 13). Serpent-worship was prevalent in Abyssinia in earlier times, and a great serpent called Arwé figures in the early history of the people. Some remains of this cult are found among the Aago. The preservation of serpents was prayed for; they were believed to give oracles, and in some cases they were kept in the houses of the people and fed. If the animal did not eat, ill-luck was at hand (Bruce, iii. 732-4). Miraculous stories of serpents are found in the legendary lives of Abyssinian saints (Parkyns, Life of Abp. Stern, 1862; Johnston, Travels in S. Abyssynia, 294). Other relics of earlier amoral worship may be seen in the claim of the Aago of Lasta to understand the language of birds, by the interpretation of which they regulate their affairs (Plowden, Travels in Abyssinia, 124). The Fastival of the Full Moon is called by them their part in maledworking, and some of the Aagoas, are regarded as sorcerers and bandux or wer-wolves. They are believed to take possession of their victims, who exhibit the symptoms of hysteria, and try to get into the forest, where their persecutor, in hyena shape, devours them (see Lycaanthrophy).

4. The Khantans, scattered through Amhara and Shoa, claim descent from Moses, but are regarded as pagans by both the Fasahas and the Abyssinians. They are said to believe in God and in a future state, but are called worshippers of forests from the rites performed by them under trees. Other 'secret acts of devotion' at certain rocks are spoken of. A scheme of King Theodore's for their compulsory conversion was overruled by his advisers (Stern, 43; La grande Encyc. i. 177; Redlus, Univ. Geog. x. 147). It is uncertain whether the Aago tribe, who dwell on the west bank of Lake Tana, belong to the Aago race. They speak the Aago language, but are an extremely primitive people, supporting themselves by hunting and fishing, and eating animals regarded by the other tribes as unclean. By them, therefore, they are called 'idolaters', a vague term, but they call themselves Christians (Keane, Africa, 494; St. Martin, Geog. Unive. i. 30).

LITERATURE.—F. J. Lobo, Voyage to Abyssynia, 1725; James Bruce, Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, 1799; C. T. Beke, various papers in JIRGS, vols. xii. xiii. xiv.; Antoine d'Abbeville, the Vita seu Vita ad C. Irenæus, contributed to part of the History of the Covenants and Acts of the Church, 1739; V. de Saint-Martin, Nouveau Vols. de Geog. Universelle, 1785, s. c. 'Agoas'; A. H. Keane, Africa, vol. i, 1856, Ethnology, 1862; J. A. MacCulloch.

AGAPE—

i. Summary of theories.
ii. Evidence for Christian common meals and for their conversion to the Eucharist.


2. Historical writings to the end of the 3rd cent. 

Delschach: Ignatius; Polycarp; Justin Martyr; Celsus; Minucius Felix; Lactant; Epitome of Dionysius; Acts of Paul and Thecla; Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas; Irenaeus; Clement of Alexandria; Tertullian; Cyprian; Hippolytus; Origen; Cyprian; Acts of Dionysius; the older Didascalla.

3. Writings of the 4th cent. and later: 'Church Orders': Councils of Laodicea, Carthage No. 3, Ganges; pseudo-Florus; Chrysostom; pseudo-Jerome; Socinus; Augustine; Socsten; Trullan Council.

4. Funeral and commemorative Agape.

5. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

iii. Review of the evidence.

(a) General deductions.

(b) Relative order of Agape and Eucharist when united.

(c) The word 'Agape'.

(d) Materials for the Agape.


Literature.

1. SUMMARY OF THEORIES. — The Christian Agape or Love-feast is one of those subjects which are apparently easy, but which are shown by careful study to be exceedingly difficult. At one time or another it has been the subject of much hypothesis, and has been the object of much dispute. At one time in the latter half of the 1st or the 2nd cent., the 'Agape'; that the Eucharist and the Agape were at first united, but that, by reason either of abuses or of external persecution, they were disjoined. At another time the view has been maintained as universal, and which is still by far the most common, is that from the first the Christians celebrated the Eucharist and also a common meal to which some liturgical importance was attached, and which was known as the 'Agape', that the Eucharist and the Agape were at first united, but that, by reason of abuses or of external persecution, they were disjoined.

(a) An entirely different view has lately (1862) been published by Mgr. Batiffol, who thinks that the Agape itself did not exist till the 3rd cent.,
beginning as a private charity supper, and becoming a more public organization in the 4th cent.; that though in the earliest ages the Christians sometimes took their meals in connexion with the Eucharist, yet that no such connexion was generally established. It is not therefore, as is commonly supposed, that the noun 'Agape' in the New Testament means 'dinner or meal taken in common as a part of the Eucharist, or as a meal combined. In Ac 2:42 the article ('the breaking of bread') shows that an ordinary meal is not meant, and we have to take the reference to be to the Eucharist, with or without a religious meal eaten in common, and the word 'food' (ρύζιν) in v. 46 will probably lead us to think that the Eucharist with a meal is meant. The Peshitta reading in v. 42 ('the breaking of the Eucharist') goes the other way, but seems to be a mere guess due to later ideas. The phrase κατά ὑλον in v. 46 (i.e. 'at home' or 'in a private house') has probably no bearing on the matter, as being merely metaphorical; it is not likely to show anything more than that there is any reference to a supposed custom of going from house to house to partake of a common meal.

(ii.) Evidence for Christian common meals and for their connexion with or separation from the Eucharist. It is proposed to gather together here all the evidence; for it seems unreasonable to put out of view, as is suggested by the Church Quarterly Reviewer, all evidence of suppers where the word 'Agape' is not found. We shall discuss later the name 'Agape' itself; it may be remarked that the most important matter to be considered is the thing implied. The name need not necessarily have been universal; or, if it was universal, there is no special reason why the Eucharist was an integral part of all the assemblies, many of whom allude only incidentally to the custom now under discussion.

1. The New Testament.—(a) We may first take Acts, as indicating the earliest Christian customs, though the book itself was written later than 1 Corinthians, which we will next consider. In neither of these books is the name 'Agape' mentioned, but in Acts probably, and in 1 Corinthians certainly, there are allusions to a common meal having some connexion with the Eucharist. In Ac 20:32 we read that the Christians continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship (ἑννέα), or perhaps 'in fellowship' — in the breaking of bread and the prayers (τα ἁλέα τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τα ἐν προσκυνήσει, and in v. 46, that they 'day by day continuing . . . in the temple, and breaking bread at home (ἐλώτις τε κατά ὑλον ἄρτον), did take their food (ρυζιν) with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God,' etc. The expression 'to break bread' is found also in Ac 20:11, where St. Paul, at Troas, after preaching till midnight on 'the first day of the week,' and after the Euchysis incident, broke bread and gave thanks after (μετὰ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ γενναυματος), and 'talked with them till break of day.'—apparently an Eucharist with or without a meal, though Alford (Gr. Text. in comment. on v. 11) and Plummer (ib. p. 316) think that γενναυματος certainly means a meal (cf. Ac 20:5),—and in Ac 27:32, where an ordinary meal is almost certainly spoken of. The phrase was used by the Jews (Jer 16:4, Lk 49), and we find it, or the corresponding substantive, in NT to denote a meal eaten in common. The passage in Ac 27:32, and the Eucharist (Mt 26:26 and Mk. 14:22), and the meal at Emmaus (Lk 24:42), and the Eucharist (Mt 26:26 and Mk. 14:22, and 1 Co 10:16, in the last of which verses, however, κλάσματος agreeing with ἄρτος, the Greek it seems but not quite certain that a meal was not taken in addition to the Eucharist, and that the phrase in the New Testament is to be understood in the sense of a meal taken in common, and particularly the food, not the Eucharist, or perhaps of the Eucharist, or of the Eucharist, and a meal combined. In Ac 2:42 the article ('the breaking of bread') shows that an ordinary meal is not meant, and we have to take the reference to be to the Eucharist, with or without a religious meal eaten in common, and the word 'food' (ρυζιν) in v. 46 will probably lead us to think that the Eucharist with a meal is meant. The Peshitta reading in v. 42 ('the breaking of the Eucharist') goes the other way, but seems to be a mere guess due to later ideas. The phrase κατά ὑλον in v. 46 (i.e. 'at home' or 'in a private house') has probably no bearing on the matter, as being merely metaphorical; it is not likely to show anything more than that there is any reference to a supposed custom of going from house to house to partake of a common meal.

(b) In 1 Co 11:23-24 we have an undoubted reference to a meal taken in common (ὁδοιον, probably, though not necessarily, an evening meal) and combined with the Eucharist, when the Corinthians were in meeting assembled (ἐκ εὐγενείας, v. 22); abuses of greed and drunkenness are censured, and St. Paul promises to return in order to correct the disorder whenever he comes. From this passage most writers have concluded that the earliest custom was for the Christians to combine the Eucharist with a meal taken in common. Lightfoot (Apost. Fath. ii. p. 2, ii. 313) and Duchesne (Origines, p. 48, in Eng. ed. p. 49 n.) further deduce that the meal came first and the Eucharist 'at a late stage in the entertainment'; this (apparently) being suggested by the emphasis laid by St. Paul on our Lord's having taken the Eucharistic cup 'after supper' (μετὰ τοῦ δωτισθῆναι, v. 26). Barthelemy (Études, 1st ser. p. 281) thinks that the union of meal and Eucharist was an innovation of the Corinthians, and that it is the union itself that St. Paul censures. If so, we cannot argue any common custom from this passage. Against this view, Ehrmann (L'Agape, p. 9 ff.) truly remarks that St. Paul does not attack the thing itself, but only the abuse of greed and drunkenness, seeing that each one ate what he had brought, not partaking with others. St. Paul would not, Ernmann says, have hidden them wait for another one if the meal itself, in union with the Eucharist, were the thing condemned. All knew that the Eucharist began when the community assembled. And, further, the Fathers who comment on the passage all see in it the Agape and Eucharist combined. — Chrysostom, Theodore, Augustine, Jerome,—though Chrysostom, imbued as he is with the discipline of his own time (of fasting communion), puts the Eucharist first; Augustin says that it was St. Paul that gave the rule of fasting communion in consequence of the abuse at Corinth (Ep. xxviii. [iv., Bened.] ad Januarianum, § 8).

(c) In Jude, and probably in 2 Peter, we have the first trace of the name 'Agape.' In Jude 12 we read of 'hidden rocks in your love-feasts when they feast with you, shepherds that without fear feed themselves' (συνεργασιῶν, κ. τ. λ.). The reading συνεργασιῶν (BKL, etc.) is no doubt correct, and is supported by the
Vulgate (epulis) and the Syriac (3σρας), but AC have ἀγάπας, influenced by v. V in 2 P 10, 4. This was the common feast called Agape, but nothing is said of the Eucharist. There is no necessary connexion of the feast with the Eucharist in Jude, nor yet any necessary separation. Batifol endeavours to get over this without Asgone by translating ἀγάπας to 'love,' saying that Jude elsewhere has ἀγάπας in this sense (v. 2; cf. ἀγάπης, v. V. 17), and that he uses plurals for singulars elsewhere,—in v. 6 δέκα (Vulg. majestatem, Syr. also has singular), and in v. 18 ἱνα (Vulg. confusiones, but Syr. has singular). There is, however, no reason for taking these plurals as singular in meaning; in the former case 'dignities' makes the only good sense, and in the latter the plural, as meaning 'each his own shame,' is very suitable. Thus Batifol's translation in v. 6 can hardly be accepted. But in any case the common feast itself (if not the name 'Agape') is borne witness to by Jude. In the parallel passage 2 P 21 we have at least one variation: 'Spots (στόχοι) and blemishes, revelling in their love-feasts (ἀγάπας) while they feast with you' (συνεδριάζομεν δέδακται). Here we note the variation of the ἀγάπας of Jude and the ending ἀγάπας, which is supported by B and by the A corrector, the Vulgate, Pseudo-Syr. (the Peshitta does not contain Jude or 2 Peter), Sahide, and Ethiopic, is disputed by A C, which have ἀγάπας both here and in 2 Peter. Deissmann gives the ending ἀγάπας, which is supported by B and by the A corrector, the Vulgate, Pseudo-Syr. (the Peshitta does not contain Jude or 2 Peter), Sahide, and Ethiopic, is disputed by A C, which have ἀγάπας both here and in 2 Peter. Did not Jude refer to the Agape in the Jude passage that was before him. On the other hand, Lightfoot (op. cit. ii. 318) and Bigg (Internat. Crit. Com. in loc.) treat ἀγάπας as an obvious error; and this is probably true, ἀλλά ἅπαξ passing very easily into ἅπαξ ἅπαξ. 2. Ecclesiastical writings up to A.D. 300.—(a) We may pass over Clement of Rome (though his mention in § 44 of the presbyters 'offering the gifts of the episcopate' is thought by Lightfoot to include contributions to the Agape) and come to the Didache, which, in common with almost all writers, we may date very early in the 2nd century. In this work (§ 9) we find, after instructions on baptism, fasting, and prayer, directions for the 'Eucharist' (ὑπερὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὡς εὐχαριστησαι), with thanksgivings first over the cup and then over the 'broken bread' (ἐλάχητα); to the latter is attached a prayer that the Church may be gathered together. In these formulas we have no reference to our Lord's words at the Last Supper, or to the sacrament of His body and blood; nor is there anything in common between them and the Eucharistic passages of Ignatius and Justin Martyr. After them follows a prohibition against any of the unbaptized eating and drinking of the 'Eucharist,' and we then read (§ 10): 'After ye are satisfied (μετὰ τὸ ἀφεπώρησαι), thus give ye thanks;' and the thanksgiving is for God's holy name, for the 'knowledge, faith, and immortality made known;' for God's power, and because the Creator had given food and drink for enjoyment (εἰς ἑυτροφίαν), and had bestowed spiritual food and drink and eternal life. A prayer is added for the protection and gathering in of the Church, ending with 'Hosanna.' Then comes a 'fencing of the tables' and 'Yahrapamath.' But prophets may 'give thanks' as much as they desire (εὐχαριστήσεις διὸ ἐνθεοσκών). Of all this there are many interpretations. Batifol (op. cit. p. 234) thinks that the Eucharist was 'holy' or 'sacred,' but not yet a separate sacrifice; he takes the words 'after ye are satisfied' metaphorically, as a souvenir of Jn 6:26 (though that tells against his view). He considers that as only the cup and the bread are mentioned, we cannot have here an Agape; while in the thanksgiving after 'being satisfied' he finds a hint that the Agape which was partaken of at Spots was no longer applicable to an Agape. Dom Lecerou also (Dict. d'Archéol., Chrét., s.v. 'Agape,' col. 792) thinks that the Didache does not mention the Agape, but that it does not contradict the supposition. In § 11 it is pointed out that the Didache considers that the first formulas are the words used to consecrate the bread and wine. Mr. Box likewise (JThSt, iii. 363 ff.) holds that the Didache formulas are for the Eucharist, but he believes the Agape followed the Eucharist and must be inserted before the words 'after ye are satisfied.' Prof. Ermomi, on the other hand, holds (op. cit. p. 17 ff.) that, as the Didache in § 14 speaks of the Sunday Eucharist ('gather yourselves together and break bread and give thanks,' or celebrate the Eucharist, εὐχαριστησαι,—first confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure'), the earlier sections must speak only of the Agape; and he concludes that the two ordinances were then separate, all the baptized being allowed to attend the Agape, but only the pure and holy (§ 15) the Eucharist. He takes εὐχαριστησαι in §§ 9, 10 as the name of the Agape. In § 11 he treats εὐχαριστησαι as 'first mentioning the Eucharist,' and regards it as probable that both Bp. Lightfoot (op. cit. ii. 313) and Dr. Keating (The Agape, p. 53), that the Didache writer means that the Agape was joined on to and preceded the Eucharist. The reference in §§ 9, 10 would then be to the two combined; the mention of the Sunday συναγωγή in § 14 does not really militate against this. The Agape probably, in the Didache, did not contain the Eucharist, and the terms in §§ 9, 10, 11 are the same as in the Romans passage given there as grace before and after meat (so Bp. J. Wordsworth, Holy Communion, p. 46); and after the people were satisfied came the fencing of the tables (§ 10 e.), which, as Zahn (Forsch. nach Gesch. des NT Kanones, 3rd pt. p. 238 f.), suggests, would be the connecting link between Agape and Eucharist. The prayers for the Eucharist, on this view, are not given; but prophets might use any words which they thought suitable. It is not improbable that the earliest Eucharistic worship was, in the main, extemporaneous. This theory makes εὐχαριστησαι in the Didache include the Agape. As the common meal was holy and so celebrated; as there is no trace of a separate 'antidote' in the thought of the writer such a sharp distinction between the two that one name might not be applied to both (cf. Ignatius below), or that the meal itself should not be conceived of as giving a spiritual blessing, as in the thanksgiving 'after being satisfied.' It is remarkable that the writer of the Apostolic Constitutions (viii. 23 f.), owing to the changed conditions of his day, in adapting the Didache turns this thanksgiving into a thanksgiving 'after partaking' (μετὰ ἐπάρασιν) of the Eucharist. There is another passage in the Didache (§ 11) which should be noticed. A prophet who 'orders a table (ὑπερὶ τῆς ἑνωρίας) in the Spirit' must not eat of it. The Eucharist therefore cannot be referred to. The phrase may be applied to an Agape, but Batifol is probably right in thinking that merely gifts to the poor are meant, and that these is nothing liturgical about this passage. (b) Ignatius (c. 110 A.D.) speaks (Éphés. 20) of 'breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote that we should not die but live for ever in Jesus Christ;' and P. 14:7 says: 'I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ . . . and for a draught I desire His blood, which is love (ἀγάπης) incorruptible.' (see below, 290). These are some things that the Agape is the Eucharist which is under the bishop . . . it is not possible apart from the bishop either to baptize or
to hold a love-feast (缲νεάνεα ποιεῖται). In the first two passages Ignatius clearly speaks of the Eucharist, and it is remarkable that he uses ἐχαρίστημι in connexion with it; but the interpolation of the last passage is that ἐχαρίστημι includes both the love-feast and the Eucharist, which would therefore be held together in Ignatius' time. This is Lightfoot (op. cit. p. 312 f.). But Batiffol takes ἐχαρίστημι here of the Eucharist, 'par une abstraction,' and thinks that the metaphorical use of the word in Rom. 7 bears out his view. He denies that 'Agape' was at this early time used of a feast. He says, (p. 281), that the first meeting was only for praise and prayer, and the second only for the Eucharist,—that being the meaning, he says, of 'ordinary and innocent food,'—the Agape not yet existing. He thinks that the Eucharist no less than the Agape would be contrary to Trajan's edict; and that, had the Eucharist been celebrated at the morning meeting, the apostates would have said so, for they had no reason for hiding anything. Dr. Armitage (op. cit. p. 177) says, (p. 17) that we cannot deduce from Pliny's letter that the Eucharist and the Agape had once been united, and that they were at that time, or had been at some previous time, separated; he considers that the renegades had given up the common meal, but that the Christians, as far as we know, had given up nothing. The renegades, however, had given up Christianity altogether, and they spoke of what had been given up before the Agape was broke out,—they can hardly refer to any but the whole body of Christians in Bithynia. Dom Leclercq (op. cit. col. 780) thinks that the early meeting was the one which was given up; but the Latin will hardly bear this construction.

None of these criticisms seems to the present writer to have shaken Lightfoot's position.

(d) Justin Martyr (Apol. 65–67) openly describes the Eucharist; for, as Batiffol shows (Ecclesiae, 1st ser. p. 18), the disciplina aemula hardly existed in his day; but he does not mention the Agape. Leclercq (op. cit. col. 786) thinks that his silence does not exclude it, for he had only to defend what was attacked. But surely the Agape was a great act of attack? Keating (op. cit. p. 59) thinks that it had been given up generally, because of Trajan's edict; and with this opinion we may agree. The unessential nature and partial existence of the Agape are the conclusions to which the early evidence points.

(e) The date of Celsus is disputed. Keim, Funk, Aubé, Renan, and Mozley place it c. 177 A.D. For a careful discussion see Lightfoot, Ap. Fath. pt. 2, i. 530 f.; he gives reasons for thinking that the date should be put before A.D. 161. Origen (Cels. i. 1) says that Celsus' first accusation against the Christians was 'that they were accustomed to hold secret meetings among themselves, forbidden by the laws (ὡς συνθήκες κρύβονται πρὸς ἄλλους ταρασσόμενοι, κ.τ.λ.). And he would calumniate the so-called Agape of the Christians among themselves [καὶ θεοκτήτως βαθεῖᾳ τῷ καλούμενῳ ἐχαρίστημι Χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἄλλους] as taking its rise from the common danger,' etc. Batiffol (Letter in the Guardian, Jan. 7, 1903) argues that ἐχαρίστημι must mean 'love' here, since πρὸς ἄλλους follows. No doubt the phrase 'Agape among themselves' is not an elegant one, but Batiffol's interpretation makes καλούμενῳ meaningless; 'so-called love' has no sense. The expression is parallel to the phrase above (καθαρὰ ἐκχύων πρὸς ἄλλον). May there not be a double entendre in the second phrase, the word ἐχαρίστημι being used in its technical sense, with an ironical reference to the primary one? Celsus would mean 'the so-called Agape of the Christians, the feast of mutual love.' He could not intend to condemn Christian love as arising from the common danger and having a power that transcends earthly considerations. Origen clearly states his points. In ἐχαρίστημι there is no confusion; while the later meeting was for the Agape, which, in consequence of Trajan's action, was given up in Bithynia. The separation between Agape and Eucharist would either have taken place some time before, or, in Pliny, the most profane thinks (following Augustine), in St. Paul's time,—or else have been recent, and due to Trajan's well-known hostility to clubs. It is inconceivable that the Christians should have given up the Eucharist, and this consideration is against Batiffol's idea (op. cit. p. 288), that the first meeting was only for praise and prayer, and the second only for the Eucharist,—that being the meaning, he says, of 'ordinary and innocent food,'—the Agape not yet existing. He thinks that the Eucharist no less than the Agape would be contrary to Trajan's edict; and that, had the Eucharist been celebrated at the morning meeting, the apostates would have said so, for they had no reason for hiding anything. Dr. Armitage (op. cit. p. 17) says, (p. 17) that we cannot deduce from Pliny's letter that the Eucharist and the Agape had once been united, and that they were at that time, or had been at some previous time, separated; he considers that the renegades had given up the common meal, but that the Christians, as far as we know, had given up nothing. The renegades, however, had given up Christianity altogether, and they spoke of what had been given up before the Agape was broke out,—they can hardly refer to any but the whole body of Christians in Bithynia. Dom Leclercq (op. cit. col. 786) thinks that the early meeting was the one which was given up; but the Latin will hardly bear this construction.

None of these criticisms seems to the present writer to have shaken Lightfoot's position.
says (Octavians, xxxi. 5): ‘The feasts (convivium) which we hold (codinum) are chaste and temperate; we neither indulge ourselves in luxurious repasts (epida) nor protract our feast (convivium) with strong drink, but we blend cheerfulness with gravity.’ This can only refer to a meal, not to the Eucharist, to which the accusations of drunkenness and gluttony are directed. Though Batifol thinks that Mineeus is here alluding to it alone.

(q) Lucian in his satire de Morti Periergini, § 12 (written probably not long after A.D. 155, Lightfoot, Conybeare, etc.), says that when Periurgus was in prison, ‘old women—widows they are called—and orphan children might be seen waiting about the doors of the prison. . . . Then various meals were brought in and sacred formularies (Neps; eisō) of theirs were repeated.’ Whether Lucian was primarily satirizing the Christians or the Cynics, we have probably here, as elsewhere, allusions to Christian history and customs, and in this case to the Agape (see below, i).

(b) The Epistle to Diognetus (date uncertain; probably c. 170 A.D., though some argue for a later date) says of the Christians that ‘they partake of the same table, not of the same bed’ (παράκειται συναφον, στάθμον δοστήριον; evidently alluding to the accusation of Edipoleus incests made against the Christians. As Leclercq (op. cit. col. 796) observes, this accusation seems to refer to the Agape, while that of Thyseban banquets refers to the Eucharist, the feeding on the body and blood of Christ being misunderstood; and the παράκειται κοινόν would apply less to an Eucharist than to a feast where the guests lay at meat, there being no panonion between them.’ In § 9 he alludes to Thyseban banquets; in § 30 he returns to the heathen accustions, dealing with the charge of incest, and the words used (e.g. ‘triciunum,’ ‘discumbere,’ ‘cenula’) show that a meal in common is referred to, though Batifol understands him to speak symbolically of the Eucharist throughout.

In the treatise ad Martyres (§ 2, Patr. Lat. i. 606), Tertullian speaks of the consolations of Christians in prison ‘through the care of the Church, the brethren’s Agape’ (cf. Acts of Perpetua, above); but here the meaning probably is ‘love merely, though the Greek word is used. In his Montanist days he brings against the Catholics the very accusations which he had refuted in his Apologeticus. In de Jejunio, 17 (Patr. Lat. ii. 1029, c. 217 A.D.), he accuses them of lecheryfulness in the Agape: ‘Apud te agape in cunx suis; dixit in libellis, deus in delictis; sed major suum cat agape, qui per hanc adolescentes iuri cum sororibus dormient, etc.’ This cannot possibly refer to the Eucharist.—Tertullian’s style is so difficult that it is not surprising if scholars do not agree in interpreting his words; but it is hard to escape the conclusion, especially from the Apologeticus passage, that the Agape, as we generally understand the term, was in common use. We read here of preliminary prayers, sitting at meat, handwashing, the lighting of the lamps, psalms and hymns, prayer and dismissal; a collection was taken for the poor. This description shows that the Agape was held in the Eucharist. On the other hand, the Eucharist in Tertullian’s time was in the morning (de Cor. Mil. 3 [Patr. Lat. ii. 90], etiam antelunaiar colittus, where ετείον perhaps means that the usual custom was to celebrate the Eucharist after dawn, save in time of persecution; cf. de Fuga in Persae. 14 [Patr. Lat. ii. 141], where the same is implied; see J. Wordsworth, Min. of Grace, p. 317). For a full discussion of Tertullian and the Agape, see Keating, The Agape (Patr. Lat. cc. 201 ff.; Leclercq, col. 802 ff.; Ernmoni, p. 28 ff.).

(m) There is not much that need detain us after

of the feasts of some heretics (perhaps the cause of the heathen slanders), and says that he will not dare to apply the name Agape to pitiful suppers redolent of savour and sauces, dishonouring the good and saving work of the Word, the consecrated Agape, with pots and pourings of sauce. . . . Gatherings for the sake of mirth . . . we may lightly suppose entertainments (e̱rdēsa) the Lord has not called Agape.’ So in Strom. iii. 2 he denounces the lecheryfulness of such entertainments (e̱rdēsa) the Lord has not called Agape.’
AGAPE

this till the end of the 3rd cent., but the Canon of Hippolytus are important as introducing a whole parallel passage of the Apostolic Constitutions (ii. 25, c. 375 A.D.), which has ‘Agape’ or entertainment (cypriag even έαπομενή αἰγόμενη) within the same interpolation as above (2) and explains the Didascalia without adding to the sense.

3. Evidence of the 4th cent. and later.—It is not disputed in the 4th cent. there was a custom of having meals in common and of calling them ‘Agape’; and also that the Eucharist was absolutely distinct from them.

(a) The ‘Church Orders’ make this plain. For a description of their use and for other references, see Cooper-Maclean, The Testament of our Lord, pp. 7ff., 25ff.; Funk believes that the dates of most of them are later than those there given. The Egyptian Church Order (310 A.D.), found in the Sacramental Canon of Egypt or Egyptian Hypestech, the Ethiopic Church Order (c. 355 A.D.), found in the Ethiopic Statutes ( lately published by Mr. Horner), and the Latin Verona Fragments (c. 340 A.D.), edited by Dr. Hanler, and the Testament of our Lord (c. 350 A.D.; some think that it was edited in its present form c. 400 A.D., though this seems less likely), all speak of the common meal, which the Egyptian Church Order and the Verona Fragments call ‘the Lord’s Supper,’ and all forbid the catechumens to partake of it, thereby they allow them to receive the ‘bread of exorcism’ (Ethiopic: ‘of blessing’) and a cup (the bread and cup are omitted in the Testament). The bishop presides and exhorts; all eat abundantly, but soberly and in silence; drunkenness is strongly forbidden, and the host is not to be brought on the host. We must also notice that the Egyptian custom of taking exorcism and of eating on the altar appears to have been done since the people were each to receive a portion of bread, and ‘this is a blessing, and not an Exorcist like the body of the Lord’ (the Testament has a similar phrase). This partaking of eulogie (‘blessings’), or leaves given by the people at the offertory in the Eucharist, but not consecrated, afterwards became and is still very common in the East, and it is just possible that it may be a relic of the Agape. Perhaps the ‘bread of exorcism’ is something of this sort. In these Church Orders the Agape is a feast provided by the rich for the whole community; it is not represented as being merely ‘a charity supper’ or a form of aims to the poor.

(b) The Agape is mentioned in three 4th cent. Councils. That of Laodicea in Phrygia (c. 370?) forbade the ‘so-called Agape’ to be held in the Lord’s house (esophage) or in churches (can. 28), and the prevalent abuse of representations of the 3rd Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) made the same rule (can. 30, aliter 29; following one which orders that the sacrament of the altar shall always be celebrated fasting’ except on Munday Thursday. The Council of Gangra in Paphlagonia (date uncertain) endeavours to restore the Agape to its former dignity, and forbade any to despire those who in the faith solemnized it (can. 11). This shows that the abuses of the Agape were leading to its discontinuance in Asia Minor.

(c) Pseudo-Pionius’ Life of Polycarp can be used as evidence only for the 4th cent. (see Lightfoot, Ap. Fath. p. 2, fl. 429f.). The writer of this Life of Polycarp visited a certain bishop named Daphnis, who made an offering in his presence to a number of brethren, and set a little cask full of wine in the midst of them, which miraculously remained full through they drank from it. Here an Agape seems to be meant.

(d) The comment of Chrysostom on 1 Co 11 (Hom. 27) does not appear to give us any sure indication about the ordinary Agape in his own day. He uses the past tense, and from his language here, if taken alone, we might have supposed that the Agape had ceased in his time. In
Hom. 22 he describes how, after instruction, prayer, and 'communion of the mysteries,' the rich had been accustomed to bring materials for a feast from their houses to the church, and to entertain the poor there. Pseudo-Jerome and Theodoret in their comments on 1 Co 11 follow Chrysostom. Their evidence is good for what was the tradition of former custom, though not necessarily for that of Apostolic times (see above, § 1). In the same Hom. 27 and in Hom. 31 Chrysostom refers to the funeral-Agape of his own day (see below, § 5), we cannot say.

(e) Augustine speaks of the Agape in his own time as a charity supper (c. Faust. xx. 20). Faustus the Manichean had represented the Christians as converting the heathen sacrifices into their Agape. Augustine denies this and says that the Agape is a feeding of the poor ('agapes enim nostre pauperes pacuento') with fruits or flesh meat. But whether the Agape was in his day celebrated regularly, or only as a funeral feast (see below § 4), we cannot say.

(f) The Agape in Egypt in the 5th cent. united with the Eucharist, is apparently attested by Socrates and Sozomen. The former says (HE v. 22): "...it is not far from Alexandria the city near Alexandria the city...". The latter speaks of the Thebaid holding their religious assembly on the sabbath, but do not participate in the mysteries in the manner usual among Christians in general; for, having eaten and satisfied themselves with food of all kinds, making their offering (sacrificia, i.e. celebrating the Eucharist, as often) in the evening they partake of the mysteries." Sozomen (HE vii. 19) says: "There are several cities and villages in Egypt where, contrary to the usage established elsewhere, the people meet together on sabbath evenings, and, although they have dined previously, partake of the mysteries." [For the Saturday Agape cf. the Acts of Piacens, above, 2 (q)]. Dom Leclercq (op. cit. col. 822) thinks that in Socrates and Sozomen there is no trace of an Agape, only of an Eucharist. But the words 'eating and satisfying themselves' certainly point to one, and the whole object of this exceptional custom would appear to be to keep up the example of the Last Supper.

(g) We notice, lastly, that as late as the Trullan Council (A.D. 692) the 'African practice of receiving the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday after a meal' is disapproved (canon 29), and Agape within the churches are forbidden (canon 74).

4. Funeral and Commemorative Agapes. — These shows, which, like the others, were probably held separately from the ordinary Agape, as being quite distinct in origin, and as having arisen later (Duchesne, Origines, p. 49 n., Eng. tr.). It will be a question whether some of the references already given should not have been placed under this head. The commemorative Agape was a Christianized form of the heathen patercias or festival in honour of dead relatives (cf. Augustine, Ep. xxix. 9 ad Alyppium); and the custom probably was, first to celebrate the Eucharist with prayer for the departed, and later in the day to hold an Agape. In the references to this custom in Tertullian and Cyprian, the Eucharist is not explicitly mentioned; but probably an Agape is intended as well, as the Hippolytian Canon show. The custom seems to have spread as the veneration for the martyrs grew.

In the Martyrdom of Polycarp (§ 18) the Smyrneans seem to be celebrating the birthday of his martyrdom, for the commemoration of those that have already fought in the contest,' etc. But we are not told how the commemoration was to be celebrated, whether it was a simple banquet (as Gnostic; c. 170 a.d.?) or perhaps earlier) speak of going 'to the tomb to break bread' (ed. Zahn, p. 241). This may be an Eucharist or the Agape. Tertullian (de Cor. Mil. 3 [Patr. Lat. ii. 99]), immediately before describing baptism and the Eucharist, says: 'We make oblations for the departed, especially for their birthdays'; and in de Monogn. 10 (Patr. Lat. i. 992) the widow 'prays for his [her husband's] soul . . . and offers (i.e. the Eucharist) on the anniversary of his falling asleep. So in de Euchar. Nat. 11 [Patr. Lat. ii. 794] addressed to a widower about his departed wife, we read: 'For whose spirit thou prayest, and for whom thou offerest annual oblations.' The Consuls of Hippolytus (Orig. eccl. i. 8) have this direction: "If there is a memorial of the dead, before they sit (at meat) let them partake of the mysteries, though not on the first day of the week ('neque tanen die primum'). After the oblation, let the breviary or Hieronymism be distributed to them before they sit down.' This comes after the directions for the Sunday Agape, and before general rules for meals taken in common. We may notice here that the parallel passage in the Apostolic Constitutions (c. 375 a.d.), which follows an office for the departed, refers to the commemorative feast only, not to the Sunday Agape (viii. 44; Lagarde, p. 276), and rebukes faults of drunkenness. In Cyprian (Letters 96, A.D. 217; see also Patr. Lat. iv. 323) we read of sacrifices being offered ('sacri lactis offerimus') for martyrs and their anniversaries kept, and the last words probably refer to an Agape (so elsewhere in the Epistles). For many years after Cyprian's death they dined and sang round his grave, till this was stopped by Aurelius, bishop of Cartaghe (Augustine, Serm. cec. v. 5 [Patr. Lat. iv. 328 f.]; a feast is probably implied. The story of John, ascetic to Origen (Bk. iii. p. 238, ed. Lommatsch), speaks of these commemorations of the departed as being an opportunity for feeding the poor. In the 4th cent. we have an obscure canon of Elvira in Spain (A.D. 305 a.d.), forbidding lights in cemeteries 'per diem,' as disturbing the souls of the dead (canon 34). This may refer to a funeral Agape; the lamp-lighting rather points to this. Later, Gregory of Nazianzus (Orient. vi. 4 Ep.) and Chrysostom (Hom. 47, On Julian the Martyr) bewail the drunkenness that was rife at these entertainments (cf. also Chrysom. Hom. 27 in 1 Cor. 11, Hom. 31 in Mt. 9). Augustine tells us of the pious custom of his mother Monica at Milan, of bringing food 'ad memorias sanctorum,' as was usual in Africa; but that Ambrose had forbidden it (Confess. vi. 2), no doubt because of the 'revellies and lavish repasts in cemeteries.' (cf. St. John, 3:26) describe banquets given to the poor on Saints' days, 'the hosts considering that they are entertaining the martyrs themselves.' These scenes speak of the disorders and drunken revels that followed the death: 'let us pray for them and consecrate the body of Christ, they separate' (Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxvi. 357 f., 364.f., quoted by Leclercq). At the funeral itself feasts were common. Paulinus (Ep. xiii. 11, A.D. 397) tells how the conference of the synod of Jungle and the Agape called an Agape, given for the poor in the basilica of St. Peter, by Pannomchus.

In Syriac writers Agape is called nychalath, lit. 'to make oblation.' In Acts of John (Gnostic; c. 160 a.d.) 108:2:2 Peter the word, however, has no special reference to the dead, nor can it be argued from it that the Syriac translator of Jude and 2 Peter took the
meaning of ἀγαπή to be 'commemorations of the dead.' On the other hand (see Payne-Smith, Theaurae Syriacae, s.v.), the word ἀγαπή, especially in a liturgical context, is not synonymous with charity, as is often supposed. The ordinary word for 'Saints' days,' and then the reference is without doubt to commemorative Agapes.

5. Archæological and epigraphic evidence.—The Agape is mentioned in the second century, but it is too vague, and the dates are too uncertain to lead us to any sure conclusion about the Agape. Reference may, however, be made to Dom Leclercq's art. in the Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chrétienne, where this side of the subject is treated very fully with excellent illustrations. It will suffice here to mention one or two examples of evidence adduced by the author. There is a fresco in the Capella Green of the Cemetery of St. Priscilla near Rome, discovered in 1898. The multiplication of the leaves and fishes is represented as a banquet, with seven persons lying at meat. Dom Leclercq thinks that this shows that at the time of the fresco the Agape and the Eucharist were united. But this is very precarious. Of inscriptions alluding to the heavenly Agape may be mentioned τινὶ ἐν Θεῷ (Leclercq, op. cit., col. 522) and Anima dulcis pie esse Agape (by St. Irenéus). It is possible that πανίῷ = τινὶ, πανίων = ἐν Θεῷ, and perhaps τινί = τίνι (ib. col. 333).

iii. REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE. — (a) General deductions.—Looking back at the quotations and references detailed above, we may obtain some idea of the history of the Agape. To the present writer it appears, after a careful consideration of what has been written in the last few years, that Bp. Lightfoot's view of the matter has not, in the main, been shaken. The evidence seems to point to the Apostles, probably because of the precedent of the Last Supper, having combined the Eucharist with a common meal, which before long was called the Agape. Yet the Agape was not universal. It was dropped, in some places earlier than in others, and then resumed under somewhat different forms. At first, as the evidence seems to show, the Agape was a meal for the whole community. To call it always a 'charity supper,' as it undoubtedly became in some or in most places later on, is a little misleading. It was a supper for all, rich and poor alike, though no doubt provided almost entirely by the rich, a sign of Christian unity and marked by liturgical forms. Later, the thought of the rich providing for the poor and of the Agape being a charity became prominent; and this was perhaps largely due to the rise of funeral or commemorative feasts, in which the relatives of the deceased gave in his honour, or rich people generally gave in honour of a martyr, a banquet to the poor. These commemorative feasts and the ordinary Agape seem to have been confused, at least in many places, during the 4th century. It is important to bear in mind that the custom of the Agape, being a non-essential, varied in different countries. Perhaps it never became universal; certainly it was of only partial adoption for the greater part of the first four centuries.

To summarize the evidence, we may say that in Acts and 1 Corinthians the Eucharist and the Agape seem to have been combined; in Luke and 2 Peter perhaps dissociated. In the Didache and Ignatius they were probably combined, and perhaps also in Irenæus quite up to the time of Cyprian, when they were already somewhat out of date. In the writings of Origen the Agape does not seem to have been actually existent, perhaps on account of Trajan's Edict. In Celsus, Minucius Felix, and the Epistle to Diognetus it is found existing. In Gaul, at the end of the 3rd century, and in a certain form in historic documents, it is not mentioned by Irenæus. Lucian's satire and the Acts of Perpetua probably testify to the custom of a 'prison Agape.' Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, the Canons of Hippolytus, and some Acts of Martyrs in the 3rd and 4th centuries, attest the Agape as existing and separated from the Eucharist; the old Didascalia describes it as a feast to old women. In the 4th century, 'Church Orders' the Agape is a common meal, not only a charity supper; it is entirely separated from the Eucharist. From the canons of the Councils of Laodicea, Gangra, and Carthage (No. 3), we gather that it was held in churches; perhaps the evidence shows a tendency for it to disappear at this time. Augustine treats it as a charity supper, 'the feeding of the poor.' In the 5th century, there is the remarkable testimony of Socrates and Sozomen to the exceptional case of Agape and Eucharist combined in Egypt; but there is nothing to show that this custom had always existed there. It may, on the one hand, be a relic of old custom; or, on the other, it may be a revival, a piece of out-of-date antiquarianism. In the 7th century, the Trullan Council shows that the Agape and Eucharist were united. Commemorative Agape are probably referred to by Tertullian, the Acts of John, and Cyprian, certainly in the Canons of Hippolytus, in the Commentary on Job (by Origen), and in the Canons of Nazianzus, Augustine, Chrysostom, and others.

(b) relative order of Agape and Eucharist when united.—Did the Agape or the Eucharist come first? On the one hand, we have the precedent of the Last Supper, where the Eucharist followed the meal, and the suggestion in I Co 11 that the Corinthian Agape came first (see above, ii. 1). In the Didache, if the view taken above (ii. 2) be right, the Agape precedes, and the 'meanings of the tables' is followed by the Eucharist. In the exceptional case in the Thebaid in the 5th century, the Agape (if there was one) clearly came first. On the other hand, in Ac 20, we have the order, 'breaking bread' and 'eating.' If the former means the Eucharist and the latter the Agape, the order is reversed. It is quite possible, however, that 'breaking bread' and 'eating' are here one and the same thing, and refer to the Eucharist and the meal combined; in which case we can make no deduction from the words. As has been seen, Chrysostom, in his homily on 1 Corinthians, makes the Eucharist precede, i.e. not in his own day merely, but in the primitive ages. We may perhaps lay no great stress on the late evidence of the Thebaid on the one hand, or of Chrysostom on the other. The Fathers of the 4th or 5th century probably had no knowledge of Christian antiquities in this department than we have. Chrysostom was no doubt influenced in his view of the Apostolic age by the customs of his own day, and the Christians of the Thebaid may have been merely trying to follow what appeared to them to have been the custom at the Last Supper. Confining ourselves, then, to the early evidence of NT and the Didache, it certainly seems more probable than not that the Agape came first, and that the Eucharist immediately followed. This is Bp. Lightfoot's view. Dr. Lock (in Hastings' DB, s.v. 'Love-feasts') inclines the other way; and so, more decidedly, does Mr. Box (op. cit.).

(c) The name 'Agape.'—It is important to consider why this word was applied to a meal. The Greek ἀγαπή is apparently first found in the LXX. Before NT it is exclusively found in Jewish documents. It is not, however, largely used. M. B. Ritschl (Bibl. Stud. p. 199, Eng. tr.) quotes a passage in Philo (Quod Deus immutat, § 14), who probably took the word from the LXX; the meaning is 'love to God;' ἀγάπη being found in Thucydides, but we do not know if the glossator was a Christian or not (see Deissmann, op. cit. p. 200). In OT and NT, except in
two passages Jude 12, 2 Pet 2:9, the word always means 'love.'

How, then, did it acquire its technical sense? Dr. Keating (paper in the Guardian, Dec. 31, 1902) supposed that it was because of the new commandment given at the Last Supper (Jn 13:34 & 14:23 & 21:15 ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους) and this may very probably be the case. At any rate, the feast would be called 'love,' because of the Lord who joined Christians together; and when (as in Ignatius) the name was applied to the Eucharist and the meal jointly, it would be especially suitable, because Christians are thus united to their Saviour. That this was the main idea of the name is confirmed by the phrase 'kiss of love,' φιλία ἀγαπής ἀγάπης (1 P 5:10; cf. φιλ. ἀγαπη, Ro 16:16, 1 Co 13:1, 1 Th 5:16), which was no doubt in early times as in later ages, and as it is still in the East, one of the most significant features of Christian assemblies; by it the worshippers reminded themselves of their brotherhood. As the idea of a charity supper became prominent, after the separation of Eucharist and Agape, the name was applied to the Lord's - above, meal. As James (all the services of a charity supper, perhaps) Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen (quoting Celsius), Acts of James and Matthias, the older Didascalion, and in the 4th cent. writers passim.

As in the case of other technical terms, it is probable that a double reference was not uncommon. Just as 'Agape' was used of a meal with the Eucharist, for example, Jesus' (as probably) Acts of Paul and Thecla, (perhaps), Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen (quoting Celsius), Acts of James and Matthias, the older Didascalion, and in the 4th cent. writers passim.

As will be seen from the evidence produced above, the name 'Agape' is applied to a meal taken in common, if the deductions made in this article are correct, in the following: Jude, 2 Peter (probably), Ignatius, Celsius, (probably). Acts of Paul and Thecla (perhaps), Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen (quoting Celsius), Acts of James and Matthias, the older Didascalion, and in the 4th cent. writers passim.

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As will be seen from the evidence produced above, the name 'Agape' is applied to a meal taken in common, if the deductions made in this article are correct, in the following: Jude, 2 Peter (probably), Ignatius, Celsius, (probably). Acts of Paul and Thecla (perhaps), Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen (quoting Celsius), Acts of James and Matthias, the older Didascalion, and in the 4th cent. writers passim.

As in the case of other technical terms, it is probable that a double reference was not uncommon. Just as 'Agape' was used of a meal with the Eucharist, for example, Jesus' (as probably) Acts of Paul and Thecla, (perhaps), Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen (quoting Celsius), Acts of James and Matthias, the older Didascalion, and in the 4th cent. writers passim.
that the Eucharist followed by the Agape (for Mr. Box believes the Eucharist to have come first) represented the Jewish Qiddush followed by a festive meal. But at the same time it certainly followed the meal (1 Co 11:20) and the balance of the argument appears to be against the order required by this theory for the Christian Agape (see above, ii. (b)). And, further, the Paschal character of the Last Supper seems too evident for us to be convinced that it was not in some sense a Paschal meal. So, if our difficulty as to the origin of the Agape remains, and we must look elsewhere for it, without indeed denying the influence of the Last Supper on the customs under discussion.

The environment of the Apostolic Church must certainly be considered in judging of the origin of the Agape. To the Jewish common meals were quite familiar. The Essenes made a practice of them, living a sort of community life (Philo, Quod omnia probos liber; Jos., B.J. ii. 8; Hippolytus, Ref. Narr. i. 18 ff.). For other Jewish illustrations see Josephus, Ant. xxv. 18 (in which the custom is accounted for, among others, by the fact that under the influence of the custom of the Besor, or festive meal, among the Israelites the regular scene of dining and guest-reception became the scene of the religious banquet), and the Book of Jubilees (fests. 110 ff.).

The two most important facts to be remembered are thus, that (1) in the Jewish origin of the Agape in the earliest Christian literature, and (2) the connection of the Agape with the Last Supper, which were also the keys to the understanding of the Agape in the Church from the time of Ignatius. Insufficient as the evidence is-so insufficient as to be of no value at all to any one but the pestilent—of Jewish communion, it is clear that the connexion of the Agape with the Last Supper was so strong as to exclude the view that it was a second and quite distinct meal. This connexion was one of the strongest points brought against the Jewish theory by Leclercq.

The most probable account of the origin of the Agape would seem to be that the Christians of the Apostolic age, desirous of showing their unity and brotherly love, imitated the Jewish and heathen custom of having common meals; they could not join the heathen guilds because of the idolatry that would be involved in doing so, and therefore they had what corresponded to these guilds among themselves, namely, the Agape. The connexion with the Eucharist—which in itself was quite a distinct act—would be a further step. They remember that our Lord had associated the first Eucharist with a meal, and this was their justification in joining the Agape with it, so that the name 'Eucharist' could be said to include the Agape, as in the Didache, or the name of 'Agape' the Eucharist, in Ignatius. Indeed, in this way they would seem to be carrying out our Lord's injunction most fully. That the meal partaken of by our Lord was a Paschal meal—probably one specially instituted by Him in anticipation of that is immaterial—would not affect the matter. There was nothing Paschal about the Agape, but the point of similarity between it and the Last Supper would be the connexion with the Divine Presence, and this helps to stand out—(1) the frequent Agape was at first due to the early con-

munion of the Church at Jerusalem, and carried on by the Gentile Churches in imitation of those without; (2) its connexion with the Eucharist was based on the fact that our Lord instituted it in connection with a sacrament after a common meal. That the origin and history of the Agape are plain cannot for a moment be maintained; but that the explanation here given fits the known facts, appears to be at least probable.

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AGAPEMONE ("Abole of Love.")—Henry James Prince, the founder of Agapemonism, was born January 13, 1811. After being articled to a medical man in Wells, Somerset, he resolved to take Holy Orders in the Church of England. In his 26th year he entered St. David's College, Lampeter (March, 1830). The connexion with the Welsh college led to the new sect being called the Lampeter Brethren.

This, however, was misleading, for the Lampeter Brethren, eleven alumni of that institution, were a devout and earnest body, who next formed the Church of God in Wales, a body which later to the advice of the Brethren, and who afterwards felt "compelled to come to the calm, deliberate, and final, though most distressing, conclusion that Prince is awfully in error."

During his college course Prince was an exemplary student. His brother-in-law and fellow-student, Rev. A. A. Rees, wrote that, till 1843, he never saw or heard of an individual more thoroughly devoted to God.

Prince was ordained in 1840 to the curacy of the agricultural parish of Charleyn, near Bridgewater, Somerset. The rectory of Charleyn, and the parishes of Starky, in the same county, were shortly after his ordination taken over by Prince and a companion, and the latter was styled the "Abole of Love," or Prince. The careers of these two men now became identical. Starky, like Prince, was a man of extraordinary gifts of speech, but the rector soon acknowledged his curate as the very soul of the movement, and Prince in behalf of Agapemonism led it to its adherents in Weymouth and other parts of the south country being called "Starkyites." A wonderful revival of religion began in the parish of Charleyn in the autumn of 1841, and in October 1841 Prince published a record of it in 1842. It is a diary of most earnest work on behalf of souls. In six months the whole parish had professed conversion. By May 4, 1841, the Bishop of Bath and Wells had revoked Prince's licence to preach, on the ground of his labouring in neighbouring parishes, advertising

* His Christian name appears to have been lost. In the R.M. Cat. the name stands thus: Agapemon, M.D., or M.D.
to the Lord's Table before Confirmation, and refusing the Sacrament to persons of evil lives. The diary is an instructive and edifying book, but it records the subtle and unflagging, even across the personal idiosyncrasies of Prince and his rector and the parishioners. While so absorbed in seeking the salvation of his people that he can think of nothing else, the emotion he expresses strikes the reader as unpleasantly and unmercifully fanatic. The Church Peculiar was published because Prince thought it 'calculated, under the Divine blessing, to stir up the hearts of the Lord's people, and especially of His ministers, to expect great things from God.' With a few emendations it might be rescued as a model of pastoral labours. Before its publication in August 1842, Prince had already sent out two small works, Letters to his Christian Brethren in St. David's College, Lampeter, and Strength in Jesus, both of which ran to more than one edition.

The date of the beginning of his delusions seems to have been early in 1843. In May of that year he wrote to Mr. Rees a long letter in which he explained the story by which the Holy Ghost came to be settled and fixed in the personality of H. J. Prince. In the same year he desired his Lampeter brethren to believe (1) that he was the Holy Ghost in the flesh; (2) that the Holy Ghost suffered and died in him; (3) that this suffering and death obtained for them what he called 'my spirit,' or, as he also phrased it, 'a modification of the Holy Ghost.' About the same time he also published Testimony: How Christ's parables, worn out on certain popular ballads, to back up his own pretensions,—wretched doggerel, like almost all his hymns,—in which he seemed to be losing all consistence in his things as they transmogrified, was the beginning of his own self-proclaimed apostasy.

Prince had been induced by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and presently the same lot befell him at the hands of the Bishop of Salisbury. When he attempted to officiate as curate at Stokeby-Claire, in Suffolk, he suffered once more at the hands of the Bishop of Ely. He appealed to the Archbishop, but could get no redress. Then, to use his own words, 'prevented from preaching within the pale of the Established Church, Bro. Prince, after some months' waiting on God for guidance in faith and prayer, proceeded to preach within the pale in his own parish.' He became most outspoken in denouncing the Catholic church, but apparently without having observed that there were fellow-Christians who felt as strongly as himself upon this subject. Starkey and Prince began to preach in barns at Charlton. What was practically a Free Church was formed at Spaxton, a mile away. Crowds came to hear them. The twain asserted that they were the Two Witnesses of Rev. 11, and Prince published several brochures in regard to the 'Two Anointed Ones.' He declared that community of goods was still binding on believers. Thereupon they sold their hands, and brought the money, 'laying it at Bro. Prince's feet.' About this period also he asserted that he was the prophet Elijah, that this had been made known to him by direct revelation, and that 'people were not to consider what they heard from him as a common prophetic sermon, nor to think of him as an ordinary preacher; on the contrary, he was come from the courts of heaven, from the bosom of eternity.'

A crop of opposing pamphlets immediately sprang from the press, written for the most part by men who had been his personal friends. It is clear from some of his actions at this time, and particularly from the ballads which he penned and made his congregation sing, that his phenomenal self-love had passed beyond eccentricity into unsoundness of mind.

Prince and Starkey now set up the Agapemone, which they opened in 1849 at the entrance to the village of Spaxton. Money was poured into the tremendous propagandism. The Chichester Herald was published, because Prince thought it 'calculated, under the Divine blessing, to stir up the hearts of the Lord's people, and especially of His ministers, to expect great things from God.' With a few emendations it might be rescued as a model of pastoral labours.

Throughout the movement it was very noticeable that Prince associated himself with wealthy persons, and by course of events, with the upper classes of the world, depositing their money at the Bank of England in the name of 'Beloved Prince,' and taking up their abroad the Agapemone. A wave of fanaticism seemed to sweep across the district about Bridgwater. Many intelligent persons believed him when Prince announced himself as the Final Revelation of the will of God to mankind. Christ had come again in the person of His messenger, first to judge, and then to convert the world of righteousness. In him the Holy Ghost was to destroy the works of the flesh, and to cast out the devil. Whether he took the title of 'Lord,' or only accepted it, without deprecating its application to himself, seems uncertain. Some who heard from the Agapemone his followers as much as they do Prince. Said one of them, 'They were simply mad about him, and were ready to fall down and worship him as he descended in a shower of exhalations from heaven.' Some among the assembly were at a loss to account for the long-suffered last sudden judgment fall upon him and upon them. He had been so oppressed that neither he nor anybody else found time to look after himself, or to seek to harm himself, or to seek to harm others. He had given himself up to the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful. He was sure that the devil, and the devil, he was aware he was, was most likely to be unfaithful.
Man Christ Jesus is an enthusiastic review of the life of the Lord, though verbose, dray, obscure, and exclamationary, —exhausting all the Oriental elements of mystery, that needs to be said in a lascivious and erotic sense to express devotion to Christ. Leaves from the Tree of Life, and The Shutters taken down from the Windows of Heaven contain some sayings, which have caused him to speculate, as opposed to sacerdotal, religion. But the books, like the man himself, are stealthy and deceptive. While devout Christians can approve large portions of his writings, it is to be feared that many of the things he says are not of any value, or, if they are, a man has to be in a passionate, dishonest mood, as opposed to sacerdotal, religion. But the titles, which are only a mask, are stealthy and deceptive.

The fervid, the warning, the intense, the eloquent, the fanatical, the prominent, the solemn, the spiritual, the exhortation, and the testimony to the closing of the Gospel Dispensation, published when he was 77 years old. It professes to be the Gospel of Christ, the fulfillment of all grace in principle, the rejection by the Church, and the world, the rejection of the repentance from sin, and the faith of the doctrine of Christ. It is a book of instruction and exhortation. It was the last work of the author, and was written in a passion that was not to be satisfied, or, if satisfied, was not to be satisfied in a sacerdotal sense, as opposed to sacerdotal, religion. But the books, like the man himself, are stealthy and deceptive.

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Next to the Journal the most important book is The Counsel of God in Judgment, or, Br. Prince's Testimony to the Closing of the Gospel Dispensation, published when he was 77 years old. It professes to be the Gospel of Christ, the fulfillment of all grace in principle, the rejection by the Church, and the world, the rejection of the repentance from sin, and the faith of the doctrine of Christ. It is a book of instruction and exhortation. It was the last work of the author, and was written in a passion that was not to be satisfied, or, if satisfied, was not to be satisfied in a sacerdotal sense, as opposed to sacerdotal, religion. But the books, like the man himself, are stealthy and deceptive.

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After the trial in the Chancery Court, comparative silence fell upon the Agapémon. Prince lived a very retired life. The funds of the brotherhood also seemed to be failing them, until in the last eighteen years a windfall came in the person of a wealthy London merchant, who presented to Prince all his property, and served the brotherhood in the humble capacity of butler. For the last ten years of his life Prince was very feeble. He outlived all his principal followers. He was buried on the 11th of January 1899, in the grounds behind the Agapémon.

In 1899 and for a few years later there was a remarkable renaissance of this faction. Several prominent members of the Salvation Army cast in their lot with Prince. A mission to Norway was reported to be very successful. But, by the sudden departure of the Reverend M. J. Smyth-Pigott, the N.E. London, because the scene of this renewed activity. The 'Children of the Resurrection,' as they named themselves, built, in 1893, 'The Ark of the Covenant,' an elaborate structure, seating about 400 persons, at a cost of £16,000. The preacher, at its opening in 1896, was the Rev. J. H. Smyth-Pigott, the official successor of Prince. Smyth-Pigott, who is of good family, was formerly a curate of St. Jude's, Milnthorpe. He has also served in the Egyptian Army. In his opening sermon he declared that he expected Christ to come that very day to judgment, but did not explain why, in that case, the expected judgment of the church was being delayed. In September 1892, Smyth-Pigott promised himself to be Jesus Christ; with the result that most riotous scenes took place for several weeks.

Since the tumultuous scenes which accompanied the departure of this prominent member, Smyth-Pigott has lived in retirement at his house in Upper Clayton, or at the Agapémon at Spaxton, worshipped as Divine by the little company who accept his preaching. 'Ark of the Covenant' remained closed to the public until the sudden illness of 1904, when the services being held at rare intervals. It needs only to be added that the present tenants of the Agapémon are a quiet, blameless, and elderly company, numbering about 35 persons, whose praise is sung throughout the whole neighbourhood for their unquestioned piety and for their use in a lascivious and erotic sense to express devotion to Christ.
sought power in a union of souls, which was supposed to bring them nearer to God.

The old Irish Church had made this kind of asceticism the foundation-pillar of its organization. According to the primitive Christian custom, no difference was then made between man and woman (cf. Gal 3:28), and both were allowed to take part in Church functions. In the monastic houses, moreover, the priestly monks lived together with the piously nuns, according to an old anonymous reporter, up to the year 545: ‘Mulierum administra
tionem et consortim non respicient, quia super patriam Christi fundamenta non ten
bunt’ (Haddan-Stubbbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, ii, 2, p. 292). At the time, too, when the Irish, with their mission, undertook a forward movement towards Brittany, the Gallican bishops found it especially blame-worthy in the inhabitants that they were accompanied by women, who, like the men, assumed to themselves sacramental functions (cf. the letter of the three bishops in the Rota de Breogte et de Vendée, 1885, i. p. 5 E) ; they did not know that the Irish-Breton Church had preserved customs and principles of the most ancient Christian Church.

After the well-to-do circles in the large cities and borrows, asceticism, there was developed a new form of spiritual marriage. It happened frequently that rich widows and young women, in accordance with the tendency of the time, refused marriage, and in order to provide a master for their large houses, caused clergymen or monks to bind themselves to them in spiritual marriage. This is a variety of Synesisaktism, but an unfortunate one. The roles seem to be reversed. The woman had the upper hand, for she ruled the mistress of her household. She had large possessions, and in addition she enjoyed the repute of virginity. On the other hand, the position of the priest was difficult, and often precarious. However seriously asceticism and the union of souls might be taken, still the fact could not be lost sight of that the priest was a subordinate, and his position may have varied between house steward, domestic chaplain, and spiritual lord. This is the role which the abbé in France had in the 17th and 18th centuries. At the time of Chrysostom this evil custom was widespread in Constantinople (Migne, xlvii. col. 495 E.) ; likewise at the same time in Gaul, as Jerome (Ep. 177) described. It was then, and still is to be regarded as a peculiar product of Christianity.

The spiritual marriage of the clergy is most frequently mentioned, and therefore best known; so much so that it has been widely believed that only the clergy of the ancient Church lived under Synesisaktism. And it cannot be denied that the custom, just as in the case of Monasticism, found its special home here. It stands parallel with celibacy, which, in like manner, in Christianity was not created for the clergy, but none the less became a ruling custom among them, and at a later date was elevated to a law, because people judged marriage to be inferior, and imposed the highest and most ideal demands on the clergy. Now, as the clergy who withdrew from marriage became more numerous, their choice of a companion for spiritual work was in order, and a new ideal of life—a life of asceticism, was of much more frequent occurrence. And as time went on, the ideal nature of the relationship seems to have disappeared in face of practical motives. Out of the ascetic and the bride of the spiritual realm, arose the nun, on the one hand, and the housekeeper, who was suspected to be also the mistress.

No doubt the common judgment on this form of asceticism had changed in course of time. Men's moral standards have changed, the more derelict and sad, and the nun who lived together with a woman was looked on with other eyes than at an earlier date. It seems, however, as if Synesisaktism itself had degenerated. The housekeepers of the clergy were called mulieres extrae, and placed on the same footing as the laity. Nevertheless, as late as the year 600, even ordered that the extraes should be sold as slaves, and the proceeds given to the poor (can. 5 Toledo, 589; can. 3 Hispalis, 590; can. 42, 43 Toledo, 633). In the Decretals of Gregory IX., lib. 2 de cohabitatione clerissarum et mulierum, the concubinage of the clergy is forbidden. In the East the same development can be proved. Even in the later synods the Synesisakti are alluded to as a most adventurous practice, the abolition of female servants of the clergy; and to the Greek canonsists of the 12th cen. the name Synesisaktos means no more than the housekeeper of a clergyman. Synesisaktism must, therefore, have undergone a transition. Even in the later centuries clergy lived together with women without being married to them, just as in earlier times; but people regarded this living together differently. In early times man and woman had taken the vow of virginity, and had struggled in a union of souls to attain the common ideal; in later times the practical requirements of life came to the front. The clergyman needed a woman to look after his domestic affairs and duties. The natural way of marriage was barred to him by the ordinance of celibacy; but if he took a young woman into his house without marrying her, he was exposed to evil report. Without doubt, even in later times the ideal motives of the community of life may in many cases have been alive, as formerly. On the whole, the development which has been sketched is thoroughly natural. An ascetic ideal is one of high aims must, in the course of time, evaporate and make room for the sober realities of the day. Such an heroic ideal may perhaps be suitable as a way to heaven for a few specially favoured natures; but it becomes questionable, and even pernicious, as soon as it is made a rule to be followed by a large class of men.

The different forms of Synesisaktism arose under the influence of social conditions to the longness of the desert, the nun became the maid-servant of the hermit; in the cities and villages, the soul-friend of the well-to-do priest degenerated into housekeeper, just as, on the other hand, the rich widow, or the spiritual friends the role of steward; and if in Ireland monks and nuns lived together in large companies, that was caused by the peculiar conditions of the Irish missionary church, which was a monastic church. Synesisaktism was the natural product of two opposing tendencies in ancient Christianity. On the one hand, brotherly love, in all its forms of expression, was most highly prized, so that it was declared to be the proper palladium of religion (cf. 1 Co 13), and the exclusiveness of the small and intimate congregations favoured the rise of a narrow social life and a friendly relationship between Christians who were widely separated in age and social position. We can see, from the example of the Irish religious houses, how great an influence the idea of community must have had. On the other hand, there was the inclination based on religious feelings, to sexual intercourse. Marriage was regarded as a not very honourable concession to the sensual nature of mankind, and people revered the ascetics with a strange mixture of derision and respect for their ideals. Owing to the conflict of two ideals, which bound men most closely with each
other and yet threatened to estrange man and woman, there arose the unnatural combination of asceticism and brotherly love, which meets us in Synecisaktism. A form of marriage was created, which was not marriage either in reality or in intention, and was blind to its own dangers, because those who adopted it trusted everything, even the quite impossible, to the same extent as the worst of the Christians.

Thus it is only natural that it was just the spiritually elevated Christians, the leaders of the community—the prophets, confessors, bishops, and clergy—who lived in a state of spiritual marriage. In the same way the *sacerdos spirituales* of the earlier times were always such women as enjoyed a special position of honour in the community as *brides of Christ*—the virgins, widows, or even prophetesses. What they undertook was not hidden in a corner, but was generally admired as a glorious example of Christian love and continency. But in course of time the judgment of the ancient Church regarding the Synecisaktiō changed.

Herein lies a spiritual marriage, in all its forms, as a precious characteristic of the life of the Christian community (the union of the first two is not disapproved of).

Tertullian regards it as the most desirable form of cohabitation of man and woman (see above). Paul of Samosata (about 250) described this form of marriage in his Synod of Antioch (Eus. H.E. viii. 30. 12 f.), and, shortly afterwards, the Synod of Nicaea, 325, and shortly after that the Synod of Oppositeness of Antioch are never absent from the Church ordinances. In cases of disobedient, the clergy are punished or even desecrated, in the case of laymen or monks, strict admonitions are, as a rule, regarded as sufficient.

The different attitudes taken up by the Church on this subject may be divided into two classes, of which she had undergone. In the first three centuries she had spread very widely, and the communitys had in places become very numerous. There were many elements in her that did not take the moral precepts of Christianity seriously. The strict prohibitions regarding sins of the flesh were, owing to the necessity of the case, weakened and modified in the 3rd century. The Roman bishop Caius likened the Church to Noah's ark, in which there were clean and unclean beasts (Hippolyt. Philos. ix. 12). Then such a custom as spiritual marriage had to be abolished,—a custom which, if feasible at all, was so only in small intimate circles of the faithful, where the bride and groom all were under supervision and discipline. It proved, however, excessively difficult to root out Synecisaktism, as we may learn from the ever repeated prohibitions, which became more and more strict as time goes on. How very deep the opposition to it went can be gathered from the fact that the later bishop of Antioch, Leontius, exalted himself in order to be permitted to retain his house companion. Yet people were in many places convinced of the innocence and the justice of such a relationship; and even produced proofs from writers who justified the Synecisaktiō by quoting Biblical examples from the Old and New Testament (Achelias, Virg. Subsirid. p. 42 f.).

That spiritual marriage was in course of time regarded in a different light, is proved further by the changes of designation.

Tertullian calls the female ascetic, who lives with a man, his *sacerdos spirituale*—which is the appropriate name in the sense of early days. There then occurs the term *componsa*. The spiritual marriage seems to have been called *agnosia* on the one hand. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Antioch invented for the female friend of Paul of Samosata the nickname *agnosia* (name afterwards stuck to female ascetics who lived together with like-minded male friends. The term was carried over into the Latin Church in the translation *substitutae* (Synod. a. 745 in Mansi, xii. 501). More frequently still the general term *agnosia* was used.

In regard to the question of the age of spiritual marriage, the *Shepherd* of Hermas comes especially under consideration. Hermas knows the custom of Christian men and women being united to each other by a bond of special affinity, even when they are separated from each other by all kinds of relationships in life (Vis. i. 1. 1); he presupposes that virgins find shelter in the houses of Christian brothers (Soph. x. 3); and, finally, knows the intimate forms of intercourse which were usual between the spiritually betrothed (Soph. xii. 18, 20). Reports, of course, not facts but visions, but he would not have been able to introduce the situations he describes in such a matter-of-fact way, if he had not regarded them as the illustration of Christian brotherly love, of which he was proud.

The passage 1 Co 7 has also to be considered, since it has been brought by Ed. Grafe into connexion with the question of the Synecisaktiō. According to the interpretation suggested by Grafe, 1 Co 76 refers to the awakening love between a Christian householder and a young girl residing in his house, who are bound by a common vow; the Apostle recommends that an end be put to this precarious situation by marriage. But, on the other hand, in v. 27 he praises the Christian who, in the like situation, understands how to control himself, while v. 28 unites both decisions. The matter, then, does not concern the Synecisaktiō, but has generally been held by exegetes, but is a case of spiritual marriage—the same situation as we found above in the case of the bishop and clergy of Antioch as we must presuppose in Hermas, and as we saw in the letters of Cyprian. What was so inevitable took place at Corinth (although it was avoided in other places, viz., that the peculiar relation between the guardian and his spiritual bride be endurable for a certain time of marriage. According to Grafe, St. Paul advised both to marry, while the present writer finds it more in accordance with the wording of the text (cf. the repeated *παρκοκομοντος* and also with the supposed situation, to think that he advised the young woman to leave the house and be married to some other Christian.

If the words of St. Paul have a concrete case of Synecisaktism in view, such as prevailed at the episcopal court of Antioch, that is almost the only conceivable solution. In ancient times young girls were married without much ceremony, and for a female ascetic, who had had a disappointing experience, a marriage was certainly the best way. It must, however, be granted that this interpretation of the passage in Corinthians is not beyond question, especially as the text is not quite certain.

Lastly, the *de Vita Contemplativa* must be mentioned. This may be regarded as a genuine work of Philo. The Therapeutae in Egypt, who are there described, and who tabbed marriage and sexual enjoyment, lived in union with female companions, just as the Christian monks did at a later date. It is the same combination of sexual asceticism and brotherly communion as in Synecisaktism, only that the personal intimacy between the individual pairs is wanting; the brotherly love is just the specifically Christian factor in the spiritual marriage. This makes it possible to place the beginnings of Synecisaktism in the Apostolic Age.

The ascetic cohabitation of man and woman had already had its prototype in Hellenistic society. It can, however, on more general grounds, hardly be doubted that spiritual marriage with its extravagances belongs to the earliest Christian times, when 'the Spirit' ruled the community, and the first love' still lived, when the individual communities were small and intimate, and had had no disappointing experiences with regard to themselves; asceticism made its way into the Church; and so all the conditions for the rise of this institution were present. This must be so if Synecisaktism is conceived of, as it has been by us above, as
an attempt to substitute for marriage Christian brotherly love. If we seek to derive it, in the way formerly adopted, from the celibacy of the clergy or from Monasticism, then we are driven to a date far in the future. But in face of the testimony of the most ancient Christian authors, that can hardly be maintained.

LITERATURE.—The question was first raised by Henry Dodwell, in the Indian Annual Register, 1816, p. 273. Thereupon a small literature on the subject grew up. The titles of the contributions are given by J. E. Volckering, Index dissertationum academicae, p. 165, 1876. As far as is known to the present writer, all the authors held Syncratism to be an error of the corrupt Church of the 3rd century. The above mentioned discussion of Co 726 by Ed. Grafé, *Geistliche Verhältnisse bei Paulus,* followed a notice of Weltsäcker, and appeared in Theol. Arbeiten aus dem rheinischen wissenschaftl. Prediger-Verein, N. S., iii. (Freiburg, 1899). This interpretation has found considerable approval. The conception of Syncratism given above is proved in detail by H. Achelis, *Vergnéne Subintrod desire Ein Beitrag zu 1. Or. (*Leipzig, 1909."

AGARIÀ—AGASTYA

AGARIÀ, AGAR, AGARI.—An Indian tribe which, at the Census of 1901, numbered 270,370, of whom the vast majority are found in Bombay, the Central Provinces, and Bengal, and a few in other parts of India. The ethnography of this tribe is very obscure, and, as collected under one heading in the Census returns, it includes at least three different communities, who may, however, agree in being part of the tribes of Dravidian or Munda origin. Chota Nagpur and the adjoining district of Mirzapur the Agarià practise the old rude Dravidian method of smelting iron. In the Tributary Mahals of Bengal and in the Sambalpuri Central Provinces they are a fair, good looking race, who claim to have once been Rajputs in the neighbourhood of Agra, whence they say they derive their name. The legend runs that they refused to bow the knee in some places to the Munnamdar emperor of Delhi, and were compelled to leave their original settlements and migrate southwards. These the Census returns describe under the name of Agarià, in order to distinguish them from the Agriàt, who are pure Parsees. In the Mandla district of the same province they are described as a subdivision of the Gonds (wh. see), and among the laziest and most drunken of that race. In Bombay another branch perhaps in some places to the Multan Dair a, and derive their name from the pit (Hind. Mahr. aga, Skr. áka, a mine) in which the brine is evaporated.

It is only the tribe in Chota Nagpur and the immediate neighbourhood that preserves its original beliefs. Generally they have a well-marked totemistic division into sub-castes; a vague form of ancestor-worship, which is confined to propitiating the dead of the preceding generation; and a respect for the Sal tree (*Shoreá robusta*), which is used at their marriages. In Mirzapur they neglect the ordinary Hindu gods, and have a special worship of Lalitás Devt, the Mother-goddess who presides over the smelting furnace. To her the baiga, or village officiant, sacrifices a goat which has never borne a kid, and burns a few scraps of cake, the meat and the remainder of the bread being consumed by the officiant. In Palamau, according to Forbes, their worship is of a still lower type. 'They appear,' he writes, 'to have no deities, and to have no knowledge of the Supreme Being, though some of them appear to have heard of the universal Devil; but I do not think they worshipped her in any way. On certain days of the year they offer up sacrifices to propitiate the spirits of the departed members of the family.' This ceremony is called *Maih.* 'the Devil.' In Palamau, according to Forbes, their worship is of a still lower type. They pay reverence to the Divin, the Dhim or local gods of the village in which they happen to settle. In Bengal their women have the reputation of being notorious witches. Dalbon was told that 'in Gangpur there are old women, processors of witchcraft, who stealthily instruct the young girls. They are all eager to be taught, and are not considered proficient till a fine tree, selected to be experimentation, is destroyed by the petency of their "mantras" or charms. It is said that the wife a man takes to his bosom has probably done her tree, and is confident in the belief that she can, if she pleases, disperse his wife in the same way. And it is said that he makes himself of little account.'
Now Ilava, an enemy of the Brahman, had a brother, Vatápi, whom, on the arrival of a Bráhman, he used to kill and then to prepare as food, for Vatápi had finished his dinner, Ilava, by his magical power, called Vatápi to life again, and in this way killed his victim. The Danava tried this trick on Agastya, the son of Rishis, in his mischievous state, as the latter had already completely digested. So Ilava was fain to give Agastya such treasures as satisfied the desires of Lópanárdra. According to the Rómyogas (iii. 11. 66), however, Agastya, on this occasion, produced the Danava to ashes by fire issuing from his eye. The Rishi had by Lópanárdra a son called Dradhásya or Ilihaváhāt.

Another famous deed of Agastya was his having caused the fall of Nahuna. When, after vanquishing Víra, Indra, polluted with the sin of brahmahatya, or killing of a Bráhman, fled and hid himself, the gods made Nahuna ruler of the skies. But Nahuna soon became overbearing and desired to make Sachi, Indra's wife, his own. She, however, would not consent unless he came to her on a car drawn by the seven Rishi. Nahuna therefore asked them to his ear, and made them draw it. During his ride, he, for some cause, differed in different places, kicked Agastya on the head, whereupon the Rishi turned him by his curse, until Víshváhpura should release him from the evil.

Most frequently Agastya is mentioned in Sanskrit works as having stayed the abnormal growth of the Vindhyá range, and as having drunk up the ocean.

The Vindhyá was jealous of Mount Meru, round which sun and moon and stars were always revolving. In order to force the heavenly bodies to go round him too, Vindhyá began to grow, and rose to such a height that the gods became alarmed. They therefore asked Agastya to prevent the mountain from obstructing the path of the sun. Accordingly the Rishi went with his family to the Vindhyá, and, pretending to have some mysterious business to transact with the mountain, caused growing till he should return; and when the Vindhyá had agreed, he passed on and took up his abode in the South for ever.1 His hermitage was near the Góli-bávāri and Páma, where Ráma and Síká were his guests.2 The Rámkánya, however, takes apparently no heed of Agastya's resolve never to leave the South, for in Bk. vii. it is related that he visited Ráma in Ayodhya, and there told him the early history of Dáváya and Hamáná.

The drinking up of the ocean is thus related in the Mahábhárata (iii. 103 fl.).

The king was named Asvátra, had fought under Víra against the gods. After the death of their leader they hid themselves in the ocean where the gods could not reach them, and by repeated attempts to extirpate the Brahmanas, men; for thus, they thought, they would bring about the destruction of the gods, alarmed by their raids, were advised by Víshnú to implore Agastya for help. Accordingly, drank up the water of the ocean and thus laid bare the Vindhyá, who were then slain by the gods. Agastya continued a void till Náhratár led the Gangá to it and thus filled it again with water.

A curious trait of our saint is that he was a famous hunter and archer. For this reason, probably, Manu (v. 22) addresses Agastya as an authority for killing deer and birds for sacrificial purposes and for servants' food.

After his death Agastya was placed among the stars as Canopus, the most brilliant star in the southern heavens except Sirus. The heliacal rising of Agastya, while the sun is in the asterism Hástá, marks the setting in of autumn after the close of the rains.3 Agastya seems, in popular belief, to represent that force of nature which makes an end of the year, in mythological language, drinks up the waters of the ocean,—and which brings back the sun, temporarily hidden by the clouds of the rainy season, or, turned mythologically, stays the growth of Vindhyá obstructing the path of the sun.

A rain-godding, we are supposed to have power to stop the rain, he is still invoked in Muzafír-nagar.4

In Southern India, Agastya is venerated as the earliest teacher of science and literature,5 he is the reputed author of many Tamil works.6 He is believed to be still alive, though invisible to ordinary eyes, and to reside somewhere on the southern coast of India, in Travancore commonly called Agastya's hill, from which the Pórunth, or Tínnaráppí, the sacred river of Thínnellí, takes its rise.7 8 See also Védic Religion (4 B B).

AGE.—In most animals there is a normal specific size to which the great majority of the adult members of the species closely approximate. In a large collection representing a species there may be a few giants and a few dwarfs, but most of the members show a close approximation to the same limit of growth, and there are good reasons for believing that the normal specific size is adaptive, i.e., that it has been slowly established in the course of selection as the fittest size for the given organization and the given conditions of life. In some cases, e.g., many fishes, there is no such definite limit of growth; thus huddocks are often found as large as cods.

Similarly, in many animals that have been carefully studied, we find that there is a normal potential duration of life,—an age which is rarely exceeded, though it may be seldom attained. This normal 'lease of life' is in most cases known only in a general way, though in many cases we are able to say that the living creature in question never lives longer than a few months, or a year, or a few years. Statistics from forms kept in captivity are obviously void, since they are of cases, e.g., tens, of the life of animals in their natural conditions is so often ended by a 'violent death'—coming sooner or later according to the varying intensity of the struggle for existence—so that it is difficult to say what the normal potential duration of life really is. But a critical survey of a large body of facts led Weismann in his essay on 'The Duration of Life' (1889) to the conclusion that this, like size, is an adaptive characteristic, generally defined by selection in relation to the external conditions of life.

Attempts have often been made to correlate the duration of life with the morphological and functional characteristics of the type discussed, e.g., with size, with the duration of the growing period, with rapidity or slowness of growth, but none of these correlations can be generalized, and there is much to be said for Weismann's more cautious thesis, that the length of life is determined in relation to the needs of the species. Given a certain rate of reproduction and a certain average mortality, the duration of life that survives is that which is fittest to the conditions. (See ADAPTATION.) In the same essay Weismann pointed out that unicellular organisms, which have no 'body' to keep up, which can continually make good their waste by repair, and which have very simple inexpensive modes of reproduction, are practically 'immortal,' i.e., they are not subject to natural death as higher organisms are. Epigravmatically expressed, natural death is the price paid for a 'body.'

In the case of man, we must clearly distinguish between the average specific longevity, about 34 years in Europe—but happily raisable with decreasing infantile mortality, improved sanitation, decreasing warfare, increasing temperance and carefulness,—and the potential specific longevity, which for the present race is normally confined to 120 years. 9

* Crooke, The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, S. 79.

† Caldwell, Compara. Gram. of Dravidian Languages, S. 191.
seventy and one hundred years. There is no warrant for fixing any precise limit, either for the past or the future. All that we can scientifically say is that the few well-established instances establish a greater human longevity than 104 years. Sir George Cornewall Lewis did good service (1862) in destructively criticising numerous alleged cases of centenarianism, the occurrence of which he at first regarded as extremely rare, but even he finally admitted that men do sometimes reach a hundred years, and that some have reached one hundred and three or four. The famous cases of Thomas Parr, Henry Jenkins, and the Countess of Desmond, said to be 152, 169, and 140 respectively, were ruled out of court by Mr. Thoms, who edited Notes and Queries at the time when Sir G. C. Lewis's wholesome scepticism created much stir. As man is a slowly varying organism, as regards physical characters at least, it is extremely unlikely that his longevity was ever much greater than it is now. Monsters in age and monsters in size are alike incredible.

Prof. E. Metchnikoff is one of the few modern biologists who would deal generously with Biblical and other old records of great human longevity. He apparently thinks there has been some misuse of the term 'longevity' in regard to Methuselah's 969 years and Noah's 950, but he accepts the great ages of 175, 180, and 147 years ascribed to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Similarly, he accepts the 185 years with which St. Mungo of Glasgow has been credited. And as he is generous in regard to the past, he is hopeful in regard to the future, believing that a more careful and temperate life, as well as an enlightened recognition of the disharmonies of our bodily frame, may bring about a time when man will no longer, as Buffon says, 'die of disappointment,' but attain everywhere 'a hundred years.' 'Humanity,' Metchnikoff says, 'would make a great stride towards longevity could it put an end to syphilis, which is the cause of one-fifth of the cases of arterial sclerosis. The suppression of alcoholism, the second great factor in the production of senile degeneration of the arteries, will produce a still more marked extension of the term of life. Scientific study of old age and of the means of modifying its pathological character will make life longer and happier.' He also quotes the theoretically simple conclusion of Pflüger's essay on 'The duration of life' as follows: 'We have to strike out the things that are harmful, and be moderate in all things.' A fact of much interest is the statistical evidence that such a subtle character as 'longevity,' that is to say, a tendency to a certain lease of life, be it long or short, is heritable like other inborn characters, though it rests, of course, to some extent with the individual or his environment to determine whether the inherited tendency is realized or not. Just as stature is a heritable quality, so is potential longevity, but the degree of expression is in part determined by 'nurture'—taking the word in the widest sense.

There is, as we have hinted, reason to believe that natural death is not to be regarded simply as an intrinsic necessity—the fate of all life; we can carry the analysis further, and say that it is incident on the complexity of the bodily machinery, which makes complete recuperation well-nigh impossible, and almost forces the organism to accumulate arrear, to go into debt to itself; that it is incident on the limits which are set to the multiplication and renewal of cells within the body, thus nerve-cells in higher animals cannot be added to after an early stage in development; and it is incident on the occurrence of organically expensive modes of reproduction, for reproduction is often the beginning of death. At the same time, it is incident on some physiological and other physiological reasons, and we fall back on the selectionist view that the duration of life has been, in part at least, punctuated from without and in reference to large issues; it has been gradually regulated in adaptation to the welfare of the species.

It seems to us suggestive to recognize four categories of phenomena in connexion with age. The first is that of the immortal uncellular animals which never grow old, which seem exempt from natural death. The second is that of many wild animals, which reach the length of their life's tether without any hint of ageing, and pass off the scene—or are shouted off—victims of violent death. In many fishes and reptiles, for instance, which are old in years, there is not in their organs or tissues the least hint of age-degeneration. The third is that of the majority of civilized human beings, some domesticated, and some wild animals, in which the decline of life is marked by normal senescence. The fourth is that of many human beings, not a few domesticated animals, e. g., the great domesticated animals, notably bees, in which the close of life is marked by distinctively pathological senility. It seems certain that wild animals rarely exhibit more than a slight senescence, while man often exhibits all degrees of senility. What is the explanation of this?

The majority of wild animals seem to die a violent death, before there is time for senescence, much less senility. The character of old age depends upon the nature of the physiological bad debts, some of which are more unnatural than others, much more unnatural in tamed than in wild animals, much more unnatural in man than in animals. Furthermore, civilized man, sheltered from the extreme physical forms of the struggle for existence, can live for a long time with a very defective hereditary constitution, which may end in protracted senility. The future seems also very deficient in the resting instinct, and seldom takes much thought about resting habits. In many cases, too, there has come about in human societies a system of protective agencies which allows man to employ all his faculties and does not check the use of them. We cannot, perhaps, do otherwise in regard to those we love; but it is plain that our better ambition would be to heighten the standard of vitality rather than merely prolonging existence, so that if we have an old age it may be without senility. Those whom the gods love die young.


AGED.—See ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE, Old Age.
AGES OF THE WORLD. (Primitive and American.)—1. The conception of a series of cosmic eras, mutually related, yet separated from each other by cataclysms destroying the entire known world and forming the basis for an essentially new creation, is peculiar to a high degree of religious development. The idea of creation is common to practically all religious systems (see art. COSMOGONY).—2. Doubtless later, is the noteworthy part, Earth, the development of the theory of Ages of the World has been carried still further by the phase which holds that the present cosmic era has been preceded by others, and the Greek, Hindu, and Buddhist systems have even evolved a series of cycles each of which contains four Ages, and which have been and are to be repeated in infinite succession.

3. The most familiar example of the belief in Ages of the World is, of course, the philosophized Greek view presented by Hesiod (Works and Days, 109-201), according to whom there have been four Ages—golden, silver, brass, and iron—each worse than the one preceding. Equally pessimistic is the Hindu system of Ages, where the four yugas, or Ages of a "day of Brahma" (12,000 years), are successively shorter in duration and increasingly degenerate. Among primitive peoples a series of Ages of the World seems to be unknown, but it is noteworthy that among the South American Indians it is generally held that the world has already been destroyed twice, once by fire and again by flood, as among the eastern Tapis and the Arawaks of Guiana. In like manner, the ancient Peruvians fancied not only that two cosmic cataclysms had occurred, but that the world was again to be destroyed, so that they stood in terror of every lunar and solar eclipse.

4. Outside the great culture nations of Asia, Africa, and America, however, only the Aztecs of ancient Mexico, perhaps under the influence of the still more highly developed Maya of Yucatan, evolved a doctrine of Ages of the World. This marvellous people held that the present era, which bore no special name, was preceded by four Ages, or "Sun of Earth," the Air, the Sun of Fire, the Sun of Air, and the Sun of Water. Each of these cycles had been terminated by a fearful and universal cataclysm, and the Aztecs looked forward with dread to the end of the present era. At the close of each cycle of fifty-two years they were filled with special fear; every fire was extinguished, and all the priests, followed by the people, marched in solemn procession to a mountain two leagues from the capital. There they watched with bated breath for the rising of the Pleiades, and when this constellation was seen, the priests repeated fires by the friction of two pieces of wood, one of which was placed on the breast of a human sacrifice, while the multitude rejoiced in the assurance that the world would surely survive for another cycle of fifty-two years. It is noteworthy that Aztec sources vary widely with regard to both the length and the sequence of the cosmic eras, the latter being given not only as stated above, but also as Water, Air, Fire, Earth, Earth, Air, Fire, Water; Water, Earth, Air, Fire; and Water, Air, Earth, Fire. In like manner, the order of the cataclysms which terminated the several eras varies according to the different sources, but it is certain at least that the Sun of Earth was terminated by famine, the Sun of Fire by conflagration, the Sun of Air by a hurricane, and the Sun of Water by a flood.

5. The basis of this Aztec belief in Ages of the World is not altogether certain. It has been suggested that it was due, at least in part, to the tremendous natural phenomena of a tropical country, and also to the political and social revolutions which took place in ancient Mexico. The former explanation is doubtless the one to be preferred, implying a reminiscence of some remote catastrophe, mythologically magnified by successive generations, especially as this hypothesis also explains the characteristic South American belief in a twofold destruction of the world by fire and flood.

LITERATURE.—Waltz, Anthropologie der Naturvölker, iv. 161-163 (Leipzig, 1891); Britton, Myths of the New World, pp. 229-233 (New York, 1870); Reville, Native Religions of Mexico and Peru, pp. 113-118 (London, 1894); Ehrle, Mythen und Legenden der südamerikanischen Völker, pp. 20-31 (Berlin, 1905).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Babylonian).—Even before the discovery of the eunomia inscriptions, it was known that the Babylonians had reflected on the course of the world's history, and that they regulated the Ages of the World according to the movements of the planets. Sennec* reports a statement of Berosus, who under the rule of the Seleucids was priest in the Marduk temple of Babylon, and whose lost historical work Chronodesmoi was intended to prove the commencement of a new world period under the Seleucids or under Alexander.

Berosus says that everything takes place according to the course of the planets, and he maintains this so confidently that he determines the times for the conflagration of the world and for the flood. He asserts that the world will burn when a new planet which now moves in different courses come together in the Crab, so that they all stand in a straight line in the same sign, and that the future flood will take place when the same conjunction occurs in Capricorn. For the former is the constellation of the summer solstice; the latter for the winter solstice; they are the decisive signs of the zodiac, because the turning-points of the year lie in them.

These accounts of Berosus have here, as well as in the narratives of the Creation and the flood, been proved thoroughly reliable. The teaching which underlies them regarding the course of the world corresponds to the accounts which we can read from the eunomia inscriptions.

* Frym. hist. Græc. ii. 50.
* The sign of the Crab in the zodiac is the turning-point of the summer sun, while the perihelion equinox lies in the Aries; the corresponding turning-point of the winter sun is in Capricorn. Our calendar has retained the designations, although the perihelion equinox has long ago moved into the Fish.
The Babylonian doctrine, which we find popularized in myths, dramatic and festal customs, and games, inquires into the origin of things and the development of the world. From its beginnings, chaos to its renewal in future epochs. The doctrine has spread over the whole world. We find it again in Egypt, in the religion of the Avestas, and in India; traces of it are discovered in China, as well as in the Far East and among the savage nations of South America. To refer these phenomena back to 'elementary ideas' (Rastrian, Volkereide), such as may arise independently among different peoples, will not hold good in view of the circumstances that we have to do with ideas connected with definite facts which rest on continued astronomical observations. Babylon was, moreover, according to a constant tradition, the home of astronomy ('Chaldean wisdom'), and there the science of the stars formed the basis of all intellectual culture.

In the Babylonian conception of the universe, which regards everything earthly as a copy of a heavenly prototype, the zodiac is considered the most important part of the whole universe. The zodiac (ksipak šētu) is the broad 'Way' on the heavens, c. ± 20 degrees, upon which the sun, the moon, Venus and the four other moving stars (planets) have their course; while the other stars, the fixed stars, seem to stand still on the ball of the revolving heavens. The moving stars were regarded as interpreters of the Divine will. The heaven of fixed stars was related to them like a commentary written on the margin of a book of revelation.

The rulers of the zodiac are the sun, the moon, and Venus. In a mythological text [W.A.I. iv, pl. 5] we are told how these were placed there... The four remaining planets, Marduk, Jupiter, Nebo-Mercury, Nibî-Mars, and Nergal-Saturn, correspond to the quarter appearances of the three, and have their special place of revolution at the quarter points of the cycle, or, speaking in terms of space, at the four corners of the world. Every one of the astral divinities represents the whole Divine power. Polytheism rests on myth, which popularizes the teaching and on worship, which again is a product of the mythology. The temple-teaching at every place of worship serves to prove that the divinity reveals itself at a particular place in a definite form, as a sign, such as result of that place to the corresponding sacred region of the heavens (tārāu, templeum). The local god is summašu dēnu for the region; the other gods are like wonder-working saints.

Seeing, however, that the Divine power reveals itself in the zodiac, the theory involves a triadic conception of the godhead. The triad—sun, moon, and Venus—in their relation to each other, as well as each of these three bodies individually, comprehends the whole being of the godhead. In the case of every mythological phenomenon, the question must be raised whether the divinity in the particular place or in the expression of its worship stands for the sun, the moon, or the Venus (Istar-) character. In each case, however, the deity represents at the same time the whole cycle, which repeats its phenomena in every microcosm of the natural world. The same is true of Marduk, Nebo, Nibû, and Nergal. In the teaching of Babylon, which is best known to us, the chief points in the sun's track belong to them in a scheme as well as the quarter appearances of the sun's course. They can thus be designated sun-gods, but they can equally well be represented as forms of the moon or of Venus as they appear in the zodiac.

In like manner, they representatives of the moon's course of movement (Tammuz in the upper and under world), which runs parallel with the astral phenomena in the changes of the year. Marduk and Nebo as the embodiments of the spring and harvest phenomena, the sun and the moon as the signs of the phenomena of summer and winter, could occupy the place of Tammuz in both halves of his cycle.

The Babylonian sages reached the profound conception that time and space are identical. Both are measured by the revolution of the sun and have therefore the same principles of division.

The course of the world cycle is consummated in the struggle of the two powers of the world system, light and darkness, which are represented in the sun and the moon. The sun rules over the summer of the world and the winter of the world. In the myths the sun and the moon are the combatants. The moon is, according to the Babylonian teaching, the star of the upper world (the reverse holds in Egypt). She dies and rises again from the dead (inīnū inti rayamaništi 'sabbāni, 'fruit, which produces itself out of itself'); she symbolizes the power of life from the dead. The sun is the god of light, and his revolution to the moon, stands at the low point, and in which the stars disappear, is the power of the under world. 'Istar desires to become the queen of heaven.' In the myth she is the heavenly virgin (in the zodiac she is represented as a young girl, pregnant with the ear of corn or with the child) who gives birth to the sun-child or the moon-child, which then overcomes the dragon of darkness and thereby brings in the new era,—but then at the highest point of the course dies and sinks down into the under world; or she is the Venus, who descends into the under world and brings up the fallen ones. The four planets of the four points of the world, which influence the seasons, rule the four quarters of the world (Nibû and Nergal) and the equinoctial points (Marduk and Nebo), are made use of in the mythology in the following manner: Marduk is the bringer in of the new time (the spring sun), Nebo (Heaven with the balance of the dead) is the guide to the dark half of the lower world, Nibû (Mars) brings the doom of the change of the summer sun (death of Tammuz by the boar, the sacred animal of Nimû), Nebo is lord of the dark half of the under world. Thus Marduk and Nebo exchange places under the precedence of Babylon, whose local god is Marduk. The role of bringing in the new time belongs in reality to Nebo. His name indicates this, for the name Nebo means (Nebo-Mercury is the morning-star; in the word lies the root of the official name nēbī, 'prophet,' i.e. one who announces the new age.)

The change of the arc of day and the arc of night, the summer and winter courses of the stars, and the related change of life and death in nature, result in the doctrine of the change of the Ages. The change of the seasons corresponds to the succession of day and night. According to the principle that the microcosm everywhere reflects the macrocosm, the year is a copy of the greater period of time, in which the evolution of the world is consummated, and the seasons correspond to Ages of the World.

The acceptance of Ages of the World must go back to the observation of the ages of the stages of the sun's course. Before we speak of these Sun Ages of the World, we shall give a survey of traces of Ages of the World in which the connection with these stages is not at first apparent.

The cuneiform texts mention 'kings before the Flood' in opposition to 'kings after the Flood.' They are thought of as in past time—

"tes. šub. 'ēbān, 'world,' is the Heb. 'ēbān, 'primeval time,' 'eternity.'

Jupiter, as a planet, has in itself no claim to special emphasis. In our very first days of the week it exercises the fifth filth (Thursday, Šeudā, 'a third day'). The fact that the classical peoples recognized the boar as the bringer of summer serves as another of the wide diffusion of the Babylonian conception of the world.
AGES OF THE WORLD (Babylonian) 185

1. Amun, 'the time before the Flood.' In the time before the Flood there lived the heroes, who (according to the Gilgames Epic, which on the 11th table tells the story of the Flood) lived in a beautiful garden near the Babylonian Noah, and were removed into the heavenly world. At that time there lived, too, the (seven) sages. Asurambal speaks of inscriptions of the time before the Flood.

A reiteration of an old sage before the Flood. W.A.V. 44, 20a, speaks of 'kings after the Flood.' Berosus indicates along with the sages the early kings, who together lived 120 Names.

1. Aborôs (= Isb. Artthe.).
2. Apâparos (Adapa-aor) = Addab, i.e. Marduk, the son of Ea in the heroic age, who, as the bringer of the new age (cf. 'Abû melûsil, Marduk as fighting with the dragon, will introduce the new age of the world."
3. Anu=m=me(n). "As Adapa corresponds to the Biblical patriarch Seth, Anu in like manner corresponds to Enosh (i.e. man).
4. Amanon = umu'umum ("workmaster") = Cain (Caïn), "smithe" (cf. Aram. qimam, "smith").
5. Menlôs, = men=men = me=men.
6. Inoson, = insin....
7. Nenâorthôs = Ênassidenisê, "favourite of the great gods," who taught his son the secret of heaven and earth; i.e. Enôôko, who walked with God, and after a life of 365 years (the number of the months of the year) the Jewish feast of the turning of the winter sun (Hâthâkûkh, "Weighing") is applied to the dedication of these tablets connected with Enôôko. "Jubiles (41) says of him: "Enôôko was the son of the angels of God, the twelve jubiles; and they showed him all that the rule of the man is in the earth, and he wrote it all down."
8. Amûnsû = "the power of darkness" of the sun god Sin = Mêthosû. There is a Babylonian text which communicates the secrets of Mêthosû.
9. Otharûs (Qe'sarte) = Liber-Tutu, father of the Babylonian Noah (Ubehisîpum, Ênassira, in Berosus Xûnâthûs). Berosus relates that Kronos before the Flood had ordered Adapa to engrave with letters on tablets of enunciation letters the things according to their beginning, middle, and end (engraving on tablets with enunciation letters is meant), and to deposit them in Sîppar. After the Flood his children and brothers had gone to Babylon, taken the writings from Sîppar, and circulated them among the people.

2. The historic period, which again unfolds itself in Ages. The division of the Ages into periods of 120 Names is also connected with the course of the stars. The Golden Age of early times corresponds to the time in which the vernal equinox in the zodiac goes through the division of Aries (four figures). For the track of the zodiac before the Flood brought the course of the world through the domain of Ea (four figures, water-region); the historic period corresponds with Bel's realm of the zodiac. For the track of the zodiac after the Flood is also connected with the universe of space, corresponding on the zodiac to Sin, Susana, and Istar. The restoration of the world after the Flood corresponds to the fashioning of the world after the original chaos, which also appears as the power of the waters (in the myth the water-drugon had been subdued); the world after the Flood corresponds to the primeval world after the Creation.†

The application of Ages of the World to the periods of the evolution of the zoon of mankind is connected in a special way with the teaching about Marduk and Adapa are both abîbûs, i.e. sages in the Divine ages. Nebûôko, who instructed the destruction of Babylon and the raising of Nineveh, was preceded by violence, sought to inaugurate a new era, allowed himself to be glorified as Adapa, who had lived before the Flood, and who was the father of the king, my lord, abûbûsû: "the king, the king of the men." (W.A.V. 44, 20a.)" See p. 190 for the inauguration of a new Age with Arthurian.

A special section of the flood still shows traces of the notion found in the Babylonian creation: the Flood, which corresponds to the whole world. The mountain where the ark landed is originally a part of the world. The modern equivalent of this (g 19) gives the precise height of the mountain. On its top

the calendar, which is based on observation of the procession of the equinoxes.

By the procession of the equinoxes is meant the gradual displacement of the same point of day in the ecliptic, the middle line of the zodiac, which the sun's track marks out on the horizon. The position of the axis of the earth to the plane of the sun is variable. In accordance with this, the point of intersection of the sun's track and the equator varies from year to year, and is observed as a figure in the zodiac. The vernal equinox traverses once in 1252590 years the region of the Water (Flood) and the sky.

In the region of further Asia, the earliest historical time of which we can find traces in the original sources had placed the cult of the god of the moon in the foreground. Sargon says, in his State inscription of the king of Melûhha, that his fathers had, from distant times, since the sun of the moon-god (Adî Nâmûr), sent no more messengers to his path (east and west, or south and north, summer, day and night, exchange their roles). We could thus speak of an Age of the moon or an Age of Nebo, to which, in the epoch of the supremacy of Babylon an Age of the sun or an Age of Marduk would correspond. But if there was a theory which reckoned in this way, still the latter is at least subsequently regarded as the Age of the moon; i.e., the Nebûôko Age, which preceded the rule of Marduk of Babylon, has been transposed in the teaching of the calendar, which was reckoned according to the procession.

(a) Age of the Twins.—In the Age before the rise of Babylon (about B.C. 5000-2900) the sun stood in the zodiacal sign called the Twins. If we were to make additional use of this circumstance in the theory of the Ages of the World, as we are inclined to do, the two phases of the waxing and waning moon would in harmony with it correspond to these twins. The moon also is called repeatedly Âtrakû, i.e., 'twins'; and the hieroglyphics of the zodiac, which even to-day indicates the twins in the calendar, consist of the picture of the waxing and waning moon, just as the Romans represented Janus, who bears the character of the moon, as the two half moons with human faces; the scheme of the partition of the world between the moon and the sun (moon = start of the upper world, sun = star of the under world; see above, p. 184), Nebûôko, who, in the pre-Babylonian order, corresponds to the moon, Marduk to the sun. Nebûôko, too, in accordance with his character, is the 'prophet'; and, according to the nature of the doctrine regarding him, also the victor over the serpent, the heirer of the tablets of fate. Under the influence of the supremacy of Babylon he has exchanged his role with Marduk; and this, by the way, agrees with the principle of the Babylonian doctrine, according to which opposites pass over into one another (east and west, north and south, summer, day and night, exchange their roles).

This Age of the Twins was for Babylon the age of the settlement of the Semite Babylonians. The Twins (Dûkasbûr) thus supply the ruling motive for all the myths which indicate the beginning of a new epoch (Cyrus, Cambyses, Romulus, etc.). And if any one in the time of the Assyrian predominance wished to dispose of the chains of Babylon, he went back to the archaic form of calculation. Either Nebûôko was deliberately raised to a more prominent place than Marduk, or (e.g., under Sargon) Sîvan, the month of the moon-god, was regarded as the first month of the year. In the same way the Hebrews and Romans made a New Year by beginning the year with January (i.e. the tenth month).
One would expect an Age of the sun to follow an Age of the moon (the sun and the moon are also twins). As a matter of fact, the reckoning of the calendar, which was changed about B.C. 2800, on the basis of the precession into the next figure of the zodiac, was so adjusted that in the zodiac the figure of the Bull followed the Twins.

(b) Age of the Bull.—This reform of the calendar was necessitated by the actual state of affairs. The time of its introduction corresponds with the period in which Babylon became the metropolis of the world. Marduk, the god of the city of Babylon, the 'farmer of Babylon' (Nebuchadrezzar calls himself Ishbaru ta Batili, as representative of the god on earth), is symbolized by the bull, which corresponds to the figure of the Bull in the heavens.

In this way the Age of the sun came at the same time to its rights, for Marduk as the representative of the Divine power is in an especial sense the sun-god. Hammurabi took advantage of the reform of the calendar to glorify his rule as a new epoch of the world. He says that he has succeeded in the role of Marduk, the god of the crown. The various dynasties that succeeded Babylon celebrate Marduk as the fighter with the dragon and as the demigod, and founded the claim of Babylon to world empire on the role of Marduk as creator of the world. The honour which belongs to Marduk as the lord of the destinies is transferred to Marduk. He determines on New Year's day the fate of the world. Nebu, who in the older teaching carried the tablets of fate, is now recorder of the destinies.

The calendar which corresponded to the Age of the Bull must have reckoned the beginning of the year a month earlier, so that the year began with Iyyar, the month closed with Nisan; for the world-epoch embracing a sign of the zodiace corresponds to the course of the sun through a sign of the zodiac, i.e. one month. That it was so reckoned can, of course, be proved only indirectly. The king of Assyria allowed himself to be invested in office in the month Iyyar. The investiture is a ceremony which took place also in Babylon, and therefore according to Babylonian law. The king seized the harvast of Bel-Marduk, and by this act his rule obtained its ratification and consecration. The inauguration was still observed in Iyyar after Nisan must have long been regarded as the first month. Under Sargon and Nebuchadrezzar the inauguration took place in Nisan. The new calendar had thus in the meantime secured recognition for its claims.

The mythological motives of the Age of the Bull had to be taken from the myths of Marduk. Seeing that Marduk is regarded as the child of the sun (the ideogram signifies 'son of the sun'), the motive of the mysterious birth is connected with his appearance as well as the motive of the persecution by the dragon (exposure and rescue). The myths of Marduk which are as yet known have not supplied evidence for his birth from the virgin queen of heaven (see above, p. 184). But the myth tells of the marriage of Marduk. The child of the sun in the course of the cycle becomes the lover and the husband of the queen of heaven (Ishtar). Every historical celebrity who, in the Bull age, was distinguished as a ruler of the world, a founder of dynasties, etc., was furnished with the Marduk motive, if some antiquated method corresponding to the age of the Twins did not prefer the motive of the Dioscuri (see above, p. 185). In this way we can explain the mythical setting of the history of Sargon I, who founded Babylon, and in all probability was the first to introduce the Marduk method of reckoning.

'Sargon the mighty king of Agade am I. My mother was a vestal, my father of the lower class. . . . My vestal mother conceived me with no effort. A bucket of bulrushes, closed my doors with pitch, laid me in the river. . . . When I rose towards me Ammisadu, Akkī, the water-carrier, received me in the friendliness of his heart, brought me up as his child, made me his gardener. During my youth I fell in love with me. . . . For years I enjoyed sovereign power.'

It is related of the hero of the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic how Ishtar seeks to win his love. Elamite/Assyrian (Hitt, Anum, xii. 21) says that the mother had been a king's daughter, who conceived the hero by means of an insignificant man.

Gudea, the South Babylonian priestly prince, says to the goddess, who stands over his side, 'I have no mother, thou art my mother; I have no father, thou art my father; in a secret place hast thou borne me.'

Ninib appears in an epic poem as the hero, who will allow his royal power to extend to the bounds of heaven and earth. He is a child of Ishtar, he is called 'My father know I not.'

Ahasuerus conquers the following story to be told of himself.

'I was born in the midst of mountains, which no man knew; thou hast, O Ishtar, with the glance of thine eyes chosen me, hast given me thy supremacy, hast brought me forth from the mountains, and called me as ruler of men.'

Asurbanipal wishes to be regarded as a child of Ishtar, who had once nourished him. The writers of his tablets represent his Age as the Golden Age of the world (cf. p. 187). (c) Age of the Ram.—The recognition of the fact that the calendar must now be arranged according to the Ram as the vernal equinox, and the fixing of the time of the beginning of the new year to the otherwise unimportant Babylonian Nebu-Navanassar (Nabû-nasir, 797-734) a special significance. The framers of the calendar in time have dated a new age from Nebiannasur. Syecellus relates (Chronographia, 267) that Nebiannasur, according to the testimony of Alexander Polyhistor and Berosus, destroyed all historical documents relating to his predecessors, in order that dates might be reckoned only according to his time (suo- γραφία τόν πρότερον τῶν αὐτοῦ βασιλείων χρόνων, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ἡ καθηδρία τῆς γένεσεως τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείων).

The breaking of the tablets is not to be taken literally. It is the same as the burning of the books in reforms of other ages, in the case of Alexander, in China, c. 215, under Ch'in-shih-huang. In the case of the burning of the libraries of Alexander, too, it must be taken into consideration that, under Nebiannasur begins the period of the new era of Islam under Omar.

This is the reason why the Babylonian chronology contained in the extant inscriptions begins with Nebiannasur. The Ptolemaic canon, too, which, as is well known, did not follow historical dates, but represented a calendar with astronomical limits,† had begun with Nebiannasur. The misunderstanding of Syecellus can also be explained in this way; the Chronographia (267) says the Babylonians had from the time of Nebiannasur written down the periods of the courses of the stars (ἐκ Ναβονασσαρ οὖς χρόνον τῆς τῶν αὐτοῦ καταγωγῆς Χαλδαίων βασιλείων).

In Babylon itself the reform of the Age of the Ram never obtained full recognition, because the Age of Nebiannasur coincided with the fall of Babylon. The old Babylonian reckoning kept its hold here. Still Berosus, under the rule of the Seleucids, reckons, as we saw (p. 183), with the Age of the Ram. The new reckoning seems to have found its chief support in Egypt. Just as the new reckoning received recognition immediately among Marduk of Babylon, in the same way the Age of the Ram served the purpose of glorifying Jupiter Amon, who is represented with the head of a priest enthroned. Ameš, the 'sister of god,' in the Code of Hammurabi, the priestess representative of the sister-wife of the king, is Ishtar.

† It was carried further for several centuries after Christ. Christian chronology is by no means the author; he had collected the traditions which preserved them in their true form.

Footnotes:

* Emot, the 'sister of god,' in the Code of Hammurabi, the priestess representative of the sister-wife of the king, is Ishtar.

† It was carried further for several centuries after Christ. Christian chronology is by no means the author; he had collected the traditions which preserved them in their true form.
AGES OF THE WORLD (Buddhist)

ram, although he is in his nature identical with Marduk. Alexander the Great, who allowed himself to be celebrated by contemporary writers as lord of worlds, and to be painted by artists and goldsmiths in the likeness of Jupiter Amon. Manetho says that under Bocchoris 'a ram (apistos) spoke.'

The doctrine of the Ages of the World, as may also be inferred from the preceding explanation, is connected with the expectation of a deliverer. As deliverer there appears the Divine power, which reveals itself in the spring equinox. It is Marduk-Adapa, it is the 'ram, planets according to the' Astarte or the sign of the darkness. In 4 Ezra (11:40-46) the seer reflects on the ways of the Highest:

'Then the highest looked at his times; so, they were at an end, and his zones (oracles) were full. The earth will be refreshed and return . . . and trust in the judgment and mercy of his creator.'

In these words lies the fundamental religious idea of the doctrine of the Ages of the World. 'The zones were full.' 'The time is fulfilled.'

The connection of the doctrine of the Ages of the World lies also once as axioms:

1. The Age of perfection lies at the beginning. Just as pure knowledge, revealed by the godhead, lies at the beginning, so that is the task of science to discover the original truth by observation of the book of revelation written down in the stars, and to obtain freedom from the errors which have come through human guilt, so the Age of pure happiness lies at the beginning.

This fundamental idea has produced a special theory regarding the doctrine of the Ages of the World which is based on the connexion of the planets with the signs of the zodiac. The commencement with the Golden Age points to Egypt, where the sun predominates (see above, p. 154). It may, however, point to the Babylonian convex, which gives the first place to Marduk as a sun-phenomenon, just as the planet Jupiter removes one of our days of the week places Sunday before Monday. The Golden Age is also called the Age of Saturn. Owing to the change of the heptagram into a pentagram, Saturn is represented by the sun, as Mars is by the moon; and an astronomical text of the Babylonians, which has been handed down to us from the time of the Arsacids, expressly says that Saturn and the sun are identical. As far as the rest are concerned, the order of succession corresponds to the astral theory. The third, the Copper Age, corresponds to Ishtar-Venus, the third figure among the rulers of the zodiac.

The succession of golden, silver, copper, brings the second characteristic at the same time into view. It is as follows:

2. The times are becoming worse.—This is much more strongly expressed when the theory departs from the scheme provided by the planets with regard to the fourth Age, and allows an Iron Age, corresponding to the distress of the present time, to follow after the Golden, the Silver, and the Copper Ages. The end of these evil times, which precedes the destruction of the world, is a time of cursing, a time of tribulation, and the reversal of the natural order. The Babylonians often speak of this time of cursing, which stands in opposition to the time the deliverer brings (see above):

'When such and such things happen in heaven, then will the clear become dull, the pure dirty, the lands will lose, the earth will not be heard, the signs of the prophets will become unfavourable.' In a form of curse which speaks of princes who do not obey the commands of the gods, we have the following:

'Under his rule the one will devour the other, the people will sell their children for gold, the husband will desert his wife, the wife her husband, the mother will bolt the door against her daughter.'

In the Atarahases myth, the text of which originates in the 3rd mill. (the time of Ammianus), is a sequel to a myth with which Flood is related. In the Ira myth the coming of the deliverer after the time of cursing is expected:

'The seacoast shall not spare the seacoast, Mesopotamia shall not spare Mesopotamia, nor Assyria Assyria. Owing to the Elamites, the Caritate the Carities, the Sutiean the Suttieans, the Cusinean the Cusineans, the Lulubian the Lulubians, one land another land, one man another man, one brother another, but they shall strike each other dead. But after that shall come the Akhidas, who shall lay them all low and overwhelm them severely.'

Signs in the sun and in the moon proclaim the end. In a hymn we have the following:

'Oh, father Bel . . . oh, lord of the land, the cow rejects her land, the she-goat her fold. How much longer shall the holy city shall the mother reject her son, the wife her husband? Heaven and earth are laid low, there is no life in the sun. The moon does not rise with his radiance over the land, the moon does not rise with his light over the land. Sun and moon do not rise with their radiance over the land.'

The time of the curse corresponds to the rule of the powers of the lower world. It is like the time of the descent of Ishtar to Hades. When Venus is in the lower world, all life is dead. As it is in the small year, so is it in the world year.

But then comes the great revolution. Between the Babylonian text, which speaks of funerals, and the corresponding expression in the Ira myth, blessing. It is only from the description of the happy rule of kings, who are praised by the writers of the tablets as the bringers in of a new Age, that we can extract the motives of the time of blessing.

Especially is this the case with Assurbanipal.

'Since the time the gods in their friendship did set me on the throne of my fathers, Rammass has sent forth his rain, he opened the springs; the grain was five ells high in the ear, the ears were five-sticks ells long, the harvest was plentiful, the corn was abundant, the seed shot up, the trees bore rich fruit, the cattle multiplied exceedingly. During my reign there was great abundance, under my rule rich blessing streamed down.'


ALFRED JEREMIAS.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Buddhist).—The views of the Buddhists on periods of cosmic destruction and renovation were matters of vivid interest to the first Orientalists, as will be seen from the bibliography on p. 195. This theory has rather languished since the publication of the Religion des Buddha von Köpen, the last who has dealt thoroughly with this topic.

*Note how the whole world is embraced in the range of vision.
The fanciful theories of the Kalpas or Ages of the World do not appear to be essential to Bud-
dhism, whether looked upon as a religion or as a phi-
losophy. Nor are they of mythological moment, 
being but expression of a kind of 'secular knowledge,' or, as a 
Buddhist would say, lokāyatika. Nevertheless, 
as they can be proved to be very old ; as they are 
made use of when the myriads of Buddhas of the 
Great Vehicle are honoured, and have been duly re-
cognized by the Buddhists of every country, Sindi-
ese as well as Mongolian; as, moreover, some 
bits of philosophical or religious reflection are inter-
woven with them; we may be allowed to consider 
the subject in all its aspects.

There is no beginning of transmigration (or saṁsāra); there will 
be no end to it: on these two points all Buddhist schools agree.
But, without mentioning that speculations on the beginning or the 
end of the cosmos are forbidden by the Buddha in some 
texts (see Aggovaramīḍa [Buddhist]), it must be observed that there 
is an end to transmigration for the Arhat, who rightly say 
at the time of dying, 'This existence is for me the last one.' 
Moreover, in the Buddhist of the Great Vehicle, Avatāka, for instance 
(see Avalokita), resolved to postpone his entering into 
Nirvāṇa till every creature should, by its own truly divine 
edification, have been carried into the peace of salvation. 
The problem, where the texts are silent, or rather, contradictory, 
will be solved as it has been solved by the Sūkṣma; 
the number of the souls being infinite, there will never come 
a time when all will have attained Nirvāṇa. 
Hence there need be no fear for the soul, for we can as well 
believe that the elect, if only they do not 
care for it.

Theories on the revolutions of the world are said, in the 
Brahmagātattu, to be extraneous to Buddhism, and even alien to 
its spirit. But they soon became naturalized; and, while origin-
ally very like the Brahmanical theories, they were worked up 
with a new plan.

The Buddha and his disciples mention in the fourth edict of Añoka of the next 
destruction of the Universe. 'The pious king hopes that his 
sons and grandsons, and so on, will maintain good practices till 
the end of natural destruction (antarākṣapad). This text 
does not, however, prove that the belief in the very speedy 
destruction of all the world was universal.

The canonical Pali texts do not furnish us with the 
complete theory now to be stated. These 
affect only hints or allusions, from which it is 
difficult to draw any conclusion as to the condi-
tions of the elaboration of the doctrine. These 
hints, however, will be carefully pointed out.

So far as the Buddhism of the South is concerned, we 
derive our knowledge from the Commentaries, of 
which the principal is far more than Buddhist. 
that, their official compiler; and for the 
Buddhism of the North from Mongolian, Tibetan, and 
Chinese sources, confirmed by the Abhidharma 
literature.

The principal lines are as follows:

A Period (kappā), or 'Great Period' (mahā-
kappā, kalpa) of cosmical evolution, is to be 
divided into four 'Incalculables' (samikkeyya) or 
'Periods' (samikoṭṭhakappā, samik-
khyeyakappā). These last are always mentioned 
in the following order: (1) Period of destruction 
(samvattatthakappā, samvaṭṭakappā); (2) of 
destruction of the destruction (saṁvaṭṭaṭṭhakappā, saṁvaṭ-
ṭṭhakappā), when the world remains destroyed; (3) of 
renovation, or rather revolution (vīvattā, vīvattā); 
(4) of duration of the world renovated (Añguttara, 
i. 142, iv. 100; Majjh. i. 35).

How long is an 'Incalculable' period? The 
answer given by Buddha himself is a very good 
one: it is difficult, i.e. impossible, to exhaust a 
'Incalculable' by numbering hundreds of thousands of 
years. In Sāvittīya, ii. 181–2, there is a 
parable which found its way into the Chinese and 
Sinhalese records: 'Suppose a mountain of iron 
to be torched every hundred years by a muslin 
veil; the mountain will be destroyed before the 
Incalculable (or the 'Period') is an end—and the 
common measure with the Incalculables, nay, 
with hundreds of thousands of Incalculables: the 
saṁsāra being 'infinite,' as we should say, and the 
Incalculables indefinite.

This parable is to explain the problem occurs in the Mahāvaṁsa (i. 77). It is said that the future Buddha must, be-
fore becoming a Buddha, pass through 'stages' or 
'terraces' of immeasurable duration (aparinirmita, apramaneṇa).

'If it be so,' asks Kātyāyana, 'how 
will the future Buddha ever attain the higher 
stages?' The problem is thus in substance 
identical with the Ages of the World: each of them is immeasurable, 
and nevertheless there are many Ages.

Notwithstanding these very clear statements, Buddhists and 
moderns have tried to calculate the 'Incalculable' (kalpa), as 
'sariśāvatthu,' like many other words of the same meaning (and 
there is no particular reason why such a word should have 
been used to indicate an exact number. But the lists of 
high numbers, the so-called pāṭihāri, are constructed on 
different principles. The number being conceived as something 
inalienable, is divided into 100, 10,000, 1,000,000 ... 
sometimes by squares, and the saṁbaṅgha does not always hold the same place in 
the lists. A Ronnstadt says that an 'Incalculable' is followed 
by 17 ciphers (100,000,000,000,000,000 years). But these figures 
give a period, not an antisēkhyeya. From the Dhamma-
padāpiṭaka, Burnouf and Hardy admit 17 by ciphers; 
and there is, according to the first named, a very ingenious 
combination of the first 'numbers premiers' in the formation 
of this number. Johnville (Sinhalese unamed sources) has 
1 followed by 63 ciphers. From Burmese sources, Pallegoix 
has 1 followed by 168 ciphers, and Burnouf, 1,410 ciphers. 
According to the Northern Abhidhamma list, saṁbaṅgha being 
the head of a geometric progression (1, 10, 100 ...), we have 
1 followed by 52 ciphers. Lastly, the Buddhakathākatha list 
gives 1 followed by 93 ciphers. Now because the period, as 
10, 100, 10,000, 1,000,000 ... saṁbaṅgha is the 10th term: to 
write the number, as we do, 1 followed by many ciphers, 
the number of kilometres, allowing that one cipher occupies 
a length of 0.001 m. That suggests in some degree the vastness 
of an age.

Theoretically, each 'Incalculable' is divided into 
twenty Añvatakkalpas (kappa) or 'Intermediate 
Periods.' But the advantage of this division is not 
so much as to complement the doctrine as to 
clarify the number of conscious creatures a warning against 
the forthcoming calamity. * In course of time all 
the creatures, with the exception just to be noted, 
attain reincarnation in higher worlds, i.e. in spheres 
which will not be overtaken by the destruction. 
The time of the higher reward may therefore have 
come for the great majority of creatures, after 
numerous migrations amongst ordinary good and 
bad births. They alone 'in whom the root of 
merit is greatly cultivated' by adherence to the 
truth, and for whom 'the word of deliverance has 
utterly perished,' cannot by any means ascend into 
the higher realms; and as the hell in which they are 
tormented is going to be annihilated, they will 
take rebirth in the hell of some universe whose 
destruction is not imminent. Elsewhere it is said 
that there are self-made hells for them. In the 
old sources it would seem that only Devadatta, 
the cousin and rival of Sakiyamuni, will endure 'for 
an age,' or 'for ages' (kappattha) in a state of 
pain.

This gradual disappearing of the animistic world (attaloka) fulfils the first Intermediate Period of the Age of Destruction. Now begins the Destruction of the 'receptacle-world' (bhūjānāloka itself, 
by fire (tejaśvāvaucarita), by water (ayā), or 
by wind (āyur).† There is a complete set of 64 Great 
Periods, in regard of succession, with a destruction 
by fire, then one by water, then seven by fire, 
then one by water, and so on, the last, i.e. the 6th, being 
by wind. We are told that the destruction by fire 
closes the World, and the remainder of the cosmos as 
does the destruction by water; and the 

* All the gods called Lokabhīshā hold this office of Noah, 
according to the Visuddhimagga (Warren, p. 322).

† P. x., xii., xiii.; Aposavasutta, p. 352; Jey. B. 1891, p. 118. For the Brahmanical speculations, see 'Matsya-
purāṇa,' p. 413, Aufrecht, Cat. Darwiniana, p. 554; Böhl. Rohr, 
ex. Sāvattvā, Sāvattvā.'
destruction by wind is greater than the destruction by water (samvattasvdha, limit of destruction).*

But there are discrepancies between the European authorities, and probably also between the sources. Köppen has a statement that there are great, unexpected little destructions by fire, and so on. He goes so far as to ascertain the order in which they will succeed, though he does not have the authority to support his views. Does the destruction by fire annihilate only the worlds up to the abode of Mahabrahma, or does it also include the spheres of the third? Or does it annihilate only the two abodes immediately superior to the third Dhyana (Pervicnaisatara)? Does the Water-Destruction, in which any case destroys the third second Dhyana abodes, destroy also the two third Dhyana abodes? If it destroys the two third Dhyana abodes, does it not also destroy the final third Dhyana abode? Lastly, does it seem to be a general agreement regarding Water, which overthrows the worlds up to the second fourth Dhyana abode.

The matter would be a little too fanciful to detain our attention if we did not find in the Brahmajali, the first Sutta of the Dhpakhamsa, the origin of the context. 'Buddha, explaining the origination of the universe, stated that, during the period of destruction, beings have mostly been reborn in the World of Radiance (i.e. in the second third Dhyana abodes) as soon as the fire (the fire of the World of Radiance, as it is more frequent) reaches up to the second third Dhyana abode. When the Palace of Brahma with Mahabrahma appears, this being falls from the World of Radiance. There is no mention here of the second second Dhyana abodes, which would have been necessary steps of decadence; hence the opinion that the destruction does not go higher than Brahma Palace—i.e. the aspect of the second period.

We may conclude that the theory of the celestial abodes was not perfectly elaborated when the Brahmajali was written.

Details are given of the destruction by Fire, wrought by suns, well known in the Brahmanical literature. All water is dried up, beginning with the small rivers; and the appearance of the seventh sun gives rise to the general configuration of the Mount Water, the 'Earth's destruction.' It is the only text to give us the names of the four Dragon-Kings who pour drops always increasing in size, each for five Intermediate Periods: Leadhara, Gajapramecha, Achalanimahra, Sthalaabha. Wind treats the matter from a philosophical point of view: 'Whence comes the water? it is asked from nowhere.' And where does it go when the deluge is at an end? To nowhere. This destruction is also said to reach the Brahma heaven, but it is not said to go higher. The destruction by winds is parallel. The Pali commentator gives the name of one of them, prach-ajati.

Nothing is known of the Second Period. The world remains chaotic, or, if we prefer it, a pure nothing. 'The upper regions of space become one with those below, and wholly dark.' There are no ashes left. The third destruction by Earth, and the fourth by Fire, would assume that the water (which, being very acid, disintegrates the Iron or Crystal Mountains) does not annihilate itself. On the contrary, the water does not settle so long as anything remains.

*To understand the following, the reader is referred to the Cosmology. We give below the necessary ideas:

Above the world of desire (i.e. the four continents, Mount Meru, and the five abodes of the inhabitants) begins the universal form, consisting of three (or two) heavens of the first meditation, three of the second, three of the third, and five of the fourth heavens. These are the four heavens of non-form. The worlds are organized in such a way that the second meditation realms are established above a thousand first meditation realms (Little Chilocones); the third meditation realms cover a thousand second meditation realms (Middle Chilocones); the fourth meditation realms cover a thousand third meditation realms (Great Chilocones). For one universe, in the proper sense of the word, there are 1,000,000,000 first meditation abodes (heavens), 1,000,000,000 Mount Merus. One universe is the "cosmo" of the Buddhist world-cycle always persists to the present of a Buddha's domain ("Viyambhim, xii., in Warren, p. 312). In "interplanetary" regions, the theory is supported by the texts at our command ("J ITS 30, 115.

For particulars see Spence Hardy, Manual; Köppen and Warren, loco, etc.

1 In the 'Matayaparina,' Cat. Ozen. 3479, 33, there are seven worlds, the destruction by water-waters; the first is named 'destruction' (antarartha).

2 But everything becomes impregnated with water and then suddenly settles and disappears.'

When the time of renovation is come again, i.e. when the former of the beings in the higher abodes is exhausted, and they have to be reborn in inferior regions, first (in the case of destruction by fire) appears the abode of Brahma (Brahmavannins), with the two divisions of devas. Then comes the world of the Abhikbara (abodes), and then in order the three Deva abodes of the Pari-nirmitavarsavatins, the Nimmatarins and the Yanyavirins (gods, Tamas, the Tusitas, etc., are also named); then the circle of the abodes of the Vimana (varmanada) on which is established the Circle of Water, etc., with Mount Meru and its heavenly inhabitants, with the sun and the moon, etc.: all this is called the 'circle of the receptacle-world.' And that is the end of the first Intermediate Period of the 'Inealulable of Renovation.'

During the nineteen following periods the inferior parts of the bhogamukta are successively peopled by men, and the evil world is divided into the six realms of the six classes of the Yama (i.e. of immensurable life). Such they remain to the end of the Period of Renovation, according to the Abhidharma-kosika.

The source, known as the bhogamukta, states as an ex- pression of the determination of the theory, declaring a date of 80,000 or 84,000 years. When the infant beings have appeared, the Inealulable Period of Renovation (svavartmanavastha) is finished.

The following Period of Duration (vicerattasvta prarabdhi) is divided into twenty well-characterized Intermediate Periods. During the first, the whole of which is of decrease, the average duration of human life falls from 'immensurable length' (or from 80,000 years) to ten years. The eighteen following are divided into two parts: the first of increase (vijnanakala, vijnanavastha), during which life increases from ten years to 80,000 years; the second of decrease (apakshakala, apakshavastha) inversely to the first. The twentieth and last is only of increase. We do not know if the first and the last are shorter than the remaining ones, but that seems probable. Here the Brahmanical theory of the Four physi finds a place: the increasing will be divided into the Iron, Bronze, Silver, and Golden Ages, and the duration of the world will be 80,000 years, etc. We are now (A.D. 1977) in the Iron Age of the first Intermediate Period of the Period of Stability (this intermediate is only decreasing). From a hundred years, the highest attained in the Iron Age, life is declining to ten. When the decreasing stage ends, the five calamities (kaya) begin to prevail; but when life is reduced to ten years (dhatvarthasvta, kalpa) the destiny of men is worse. At the end of every Intermediate Period (except the last, which is only of increase) the greater number of living beings pass away by hunger, epidemics, and so on. Some say that these three plagues work together, some that they appear in succession, as in the Abhidharma-kosika and the Mahavasavatins; and this same diversity of opinion manifests itself in the Mongolian and Chinese sources. Spence Hardy establishes a connexion between prevailing winds, plagues, and forthcoming destruction: Love, Epidemic, Fire; Hail, Sword, Water; Delusion, Hunger, and Wind. It would follow, as destruction is coming only after many Intermediate Periods, that during the whole of the 'Inealulable,' every Intermediate has epidemics, etc., according to the final modes of passing away. The majority of the creatures being dead, the remaining ones are 'converted,' and the age of man increases again. A new intermediate Age has begun.

If we except the speculations on the 'creation' by the united merit of all sentient existence, and on the 'repopulation' of the worlds, which are perfectly free from pitfalls of views, and, being

* See Köppen, Zeitschr. n. 1. He adds, according to 'some,' these plagues appear only in the Intermediate Period immediately preceding the Destruction.

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case. Sometimes a great Period elapses between two appearances of a Buddha; sometimes an in
calculable number of great Periods; sometimes, on the
other hand, there are in the same period many
Buddhas. We have 1 substantial 'periods (āraśa)',
with one Buddha; 'cārth periods (śūravata)',
with two; 'excellent' (śrāvita), with three; 'substantial
environment with four; 'auspici
ous' (śrāvikṣu), with five.
Such is the present Period. There have been
twenty-nine void 'Periods before it. So far the
old tradition. The reductors, moreover, of the
81 Buddhist tales (III. 306), Thee
Buddhist pilgrims, etc., are already aware that in the Buddha
 kalpa a thousand Buddhas are wanted.

At the beginning of the Universe, when the
primordial water (see above, 189/) is about to give
way for the appearance of the solid world, a lotus
appears at the place where the sacred tree of
Buddha has been and will be.* There is no flower
if the period is to be void; there are as many
flowering Buddhas in this Universe of Buddhas.† Compare the
Brāhmaṇa flower.

Another point of interest is the description of the
first men, or, as it has been called, the Buddhist
Genesis. Orig
ally, falling as they did from
the extra-abode, human beings retained the
attributes of their former existence. Born by
apparitional birth, self-luminous, with joy as their
only food, and with spiritual bodies, such beings are
evidently meant by the men of innumerable life
retained to above (see p. 159/). There is neither sun
nor moon. As time goes on, earth appears on
the surface of the primeval ocean. It is a savoury
earth, and, as it were, a foam. Men eat H, and
thus the world is for ever fresh and starts
furnish some light. Then follows the eating of
some honey-moss, of creepers, of a marvellous rice.
It is long a decadence. When this last has become
a regular food, organs of sex appear; and with the
invasion of marriage, of private property, and of
caste, begins the organization of human society.
Interesting for general folklore (especially the
details on marriage), the story is certainly very old,
and it is probable that the classification of the
celestial abodes. That in falling from the Abhās
vara-abode the beings do not go through the heavens of Brahmā and the Devas, and that these
are utterly ignored, are significant facts. But it is
not probable that the 'self-luminous' men who
never possess the attributes of the Abhāsvāras.
We might assume that there was originally no
connection between these first men and any sort of
degenerated gods. The first men were regarded as
abhāsvāras, i.e. 'resplendent', and the Abhās
vara gods themselves may be derived from this old
conception.

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[1] Indian Sources.—Vādhanakārnika, tin., by Warren,
'Buddhism in Translations,' 1800, p. 231 fr.; the Sarvastivāda
treatise entitled Lokaprajñapāta, known in the Tibetan version
(jigten-zang-po, Tanjuk, Mela, 1.1. 107), regarded by the
[1] On the Intervention of the Jivājina see Beal, Buddhist
Exotic Plants, pp. 105 and 106.
[2] By Prof. E. Davis, Dial. of the Buddha, p. 105, and by
The historical Buddha was conceived by the Chinese from the
Chinese by S. Beal, Four Letters, pp. 151-155, and it
by the Chinese by the Mokha (Sacred Book of the Mahāsākhi,
']) 333-328. See E. Hardy, Buddha, p. 81.

Valbhāsikā forms as part of the Scriptures, and in reality
consisting a Sūtra; the Lokaprajñapti-abhāvajñapti-dharma-bhāṣa
(Narisaśara) which was believed to be closely related to it.
'On the Abhāvajñapti' in YPS, 1905, pp. 77, 143); neither
the Buddhist lists such a work have been directly
studied. It is the tradition of these books of Abhāvajñapart
doublet, that is found in the Abhāvahajñapti-dharma-bhāṣa,
fol. 262 of the MS. of the French Asiatic Society, which has
been consulted for the present article.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Christian)*. The poets and the philosophers of pagan antiquity
have, as a rule, represented the evolution of man as a gradual but inexorable decay, putting the
last word at the beginning, and asserting that the
world would end in complete destruction. The
Christian idea is exactly the opposite; and this is
quite natural, for Jesus Christ caused a great hope
to shine on humanity, groaning in the darkness of
agony. The prophets of Israel had already
hung out some rays of this hope, in foretelling the
coming of the Messiah, who would establish on
earth an era of true religion, of peace and hap
ness. The hope of a new age, placed the Golden
Age in the past, Christians put it in the future;
they have described the history of the world as an
ascent, if not continuous, at least intermittently
progressive, and finally triumphant, towards good
and happiness. The period (the period, (sda°),
may be described in an imaginative style the last phases
of this historical drama.

St. Augustine is the first Father of the Church
who explicitly mentions Seven Ages in the history of
man. He says that there is neither sun
more or less inspired by his idea. His
plan is derived from the 'Days of the Creation' in
Genesis. The passage is de Cieclitate Dei, xxii. 30
et sqq. (The
Pauslius Orosius, a Spanish priest (d. 418), the
friend and admirer of St. Augustine, to whom he
dedicated his Historia, besides trying to prove
incidentally the Bishop of Hippo's theory of the
government of God in history, divided his work
into seven books, which, however, correspond to
different epochs. He had clearly arrived at the
feeling of root historic history. The founding of
Romulus, the death of Alexander, the taking of Carthage,
the Sermale War, the reign of Caesar Augustus,
who makes him coincident the birth of Jesus
Christ, and the memorable events which form
the boundary of the seven ages.

The Venerable Bede (d. 755), who in his
Chronicles owes much to Pauslius Orosius, also
adopts seven Ages, and surmises that the last one,
ending with the year 1000, will mark the end of
the world.

Adson, abbot of Montier-en-Der, in his treatise,
* (As the Jews were accustomed to distinguish the age before,
from the one after, the advent of the Messiah, so the majority
of NT writers distinguish a time from aera or melanes. In
both cases an ethical is always superimposed upon the temporal
meaning. The former age is the period which shall elapse
before the appearance of Christ, the period of in-
standing, impotency, wickedness, calamity, misery
(Thayer); the latter is the age after Christ has come again
power to establish the Kingdom of God definitively, with all its
blessings. It is insatiated by the resurrection of the dead,
and it answers, in scope and nature, to the completed work
of Christ. The present world, as being material and transient, is
understood by the angel, who meditate the 'age to come' (¢e
kataklysmo, $ melagena), He 29, on the other hand, is
viewed as already existing, in a sphere transcending this earth,
out of which it will come down as a new and divine order of
things. The term 'world' (ouk.oev) expresses the constitu
tion of things which are 'ages' (kataklysmo, melagena),
the latter in relation to its development in time. The scope of
the NT in ages. The present age is almost invincibly, the
gulf between the two ages, however, is not conceived as
being an age of absolute. The powers of the age to come (($
projected within the age, is manifestly ways into the way of
a diffusing
order and onward what is otherwise a chaos.
and a change, the Dispensation.
H. E. Macdonald.] According to the Anglo-Saxon version of
191
St. produce and his connected The faithful and the Kingdom the prior Thuringia the the Scotus Erigena the Erigena the 1857), man, Nevertheless Paul, which sketches of announces, according to religious St. Aages The Age, live priesthood. The will of young people, the third will be that of children. The first passed under the light of the stars, the second was the dawn, the third will be broad daylight. The first was winter, the second the beginning of spring, the third will be summer. The first bore nettles, the second thorns, the third will yield wheat. The first gave water, the second wine, the third will give oil. The first is connected with Septuagesimae, the second with Quadragesimae, the third will be Easter. The first Age refers, in the FATHER, to the Father, the second, to all things; the second to the Son, who descended to put on our flesh; the third to the Holy Spirit, to whom the Apostle has said, Where is the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty (de Concordia, lib. v. c. 48). Dante does not number the Ages of the World, but, borrowing the form of his profane from the figures of the Apocalypse, forestills the vengeance of God against the Dragon, which has broken the wheel of the Chariot of the Church, and announces that the one sent by God, whose number is 610 (=DVX), will kill the foul thief and the Antichrist, with her (Divina Commedia, Purg. xxxiii. 43ff). Bossuet, in his Discours sur l'histoire universelle (1681), returns to the seven Ages of the City of God, but, instead of the three, he introduces the age of St. Augustine. According to him, the first Age, from Adam to Noah, comprises the creation and the beginnings of man. The second, from Noah to Abraham, the Dispersion, the Flood, the first punishment of man, and opens the era of the bloody conquests. The third Age, from Abraham to Moses, was contemporaneous with the beginning of the world. The fourth opens sketches from Moses to the building of the Temple at Jerusalem by Solomon. The fifth goes to the end of the captivity of Babylon; the sixth runs from Cyrus to Jesus; the seventh, and last, reaches from the Nativity up to our time. It is evident that Bossuet looked only at the past;

he did not borrow the Bishop of Hippo's beautiful prophecy of a seventh Age,—the Age of rest of all nations and of the universal peace, to which Christianity triumphed over his enemies, and God is all in all.
The Neapolitan Vico (d. 1744), in his Scienza Nuova, distinguishes three Ages in history, the first of the different nations. The Divine Age, or, so to speak, the infancy of man, where all is divinity and authority, belongs to the priests; the Heroic Age, where the conquerors rule by brute force; and the Human Age, the period when divinity and right in things perished, which men will return to their primitive state. Mankind, according to him, will turn round perpetually in this circle—a theory similar to that of the Stoics. It was the privilege of a Frenchman, more famous as an economist than as a theologian, to return to the Christian idea of a progressive development. Turgot, a prior in the Sorbonne, at the age of twenty-three (1750), in his Discours sur le progres sucessif de l'humanité, shows that the work of mankind, the conquests acquired by their fathers and grandfathers, so, according to Turgot, there is a heritage of truth, of intellectual, moral, and economic progress, which, in each new generation, enriches the patrimony of humanity. Hence this progress.

In the 18th and 19th cents. the idea of the development of the Ages of the World, i.e. of mankind, by analogy with the ages of human life, was renewed by some Christian philosophers. J. G. Herder, in Ideen zur Philos. Gesch. der Menschheit (1784), admits that there are in the evolution of races and nations, as in the life of plants, periods of growth and blossoming, of fruit-bearing, and, lastly, of withering. Mankind tends, by the reciprocal influence of the nations, to the realization of that blessed Age announced by Christ under the name of the 'Kingdom of Heaven.'

The founder of positivism, Auguste Comte (d. 1857), thinks that religion is contemporary with the infancy of humanity.

'Following the very nature of the human mind,' he says, 'each branch of knowledge must pass through different ages: the theological stage, which is the age of fiction; the metaphysical stage, which is that of abstraction; and the scientific stage, which is the positive age' (Cours de philosophie positive, iii. Appendix, p. 77).

Henrik Ibsen maintains that man evolves in turn through three phases: 'The kingdom founded on the tree of knowledge; the kingdom founded on the tree of the Cross; and, last, the kingdom founded on these two trees at once, for the sources of its life are in the paradise of Adam and at Golgota.' (Emperor and Galilean, 1st Part, Act III.)

Drummond, in his Ascent of Men (1894), distinguishes three ages in the evolution of the world: the first, in which the Vegetable Kingdom was led to produce the flowering plants; the second, the evolution of the Animal Kingdom, where the possibilities of organization were exhausted in the Mammalia; lastly, the third, which comprises the ascent of man and of society, and is bound up with the history of man. This is the Further Evolution, the page of history that lies before us, the closing act of the drama of Man' (p. 443).

There is a short sketch of the Christian theories of the Ages of the World. In opposition to the pagan conception of a fateful decay of man, ending in annihilation, the Christian conception, derived from the Messianic idea of the ascent, the progression of man, not through out falls, towards more truth, more justice, and more happiness. The socialists of the present day have unwittingly adopted the Christian idea of the 'Millennium.'
AGES OF THE WORLD (Egyptian).—In their literature the Egyptians have not left any formal description of the world and its ways as they imagined it to have existed in past ages. Manetho (c. B.C. 300), enumerating the rulers of Egypt, records in the period before Menes two dynasties of gods, followed by four others the character of which is not known, and finally a dynasty of rēves, demi-gods. The fragments of the Turin Papyrus of kings prove that such a view was already established in the 14th cent. B.C., although the details cannot be fixed. Heh, Hesperes, the creator-god, heads the list in Manetho, and he is immediately succeeded by the sun-god. These two correspond in Egyptian to Ptah and Rē, the latter being the organizer of the world. An inscription of the Twenty-second Dynasty says of the temple of Siut that it was 'built by the fingers of Ptah and founded by Thoth for Ophois, the local god; and a Ptolemaic text ascribes to the sun-god, during his reign on earth, the rule of the Egyptian cities and their shrines. Stories of the time of the rule of the gods on earth are seen in the mythology (e.g. the myth of Osiris, and the legend of Hathor's massacre, and the Heaven's Creation, and in the popular tales (vaguely in the story of the Two Brothers).

'Since the time of the god' and 'since the time of Rē' are old formulas for expressing immemorial antiquity; so also is 'since the time of the worship of Horus.' These last correspond to Manetho's rēve, and have been shown by Sethe to be historical personages, representing the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt before Menes united the two lands. Their records, which had not perished at the time of the extension in so primitive a style as to be undecipherable to the Egyptians of the third millennium B.C., and these 'worshippers of Horus' entered early into the realm of the legendary. The Turin Papyrus appears to refer to 23,250 + x years to a dynasty of 19 'worshippers of Horus.' The wise Ptahhotep, in his rather cryptic proverbs dating from the Old Kingdom, seems to refer to the 'counsels of them of old, of whom listened to gods'; and the 'worshippers of Horus' are the type of virtue rewarded in the same collection of proverbs; 'An obedient son is like a worshiper of Horus, he hath happiness in consequence of his obedience; he groweth old, and attaineth to the honour of great age.' Thus there was some idea of a more perfect condition having prevailed in primeval times. None the less, the myth, which show in perfection, declination, and width of the all kinds appearing amongst both gods (e.g. Seth) and men in the age of Divine rule.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Greek and Roman).—The Greeks, and after them the Romans, were especially interested in this subject, and it is largely to their speculations that we trace the concept to the Ages which we find in the literary tradition of our Western civilization. In the Graeco-Roman world this theme was actively discussed for nearly a millennium. During that long period the theory of the Ages was revised again and again by the various schools of philosophers, by manifold attempts to harmonize conflicting authorities or to incorporate new ideas, by the lore of the peoples, by tedious examination and by the embellishments of mere rhetoric. The result is that a complete and detailed examination of the question is not to be expected in the space at our command.

Every theory on this subject belongs to one of two types. The first assumes that man has risen from his former estate; the second, that he has fallen. Both of these occupy an important position in the history of ancient thought, but, so far as the present concern is concerned, the theory of descent, that belief in the progressive degeneration of mankind which is cherished by the folk of many races, was at all times the dominating type. The well-known lines of Horace (Ies. i, 23, 4),

'Esse parentem, peperior avis, tule
Nor nequeores, now daturus
acipitare generatio' (Ies. i, 23, 4),

are the expression of a view which recurs again and again in the Graeco-Roman world, from the Homeric poems (II. i. 272, v. 304; Od. ii. 276, etc.) to the last words of Classical Literature.

A strictly chronological development of our subject is impracticable. The blanks in our surviving tradition are so large, especially in the departments most important to us, that no definite date for the inception of any one article of doctrine may be ascertained. Indeed, practically every idea by which the later tradition is distinguished will be found upon examination to possess a high antiquity. We may assert, however, that three periods of formative influence are especially prominent. The first is represented by Hesiod, the second by the Stoics and their predecessors, the third by the revival of Mysticism in the 2nd cent. B.C.

i. Hesiod.—The position of Hesiod was always paramount. The influence of Hesiod upon our subject is very much the same as was the influence of Homer upon the form and content of Greek Literature. The account of the Ages which we find in his Works and Days (1048–111) is the classical epitome upon the subject. It is, also, to a remarkable extent, the centre and ultimate source of the later development. There were several other accounts of the early history of man, and some of them were evidently folk-legends of a high antiquity. None of them, however, is of any great importance to us. A few have contributed a detail here and there to the development of the Hesiodic norm, but most of them languish in comparative obscurity. Such being the case, it will be advisable to make Hesiod our basis, and to begin with a summary of his famous account.

First of all, the Olympian gods made the 'Golden Race of Men,' the 'Golden Age;' these were said to have been when Kronos was king in heaven. They fared like the gods themselves, always making merry, and untressed by toil or care, for the termination of life bore no sense of the change of all good things, and there was no old age. Even death itself, when at last it came, stole upon these men like a pleasant sleep, and they died in peace. And Zeus made them the good spirits that live above the earth and are the invisible guardians and helpers of all men.

The Olympian gods made a second race, the men of the Silver Age. These were far inferior to the Golden Race, for they remained with Kronos a hundred and twenty years; they reached maturity straightway perished by their own folly, for they slew each other and perished much as men do. Therefore Zeus was wroth, and put them to

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These of the ancient chivalrous division text into four Ages. No reference to this version is found in the Homeric poems, but, even at that early period, some form of it was probably current among the Greeks.

These, in our present form, the four metals—gold, silver, bronze, iron, in the order named—is, in itself, an indication that the theory of descent is the fundamental idea of the legend. True, the causes and symptoms of descent, the conditions of degradation, to speak, are by no means clear at first sight. This, however, is, in itself, a striking proof of the high antiquity of the theory. Our long familiarity with the later phases of the legend, naturally suggests the ethical motif as the standard of measurement here. But in the primitive stages of a myth like this, neither morality nor moral responsibility is of much account. The Golden Age is a replica of heaven, a mortal reflection of the glory of the immortals. The men of those days were superior to us simply because they were made so. They were nearer the gods than we. Their position was a matter of powers and privileges, not of character. In any case, those happier days has been measured by the gradual loss of those powers and privileges. The causes of it are in the will of the gods themselves. The idea of moral responsibility as a factor in the problem belongs to a period of more mature reflection, and we see the first beginnings of it in Hesiod's own account. Peace and plenty in the first Age are followed by brutish anarchy and violence in the second. The third sees organized violence and deliberate cruelty; the fourth, crime of every sort and description. The steps, however, are none too clear, and the old description of the Ages was not yet in harmony with the new standard, or the two combined, or the material motives of which that description is a part. The new account of the Ages is a rethinking, a new and more emphatic version of the old, giving it the ethical motif. The basis of it continued to be the same—his first task of the creation, the free-will, guilt and misery, the admiration of which has already been observed in Hesiod. More specific detail of the processes frequently reflect the philosophical tenets of the time, and may, also, be freely manipulated in the interests of rhetoric or for other purposes.

The principal difficulty with Hesiod's account arises from the fact that there was no place in the old four-fold scheme for the Heroic Age. As a matter of fact, the Heroic Age belongs to another and a different account of the development of mankind. Neither of these accounts, however, could be neglected, and in Hesiod the older account at least is retained to a considerable extent in the first and second ages. The deduction upon which it was based seems tolerably clear. According to the old four-fold system, the Bronze Age immediately preceded our own. On the other hand, it was also generally accepted that the Heroic Age immediately preceded our own. Consequently, the Heroic Age of the one scheme ought to coincide with the Bronze Age of the other. This, however, is impossible, as any one may see by comparing the two. Hesiod, therefore, inserted the Heroic Age between the Bronze and the Iron Ages of the old scheme, and re-numbered accordingly. The result was a system of five Ages, the fourth of which was usually called after the later and better known exemplars, may be assigned to the period between the close of the Iron Age and the present day.

As we have already seen, the presence of the Heroic Age in Hesiod's account upsets the principle of progressive degeneration, a fundamental idea of the old four-fold scheme. It also runs counter to the belief that each one of these Ages is represented by its own separate and distinct race of men. It was not until the rise of the Cyclic Theory that this idea was in any way disturbed, and, even then, the process was one of revision rather than destruction. Much less was the doctrine of successive races affected by the later intrusion of the Flood Legend. At first thought, we might esteem ourselves the descendents of Denealon and Pyrrha, who were themselves survivors from the previous Age. But the story itself reminds the reader that we are really terraeque, a new race sprung from the earth.

We now come to one of the most notable and, doubtless, one of the most ancient features of our legend. This is the significant association of it with the great dynamic change of Olympus. The Golden Age was under the sway of Kronos. Since then, his son Zeus has ruled the world in his stead. On this basis, the Four Ages are sometimes reduced to two, the Age of Kronos and the Age of Zeus, the old régime and the new, the happy past and the unhappy present. This may well be an older and a simpler version. But it occurs only in the later writers, and, so far as they are concerned, is probably for brevity, or to score a rhetorical point.

Real variations from this feature of the old account are especially characterisitic of the philosophers, and may best be taken up in their condition in this world, and their aims in it toward time. This view has not met with approval, and in any case it has no direct bearing upon the points which are of real importance.

* Rohde, i.e., contends that the principle followed by Hesiod in his classification and discussion of the Five Races was that of their condition in this world, and that the philosophers have taken it too far.

† Eog. Vergil, Georg. i. 121.; Titubius, i. 53; Odo Caseler, Sm. 19; Ousios Tyrr. iii. 56; Ampilbons, 255; Schlegel, 8. 125; E. 155.
with the Cyclical Theory. But the Hesiodic version of this motif, above all, the primitive association of Kronos with the Golden Age, persisted until a late date, not only in the genuine folk-tradition to which it really belongs, but also, to a large extent, in the literature. In fact, the Golden Age is often designated simply as 'the Age of Kronos,' *the Dawn of the S stringent.*

The description in Sallust, *The Judgement of Teleclus,* etc., was extremely popular in the literary tradition of later times. And, with the exception of certain details to be taken up in another connexion, these descriptions all bear a strong family resemblance to each other. Not less striking is their resemblance to what we hear about Elysium, the Garden of the Gods, the Hyperboreans, and similar conceptions. Indeed, as Dieterich has shown in his interesting monograph *The Golden Age in the Traditional Cyclic Motif,* common to all these passages passed over to the early Christian writers, and were applied by them to their descriptions of heaven.

The golden age, for such a similarity is, of course, not far to seek. In all cases, the theme is ideal happiness, and whether we locate it in the past or somewhere in the present, in this world or in the next, the details which make up the vision of unfilled desire, we find in this man, very much the same. Nor should we fail to remind ourselves that in the speculations of the folk there is no impassable barrier between our life and the life of those beyond the grave. Nothing was more certain to the belief that the Golden Age and the race who lived in those happier days had both passed beyond our ken; but that they still existed somewhere, and that, even now, a mere mortal man might be able to find them again, was not felt to be utterly beyond the bounds of possibility. Odysseus had returned alive from Hades, and it is a well-known historical fact that the gallant Sartorius was, at one time, actually on the eve of setting sail for the Fountain of Youth. The same association of ideas is also to be seen in Hesiod's account. In fact, this is one of the most ancient and primitive aspects of the legend. Hesiod's Golden Age, when Kronos ruled a race of men who have since departed, is in all essential particulars a mere replica of Hesiod's Isles of the Blest, where dwell those sons of the gods who have passed alive beyond the grave. Moreover, the foundation of both is material which had long been traditional, even at the time when...


The present writer has noted nearly a hundred references to it down to the close of the 3rd cent.

The result is that in cases where only a fragment of description has survived, it is sometimes impossible to decide whether it is an interpolation from the old epic which had been in mind. Compare, e.g., Solon, frag. 38, ed. Beek; Cratinus, frag. 160, ed. Kock; Cratinus, frag. 234, ed. Kock; Lucian, *De Deis,* 97 ff., ed. Marx; also Dieterich's *Nekyia,* and Wasser in Paula-Wissowa, v. pp. 2161-2174.


The Homeric poems were composed.* Indeed, even as Hesiod tells the story, it still reflects with remarkable fidelity the old epic-tale of a Lost Paradise before which the whole history of mankind had been marred by the intrusion of moral lessons and specific philosophical doctrines. Men lived long, never grew old, and died painless, i.e. a Death without a S stringent.* Meanwhile, they passed their days like the gods, in innocence, peace, and fabulous plenty, making merry continually, and knowing nothing of labour, disease, or sorrow.

Such are the principal motifs of the old legend of the Golden Age. The ancient world has always been the basis of all versions. The variations or additional details which we find in later accounts are, for the most part, due either to philosophical speculation, the incorporation of allied myths, or manipulation for literary purposes.

By far the most important of these is the first. In fact, the growing prominence of the ethical element, the most notable feature in the later description of the Golden Age, is due to the philosophers. The earliest of them were the Orphics of the 6th cent. B.C. The body of doctrine developed by these nameless mystics was based on the sacred epic of Kronos and the golden age. When we consider the strange figures of speech in which its real meaning was often concealed, we can hardly wonder that it was long misunderstood or derided by the many. The kernel of it, however, was, that, the great idea for which they were speedily no longer able to go forward, was destined to grow in strength, and, in the far future, to bear abundant fruit. This was the belief that not alone the sons of the gods, but, in the long centuries of the race, the sons of men might find their salvation, and live in the dark house of Hades. Naturally, therefore, not only among the Orphics and their disciples, but also among their opponents, the idea of the Lost Paradise became more and more prominent. Discussion or description of the Golden Age, more especially of its analogue beyond the grave,—the Golden Age, so to speak, of the future—continued to grow in importance and interest. We hear many echoes of it, not only among the writers of the Old Comedy, but especially among the late philosophers of Athenian philosophy and, later, among the writers of the Old Comedy, the Orphics and their doctrines were a never-failing subject for parody and satiric comment.

The name of the plains of Orphea influence upon this discussion was the marked improvement in the present position of Kronos. According to the popular belief, old "King" Kronos had been in the Golden Age a sort of divine *P. de F. Dresden.* Afterwards consigned to nethermost Tartarus, and, ever since then, a synonym of extreme age and harmless senility.* The view, however, was deliberately opposed by the Orphics. Their teaching was that Kronos had long since been freed from his shameful captivity. Moreover, he is not old and weak. On the contrary, he is for ever young and vigorous, and now rules in Elysium, the land of those who have gone hence. There, in a world of eternal youth and joy, he is surrounded not only by the heroes of old, but also by the spirits of just men made perfect—after the Orphic pattern—and, indeed, as some say, by a remnant of men from those golden days when he was in king. *

Piety and justice as motifs in the ideal of happiness had been ascribed, long before Hesiod's time, to peoples living beyond the limits of the Greek world, which were Homer's *Alcaia* (II. xiii. 6), the "most righteous of men," and, to give one more...

*See also M. Mayer in Roscher, ii. 1456 ff. *

example, the Hyperboreans, so long famous in the literature and legend of the Graeco-Roman world. The Golden Age, which the Roman poets depicted in their analogous legend of the Golden Age—the ideal world of the past—and on the basis of it not only the Orphics but other schools of philosophy explicated their specific views regarding the nature of the world and the indispensable conditions of happiness. In other words, as the Golden Age ceased to be an article of faith, it became, more and more, the field in which these thinkers aired their ideas, and what the world ought to be. From this sort of thing it was only a step to that long line of Utopian romances which were quite as characteristic of late antiquity as they are of the present day.

Among the various bits of specific theory imported into the Golden Age by the philosophers, one of the oldest and most important was the doctrine of vegetation.[1] This doctrine doubtless goes back to the Orphics, but the most prominent representatives of it in antiquity were the Pythagoreans. The earliest reference to it now surviving is a fragment of Empedocles (121 D), and the most complete discussion of it in the works of the Hellenes. One of the famous passage Ovid introduces Pythagoras himself as the exponent of his own doctrine. The essence of it is that, in the Golden Age, the gods took upon themselves the work of producing the earth, and that the regeneration of later ages is marked by the departure from this.

That the Golden Age was distinctive only the era of perfect love and peace is easily inferred from Hesiod's account, but the later development is marked by a much stronger emphasis upon this feature. This was partly due to the influence of the Cyclical Theory, in which, as we shall see later, it was the necessary result of the Platonic conception of harmony. The first to lay stress upon it—his connection was Plato's predecessor Empedocles. This, no doubt, is the reason why he made Aphrodite instead of Kronos ruler of the Golden Age.

Among those most interested in any cyclical theory—poets, for the most part—the favourite method of bringing out the peace and harmony of the Golden Age was to emphasize the contrast with later times by diluting upon war, violence, and bloodshed as both causes and symptoms of degeneration in the succeeding ages of mankind. This diatribe on war first comes to the front during the Alexandrian age. It is characteristic of Roman poetry, especially of the elegy, and, in the end, became a mere rhetorical commonplace.

Another important line of development in later times was inspired by the varying use and interpretation of one of the most persistent and characteristic peculiarities of the genuine folk-legend. We refer to the belief that in the Golden Age all the imaginative blessings of life come of their own accord. In this way we have an ideal combination of fabulous plenty with luxurious idleness.

When treated seriously, either for literary or for didactic purposes, this motif led directly to the idea that the Golden Age, or its analogues in this world and the next as a cosmic theme. It makes an appearance in one of the later Old Comedy, and was probably in the form of the popular tenets of the Orphics. But the story of Topsy-Turvy Land (des Marco dei Sorcelli fanciullai), as told by the Comte de Tihullus, is certainly not invented by the Comte de Tihullus. It is rather a folk-version of the old story of the Golden Age, and references to it turn up now and then from the old Comedie of Greece to the present day. The comedy in these descriptions is presented as a peculiarly elementary element, occasionally too, the theory of communism, to its perfectly logical, and yet, at the same time, its utterly absurd conclusion. The result is a Lost Paradise of the bon-temps, the votary of ease, and the irresponsible bachelor. The nearest concestor of this type is the Golden Age especially affected by the idyllic-erotic poets of the Alexandrian age and by their Roman imitators. The same automatic and communistic features are prominent, and the examples by which they are illustrated are sometimes so nearly the same that the difference between the two is hardly more than a matter of mood. At first sight this is surprising. It comes from the common sense, as we have ourselves that the pathetic exaggeration so characteristic of the idyllic-erotic sphere is largely due to the fact that the author himself is rarely more than half conscious of the intention or even of the possibility, of his own statements. It is an easy step from this state of mind to that which engenders one humorous unbelief—and this, too, has its pathetic side—to which we are indebted for the old tale of Topsy-Turvy Land.

On the philosophical side, the desire to build up of everything in Hesiod's account that savoured of the supernatural served to bring out still another aspect of the Golden Age more and more clearly. Before taking up this point, however, we should remind ourselves that the theory of ascent was, meanwhile, being supported by a party of such activity and intelligence that it could not be ignored. The theory of ascent was also backed by the legends of Poseidon and Thetis, and for centuries all classes seemed to have been interested in discussing the various inventions by which the rise of mankind from utter savagery to our present stage of civilization has been marked. It is evident that the account of the ascent of the world was revised the two parties were utterly irreconcilable. If one did not believe Hesiod, the most
AGES OF THE WORLD (Greek and Roman)

logical course was to agree with the Epicureans, who denied the account of Hesiod in toto, and replaced it by their own view, which is the first attempt in antiquity to our modern theory of evolution. This denial, which lies implicit in the famous passage of Lucretius (v. 925 f.), is stated positively, for example, by Diodorus, who (1. 81 f.) denies that the dialogue of Epicurus upon this point (and v. 66 f.) implies that the Golden Age was a mere invention of the Cretans. But this summary disposition of the difficulty is of no value to us. We are more interested in the process through which they reasoned. The most important force in this process, so far as it was accomplished at all, was a gradual realization among thoughtful men of the fact that the ideal of life traditionally associated with the Golden Age, though it seemed attractive, was, in reality, unfit to pose as the highest development in any theory of descent.

2. Cynics, Stoics, etc. — At this point, certain Stoic modifications of Cynic doctrine are of especial value to us. The great out put of passages and material to be considered in this connexion is Aratus, Phaenomena, 97-140.* The version of the Ages by this famous Alexandrian poet of the 3rd century B.C., is the oldest of the Ages in the ancient world, and undoubted traces of its influence are to be found in most of the later accounts. Briefly described, it is a revision of Hesiod under Stoic influence. The object of the author was not only to retain the theory of the Ages but to remove whatever was irrelevant to a theme which he proposed to treat not as an independent account, as Hesiod had done, but as a rhetorical episode suggested by his mention of the constellation Virgo, i.e., Astraea, whom Aratus, following an old tradition, identifies with the Nemesis of Hesiod, and calls Diic.

Diic was comparatively unimportant in Hesiod. Owing to the exigencies of rhetoric, she now becomes the central figure. Moreover, after the true Stoic fashion, she is made to assume the functions of both Zephyr and Kronos in the traditional version. The five ages of Hesiod are reduced to three—an Age of Gold, of Silver, and of Bronze.

The men of the Golden Age are described as peaceful tillers of the soil, with no knowledge of civil strife or of the vexations of law and order, moreover, they were far removed from the perils of the sea. In those days there were no ships to bring the hunter and the sailor from abroad. The goddess mingled freely with these simple souls, and taught them the arts which men should live with reference to each other.

The Silver Age was more sophisticated. Nevertheless, the goddess still remained upon earth, although she now retired to the mountains to occupy herself with men.

The Brazen Age saw the first swords, and the first slaughter of the oxen for food. Then Diic, utterly hating that race of men, finally departed to heaven and took her place among the stars.

It will be seen that one of the most notable signs of revision here is the disappearance of the old folk-element of marvel. In its place we have a conception in which the Stoics are mainly responsible for the emphasis laid upon the ethical motive, especially upon the relation of man to his fellows, to the world about him, and to the State.

The underlying principle in such a theory of the Ages is the conclusion that the ascent of man in the arts of civilization is accompanied, at all events beyond a certain point, by a corresponding descent in moral and even in physical fibre. What is this case? The reply was that to be healthy in mind and body, and therefore, happy, we must live in harmony with nature. But civilization brings a certain conflict with this ideal, and there comes a stage in human history when the idealism of the poet gives way to the realism of the philosopher. The final crisis of the poet is, therefore, the stage of idealism, and our journeying into the past should take us back finally to a state of ideal happiness. That state of ideal happiness was, of course, the Golden Age.

This ideal form of the past was, therefore, the ideal simple life of the past.

Such in substance was the general drift of the Cynic argument as modified by the Stoics, and, as a matter of fact, the Golden Age of Aratus is really the Stoic version of the Homeric and pastoral stage of human society—a theme which always comes to the front in any period of over-cultivation, as soon as men begin to stagger under the weight of civilization.

So conceived, the theory of the Ages was not only consistent with the evolution of civilization from the crudest beginnings, but agreed with the Epicureans in presupposing such a process. But, as regarded the various inventions and discoveries by which that process has been marked, it loved to dwell upon those very devices, and to lay great stress on the view that they had been the most conspicuous cause of the downfall of man himself. The favourite examples are those chosen by Aratus. They are the first sword and the first ship.

The first sword is a characteristic introduction to the topic of the Ages, as Aratus has already mentioned. His second ship is also a favourite way of connecting the discussion of the Ages with the dispute about navigation so frequently found in the later works of the Stoics, and frequently among the Romans. By this means the problem of modern criticism that the Romans were afraid of the seaports, the opinion is a generate, and is probably, for the most part, upon these passages, we need not take too seriously. The sailor's impious challenge of the terrestrial and rational land of the Greeks is justified by national character as by literary tradition. It is fully developed in the following description of the Days of the Old Roman poet, who revives the favourite theme of the Greek epigram at all periods, a regular motif in the poetry of the Augustan age, and by the 1st cent. of our era a matter of universal commonplace.

In order to understand better the attitude of the Epicureans towards the theory of the Ages, as presented, for example, by Aratus, we must return for a moment to the underlying principle upon which, according to Stoic reasoning, that theory was founded. We mean the conclusion stated above, that advance in the arts of civilization is at the expense of the character, health, and happiness of the individual. Now, when we consider the Stoic argument by which this conclusion was made to yield the theory that the Golden Age of

* Horace, Epod ii. 2; Propert. iii. 13. 25; Seneca, Medea, 323; Plutarch, Sulla. 19. 3. Of Aratus, the Golden Age was especially welcome to the Romans, not only because of the experimental Stoicism, but because it agreed more nearly with their own tradition of early man, when he was associated with the character and attributes of Saturn before he was identified with the Sun of Kronos.

In general, Vergil, Georg. ii. 490; Ovid, Met. ix. 199; Juv. Sat. ii. 106; Tibullus, iv. 5. 47. The rhetorical question of Tibullus (v. 10. 1) states a maxim of the philosophers which has often repeated. See, e.g., Seneca, N. v. 18. 15: "Nihil innominis tam manifeste utilitatis quod non in contrarium trunclus copia. So Ovid, Met. x. 106, speaking in the persona of Pythagoras. Opponents of the theory of descent, especially the Epicureans, contended that the sword merely marked one period in the long line of human progress. It was the success of the club and the large rough stone (Lucretius, v. 960). Cf. also Hor. Sat. i. 3. 160; Valer. Flacc. v. 149, and esp. Plato, Rep. 528 B. (was the natural condition of mankind), and the commentary of

Among the most important of the names mentioned are, Stebnes, 57 (who gives a number of quotations); Hesiod, W. and D. 256; Sophocles, Antig. 333; Seneca, Medea, 301 and 497; Tibullus, i. 3. 37 and ii. 39; Propert. i. 17. 10 and iii. 7; Hor. Ep. ii. 11; Statius, Theb. ii. 67; and Achilles, i. 62; Calpurn. de Raptu Proserpinae. The final crisis of the poet is, therefore, the stage of idealism, and our journeying into the past should take us back finally to a state of ideal happiness. That state of ideal happiness was, of course, the Golden Age.

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of the waxing and waning of the moon, and of the eternal round of the seasons, the entire Universe itself is subject to an ever-recurring cycle of change. This ancient Babylonian doctrine of the world-year, the mortuus est ego mundi eclipses, was first followed, inevitably, from that cyclic theory of the Ages to which this school of philosophers gave its enthusiastic support. Not so the Epicureans. The Epicureans agreed that the growth of civilization had been accompanied by certain signs of degeneration in man himself, but they denied that the principle was capable of universal application. They insisted that every stage of civilization, in its own particular fashion, had been unfavourable to the individual. In other ways it has been favourable. There is no such thing, therefore, as progressive degeneration in the strict sense of the word. We have only to imply a period of ideal happiness at our extremity, which by a period of ideal misery at the other extreme. Both are superhuman, and therefore impossible. In other words, there never was a Golden Age, even if we adopt the old Stoic belief.

Another method of reconciling the difficulties in Hesiod's account is illustrated by Vergil, *Georgy*, i. 121 ff. The primary purpose of this version was to enhance the dignity of labour. The history of mankind is divided into two periods—the Age of Saturn, and the Age of Jove. The Golden Age, when good old Saturn was King, agrees entirely with Hesiod. The second period, however, is not an age of degeneration and, unless of reform. Jupiter, the divine father of our race and of all our higher aspirations, purposely did away with the *far niente* of the old regime, not out of a petty resentment against Prometheus—as the old folk-legend (e.g. Hesiod, *W.* and *D.* 241 ff.) would have us believe—but rather, 

*curis acers mortallis corda,*

*See toeper graes patris sunt regna version,* because he was well aware that, unless men have difficulties to meet and overcome, they can never grow strong in any sense. In this characteristic, nobly inclined, it is interesting to see in what an outstanding way the demand of contemporary thought without sacrificing the traditional account of the Golden Age so dear to the poets.

The amount of the Age, which Ovid gives in the first book of his *Metamorphoses*, 89-162, and the version best known to the modern world, is one of the earliest surviving attempts to incorporate the Flood Legend. Otherwise, it is chiefly remarkable for the poet's characteristic skill in combining and harmonizing the views of preceding thinkers. The Four Ages (Gold, Silver, Bronze, and Iron) are all in the past. The Age to which we are living is a Fifth. The Flood is the great catastrophe by which the wicked and godless race of the Iron Age was destroyed. The history of our own race, therefore, begins with the earth-born children of Deucalion and Pyrrha. In this version of the Flood Legend, the theory of ascent, the theory of descent, the traditional account of the Golden Age, the Heroes, and, with only a slight modification, even Hesiod's quintuple division of the Ages were all made to dwell together in peace and unity.

**CYCLIC THEORY.**—Let us now turn our attention to the Cyclic Theory, the most important element in the system; perhaps the one really vital and vitalizing element in the whole of our subject. The Cyclic Theory of the Ages was founded on the belief that, after the analogy of day and night,
the Universe is now left to itself, so are all and several of its parts; and each race is propagated in the manner familiar to us now. The coexistence of the nations backward increases and accelerates the process of disorganization, until, by the time the Universe again reaches the point of destruction, it is ready to fly off and there be no difference for ever in the infinite space of discord. At this point, however, the Hellenistic period reverses the direction of the Universe, and with the change again to harmony the Great Golden Age necessarily returns as before. The few who survive from the preceding period suffer change in sympathy with the whole. Again the old begin to grow young, and continue to do so until the end of the Universe, when all are born with hoary hair, and not from each other, but from the earth. In fact, it is those who die in the preceding period of discord who are born in the next generation, and they now again seek the dead, and in their turn are born old, grow young, and finally vanish.

It will be seen at once that, according to this remarkably suggestive theory, which, of course, oves much to earlier thinkers,* the sum of human experience is measured by two world-years. During the first, the Universe moves forward, during the second, backward, to the place of beginning. Each *magnus annus* is therefore one of the two Ages into which the history of mankind is divided; and this alternation of Ages will continue until the Universe endures. Thus, the whole, so with each and all of its parts. The Ages of man, the life of man himself, are closely connected with this eternal oscillation of the Universe.

The Stoic theory of cycles occupies an important place in their systems. Here, their acknowledged dependence upon Heraclitus is clearly seen in the prominence they give to his doctrine of *épi páidev,* the elemental fire into which the world is periodically resolved, and from which it is periodically born anew.

After the old world has been completely consumed, the four primal elements—fire, air, water, earth,—which are indestructible, gradually assume their previous relations to each other, and the new world is created, being exactly like the old. As soon as the proper point is reached in the process of reconstruction, every sort of living thing is born from the earth, and at this time proceeds to live in its turn. Man, too, is here, 'knowing nothing of wrong and born under both kinds of evil.' But this Golden Age lasts for long. *Villainy steals on space.* Virtue is hard to find: it needs a leader and a guide. The vices are learned without a master. The process of degeneration goes on until the time comes for the next *épi páidev.* Then the world is destroyed and built anew, as before.

An *épi páidev* occurs each time that the eight circles are in conjunction at the place of beginning. For the Stoics, therefore, every *magnus annus* is the measure of one complete life, as it were, of the Universe. It follows that the totality of human experience must, also, lie between those impassable barriers of flame by which every great year is divided from its fellows. The soul outlives the body, but even the soul of the ideal Stoic cannot survive the *épi páidev.* Nothing emerges from the fire except the primal elements from which all things are made.**

In one sense, however, we all have a personal interest in every period of the world's existence, for the reason that...

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* See the two preceding notes, and Ahas, *Repab.* ii. 296, n. 4.


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* Ritter and Preller, _loc. cit._ pp. 396 and 405; *Bomberg._

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* Seneca, _N. O. N._, ii. 39, 9.

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* See Ritter and Preller, _loc. cit._ pp. 396-397.

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* Diog. Laer. (vii. 160) says that 'the Stoics claim that the soul is a part of some corporeal, and though it survives our death, it is not immortal.'

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* See Ritter and Preller, _loc. cit._ pp. 401 B.
AGES OF THE WORLD (Greek and Roman)

Titans had eaten before they were slain by Zeus, and therefore, still lingered in the humaniments of the Earth when we of the
third race were afterwards created.

This version of the Ages is the ever-increasing distance from that to which the gods themselves owe their being. On the whole, we may characterise the
account of the different ages of the world in the Orphic religion as one of the most ingenious attempts to fit the somewhat vague idea of cyclic theory of the Universe attached
to a much more highly developed doctrine of the re-birth of the soul. The ages are spoken of as the solar zodiacal signs, and it is as though the gods gave it.

The doctrine of an ἔκτισμος, irrespective of its place in the history of the world, makes a strong appeal to the imagination. It was at all times, therefore, one of the most prominent features of the Cyclic Theory. By the 2nd cent. B.C., owing to the wide-spread activity of its most enthusiastic exponents, the Stoic popular preachers, no item of philo-
sophical speculation could have been more familiar to the average man. Finally, together with much that had been identified with the Stoics, it destruction by water was already an old story, long after the period with which we are here concerned, we find the Church Fathers undertaking to derive the doctrine of the ἔκτισμος from the Book of Genesis.

But, long before the Stoics, the ἔκτισμος had begun to be associated with other great cosmic disasters of a different nature. The origin and progress of this development are better understood as soon as we observe the process of reasoning by which they were inspired and directed. In the first place, the cycle of the Universe had been called a year. This led to the natural but quite illogical assumption that, for that very reason, it must necessarily possess all the attributes of its prototype and namesake, the solar year. Second, the present condition of the world depends upon the maintenance of the elements in a certain state of equilibrium. Any disturbance of it is at once reflected in the world about us. If the disturbance is sufficiently severe, the result is cosmic disaster. The character of the disaster is determined by whichever one of the elements has gained the upper hand. Finally, great significance was attached to the fact that there were four Elements, four Seasons, four Ages of man.

The conquests of Alexander drew the East and the West closer to each other than they had ever been before, and this rapportement was not disturbed by the Imperial policy of Rome. The phase of our subject now under consideration is especially marked by the more or less direct influence of Oriental speculations. Conversely, therefore, this aspect of the Cyclic Theory did not become especially prominent until the Alexandrian age. The first step was to associate the Flood Legend with the Cyclic Theory, and to set it over against the ἔκτισμος as a second recurrent catastrophe of the magna annua. This doctrine of the regular alternation between a destruction by fire and a destruction by water was already an old story in the time of Plato (e.g. Tim. 22, C). There are no signs of this doctrine in the fragments of Zeno, Cleanthes, and the earlier Stoics. We know, however, that Zeno was familiar to their contemporaries. Moreover, as early at least as Ctesias of Ctesias, the doctrine had been adopted by the Stoics themselves, and henceforward we hear much of it.† Compare, for example, the vivid description of the great floods which Seneca gives us in his Nat. Quaest. iii. 27 ff.

† See Winckelmann, Zavattari, Stud. p. 259.

The idea that these two contrasting disasters occur at certain definite periods we find first mentioned in the Evangeliarum, a work which Seneca gives us in his Nat. Quaest. iii. 27 ff.

† See Winckelmann, Zavattari, Stud. p. 259.

to mention it is Aristotle. The quotation, which we owe to Censorinus, xviii. 11, is probably from Aristotle, and the model of Cicero’s famous dialogue, the Hortensius, which is also lost. No doubt this very theory was mentioned in the Stoic school, for it was there that the Romans became familiar with Aristotle’s observation that the two disasters of the magna annua, or, as he termed it, the magnas annas, occur at the solstices and equinoxes, the one at the summer solstice, the diluvium at the winter solstice. In other words, the same year is divided into two seasons, the summer—hot, wet and dry, the winter—cold and wet. Therefore the great year has the same peculiarities. This being noted, the sophists led to the conclusion that the great year, simply because the great year is hot and dry, and the diluvium in the great winter, because the great winter is cold and wet.

We should not expect this sort of logic from Aristotle, and, in fact, the idea was not his own. Indeed, as the Protoplas, was a doctrine first expressed in a form of dialogue, we do not know that he approved of the view at all. That his information went back to some Eastern source is indicated by a fragment from the voluminous history of his much younger contemporary, the Chaldean priest Eros. The passage is quoted by Seneca, Nat. Quaest. iii. 31 ff. ‘Eros,’ he says, ‘qui Relum interpretatur est,’ insists that he can set the time for the conflagratio and the diluvium. The claim will be, he claims, when all the stars, which now move in different orbits, are in conjunction in the constellation of Cancer. The flood will take place when the same stars reach conjunction in the constellation of Capricorn. ‘Iliic soliditium, haec brusa conficitur.’ Conjunctions of the stars in Capricorn produces the conflagratio and conjunction in Capricorn the diluvium. This touch of astrology makes the statement very impressive, and these Chaldeans were nothing if not impressive. But, as Conerius has already ob-
served, the actual foundation of the statement is nothing but the fact that the summer solstice and winter solstice, or the two solars, are predestined over by Cancer and Capricorn respect-
ively. When this fancy assumption of profoundness is removed, the theory of Eros is probably identical with the one men-
tioned by Aristotle.

Now that fire and water had acquired a definite and important position in the cyclic scheme, it followed inevitably that the two remaining elements, air and earth, ought to be put on the same plane. The line of development followed was largely suggested by the fact that there were four Elements, four Seasons, four Ages of man. The four seasons of the ordinary year are spring, summer, autumn, and winter—a series which has always been associated with man’s own descent from youth to old age, from strength and happiness to weak-
ness and sorrow. So the four seasons of the great year are the four Ages of man, another series with which the idea of descent has always been associated. As the springtime of the little year of life is the golden youth, man, so the springtime of that greater year was the golden youth of all mankind. Finally, the traditional order of the four elements—fire, air, water, earth—also one descent from the lighter to the heavier, from pure spirit to the earth, earthly.

If, now, we associate the four elements in their regular order with the corresponding Ages of man in their regular order, the dominating element during the Golden Age will be fire, during the Silver Age, air, during the Bronze Age, water, and during the Iron Age, earth. The conclusion of this is that the descent of man himself is due to his ever-increasing resistance, so to speak, from the Divine fire. We are thus brought back to the Orphics again, and, as a matter of fact, the Stoic-Orphic theory reported by Nigidius Figulus, in which, as we have already seen, the most natural order was equated with four seasons, each ruled by the appropriate element, is a complete illustration of the tendencies we have just been discussing.

A theory ascribed to the Magi by Dio Crysostom and partially reported by Aelian, xvi. 43 (without any mention of the astronomers) is also mentioned here. The Magi tell us, he says, that the Lord of the world rides in a chariot drawn by four horses which are sacred to Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, and Hestia respectively. In other words, the four horses are the four elements, fire, air, water, and earth. And, as horses are the chariot of the gods, the first chariot is the sun, however, the first steed becomes restless and sets fire to the other three. This is the result of the original sin of the Greeks. Again it is the steed of Poseidon that becomes.

* Usser, Rhein. Mus. xxviii. 294 ff.
† For an echo of this statement see the Meteorologica, i. 14.
‡ Vergil, Georg. ii. 309 ff.; Ovid, Met. i. 107; Periplusim Veneris, 22 ff.

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AGES OF THE WORLD (Indian).

The rapid growth of Mysticism which began early in the Alexandrian age reached its culmination in the 2nd cent. B.C. One of the most striking features of the movement, and a significant comment upon the mental and social condition of the entire Greco-Roman world, was the rapid production of apocryphal works. It is probably fair to assume that the production of this literature was much encouraged if not actually suggested, by the widespread belief that the life of mankind moves in cycles. At all events, one of the most characteristic features of all these visions and prophecies was the emphasis given to some cyclic theory of the Ages. It would be quite unnecessary here, even if they were still available to us, to examine these works in detail. Their chief importance to us would be derived not from their content, but from the point of view which, by virtue of their very nature, they all possess in common. These visions and prophecies, like all other works of the same class, appealed more to faith and the emotions than they did to reason and the understanding. The author tells his readers that this last Age has nearly run its course, and that the great change is near at hand. He does not state it as an opinion or a theory, capable of being discussed as such. He states it as oracular utterance, as inspired prophecy, the truth of which is already foreshadowed in current events and cannot be questioned. In this way the Cyclic Theory of the Ages was transformed from a rhetorical and philosophical theme into a Divine assurance of the joy soon to come. As a class, these compositions contributed almost nothing to the development of the Cyclic Theory itself. A word or two, however, should be given to the Sibyl.

The Oracles of the Sibyl have been ascribed to about the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. They were well known to the Romans for the next 200 years; but at the time when the collection now bearing that name was composed, the earlier had apparently ceased to exist. Meanwhile, however, they had won a sort of secondary immortality through the influence which they had exerted upon the fourth Eclogue of Vergil,  the most famous literary work ever inspired by any aspect of our theme. From this poem and the ancient comment upon it, it appears that the Sibyl adopted the Stoic-Orphic identification of the Four Ages of man with the four seasons of the magnus annus. In addition to this, she—or her authority—was inspired by the analogy of the ancient solar year to divide the great year into ten great months, each of which was ascribed to one of the zodiacal signs and presided over by a god. Ever since the time of Sulla there had been rumours about that the world was drawing to a close, and that the Golden Age was at hand. One cannot read the fourth Eclogue without feeling that Vergil was himself impressed by a prophecy so much in harmony with the spirit, if not with the letter of his own Orphic. Nevertheless, we must not forget that the poem is really a poem of congratulation upon the birth of a son, into which, as Marx has clearly demonstrated, Vergil introduced the topic of the Ages in accordance with the current suggestion of the rhetoricians for poems of this type, and developed it in strict conformity with the rules laid down by them. The most famous line in the poem,

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is a clear reflection of the cyclic theories which we have just been discussing. That, in itself, it should also foreshadow quite as clearly the great central article of the Christian faith, is an excellent illustration of the fact that there has never been any break between ancient and modern culture.

The foundation of the most enlightened Christian thought, quite as much as the foundation of Vergil's thought, was that ancient and universal conception current among all the Greek philosophers, more especially Plato and the Stoics, which moulded the doctrine of the Ages in its final form, and which, ever since then, has played such an important part in the mental and spiritual consciousness of the civilized world. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that for more than 1500 years this last great document in the long history of the Cyclic Theory of the Ages was firmly believed to be a prophecy of the coming of Christ.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Indian).—The Hindu doctrine of the Ages of the World (yugas) is combined with that of two other great periods, the manvantaras and kalpas, into a fanciful system of universal chronology, which passes for orthodox. Its basis is the yugas; they are, therefore, treated here in connexion with the other elements of the chronological system. Orthodox Hindus recognize four Ages of the World (yugas), roughly corresponding to the Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron Ages of the ancients. They are called krita, treta, dvarpara, and kali; after the sides of a die; krita, the lucky one, being the side marked with four dots; treta that with three; dvarpara with two; kali, the losing one, with one dot. These names occur in the period of the Brahmanas and even as late as the Virgilio's Eclogue, (7,14) they are already referred, by the commentator, to the yugas. In the epics and the Puranas the belief with regard to the four yugas has become a fully established doctrine. The general idea, the same in all Brahmanical sources, is that the character, or, if the expression may be used, the proportion of virtue, and the length of each yuga, conform to the number of the die, from one to four, after which it is named. In the krita yuga, virtue (dharma) was fully present in men, with all four feet, as it is expressed, but it diminished by one quarter or foot in every succeeding age, till in the kali yuga only one foot of dharma remains. The same proportion holds good with regard to the duration of the several Ages. The krita yuga lasts 4000 years, to which a dawn and a twilight of 400 years each are added; the tretaya and dvarpara each 3000 and 300, in kali 2000 and 200, in kali 1000 and 100 years. Thus the period of the four yugas together, technically called a mahayuga or chaturyuga, should remain in the world, lasts 12000 years, which, if we add the six yugas, the manvantara, and the kalpa, make a possible period of 186000 years; the


AGES OF THE WORLD (Indian)

Mahabharata, iii. 12,826 ff. The years in this statement are interpreted as Divine years, consisting each of 360 human years, giving a total of 51,840 years, and this interpretation, once adopted in the Puranas, became a dogma. The usual descriptions of the krt- (or satya-) yuga reveal to us a happy state of mankind, when life was so enduring that there were no quarrels nor wars, when the rules of caste and the precepts of the Vedas were strictly obeyed, when, in short, virtue reigned paramount. In the kali- (or taitra-) yuga just the reverse was the case. There is a confusion of castes and artificial. The Veda and good conduct gradually fall into neglect; all kinds of vices creep in; diseases afflicting mankind; the term of life grows shorter and shorter, and is quite uncertain; barbarians occupy the land, and people kill one another in continual strife, till at the end of the yuga some mighty king extinguishes the infidels. From these extremes the character of the intermediate yugas, untenable by four castes and the four auras; the several Ages are periods of transition from one Age to the next, when the character of the one is not yet entirely lost, and that of the other not yet fully established. It seems natural to presume that originally the mahayuga comprised the whole existence of the world; indications, indeed, of such a belief are not wanting, as will be noticed later. Still, the common doctrine is that one mahayuga followed on another, one thousand of them forming a single kalpa. The kalpa, then, is the length of time from a creation to a destruction of the world. The belief in periodical destruction and destruction of the world is very old; and its existence in the Vedic period may be inferred from Atharvaveda, x. 8. 39, 30. It is combined as follows with that in the four Ages. In the first krtayuga, after the creation of the earth, Brahman created a thousand pairs of twins from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet respectively. They lived without houses; all desires which they conceived were directly fulfilled; and the earth produced of itself delicious food for them, since animals and plants were not yet in existence. Each pair of twins brought forth at the end of their life a pair exactly like them. As everybody did his duty and nothing else, there was no distinction between good and bad. But this state of things changed at the end of the Age; the first rain fell and trees grew up. These produced honey and whatever the primitive people desired. In the first taitra, mankind consisted no longer of pairs of twins, but of men and women. Being now for the first time subject to cold and heat, they began to build houses, and they quarrelled about the miraculous trees. The trees, however, disappeared, and herbs became the food of men. Now trade was introduced, and personal property, unknown before, caused the social distinctions. Then Brahman established the four castes and the four auras, and fixed the duties peculiar to each of them. Afterwards he created spiritual sons, who were the ancestors of gods, demons, serpents, inhabitants of hell, etc. As the heat of a kalpa is a kalpa, the heat of the sun becomes intense and dries up the whole earth; and by it the three worlds are set on fire and consumed. At last enormous clouds appear and rain for hundreds of years, the earth becomes a deluge, and the waters inundate mankind. As the latter signs are frequently alluded to, in the form of similes in the Epics, etc., as occurring at the end of a yuga (instead of at the end of a kalpa), it is probable that originally the yuga ended with the destruction, and consequently began with the creation of the world. A similar belief seems to have been expressed by the texts of some, but perhaps with this difference, that the concept of a yuga was naturally connected with the idea of the four stages through which mankind must pass, analogous to the four ages of man, viz. childhood, youth, adult life, and old age, while this idea was not necessarily implied in the concept of the kalpa. The combination of both these popular beliefs, with regard to the kalpa and the yuga, in the form described above, was probably due to the systematizing efforts of the Puranikas.

There is still a third kind of long period, the manvantara, fourteen of which go to the kalpa. Each manvantara contains 71 mahayugas, and 14 manvantaras are therefore equivalent to 486 (14 x 71) mahayugas. The remainder of 6 mahayugas required to make up the kalpa (=1000 mahayugas, sup. p. 200) is so distributed that the first manvantara is preceded by a dawn of the length of one krtayuga, the second by one half of a krtayuga, the third by one quarter of a krtayuga, the fourth by one eighth of a krtayuga, the fifth by one twentieth of a krtayuga, the sixth by one forty-fifth of a krtayuga, the seventh by one sixty-five-hundredth of a krtayuga, and the eighth by one hundredth and forty-six ten-thousandth of a krtayuga, the ninth and tenth by the same. The duration of each of the several manvantaras was probably introduced in order to account for the different chronologies of Manu, such as Vaivasvata, Svayambhuva, Srisravana, which occur already in different Vedic works. These early causes a belief in the existence of several distinct Manas. The Puranikas systematized these notions as described. Since Manu was thought to have introduced the social and moral order of things, and to have played a part in the creation of gods and men, 'the seven Eis, certain (secondary) divinities, Indra, Manu, and the kings, his sons, are created and perish in each manvantara; and the details of these recurring events in each manvantara are given, etc., in the same Purana.' Artificial as these manvantaras appear to be, still they are given as one of the five characteristic topics of the Purana in a verse found in several Puranas. And the whole system of yugas, etc., is regarded as orthodox to such a degree that all the astronomical works, the Siddhantas, have adopted them, except the Romaka Siddhanta, which for that reason is stigmatized as not orthodox.

The astronomical aspect of the yuga is that, in its commencement, sun, moon, and planets stood in conjunction in the initial point of the ecliptic, and returned to the same point at the end of the Age. The popular belief on which this notion is based is older than Hindu astronomy. The current yuga is the 457th of the present varaha-kalpa, or kalpa of the Boar, the 28th of the present manvantara (that of Manu Vaivasvata), which itself is the 7th of this kalpa. We are now in the kaliyuga, which began Feb. 17, B.C. 3102, the epoch of the still used era of the kaliyuga. At the end of the last tretya yuga lived Rama, the grandson of Dasaratha, and at the end of the last dyaparayuga took place the great war of the Pandavas and Kauravas, described in the Mahabharata. A kalpa is called a of Brahman, and his night is of equal length. At the close of the night he creates the world anew. Of such days and nights a year of Brahman is composed; and a hundred such years constitute his whole life. This And longest period is a puro, half of which, a

* Cf. SBE xxv. p. lxxv. t
1 Wilson, Vinaya Purana, l. p. 50.
2 Wilson, l.c. ii. p. 18.
3 Wilson, l.c., Pref. p. vii, note 1
5 See Acta des X. Congres Internationals des Orientalistes, p. 104. For details of the astronomical use of the yugas, the reader is referred to the translation of the Surya Siddhanta, J.A.O.S. vi. p. 15 ff.
paradha, had elapsed at the beginning of the present kalpa.*

The notions of the Buddhists about the Ages of the World (yugas) and about the larger periods (kappas) are similar to those of the orthodox Hindus, but still more fanciful. The names of the four yugas are the same, but their arrangement is different. They begin with kalyyuga, and go up to krtyugaya, and then, in reverse order, go down to the round. Thus, instead of a mahâyuga of seven periods, the four Ages, the Buddhists assume a period of eight Ages, which is called an antarakaalpa. An antarakaalpa is the interval that elapses while the age of man increases from ten years to an asankhyeya (asankhyeya = 10,000,000,000) and then decreases again to ten years; this period is of immense length.† According to some authorities, it has a length of 1,080,000,000 years. Together with the age, the moral state of mankind increases and decreases.

Twenty antarakaalpas form one asankhyeya kalpa (Pali asankhyeya kappa), and four asankhyeya kalpas constitute one mahakalpa. The first asankhyeya kalpa is called saiiyavarta, (P. saivavatta), during which a world or sphere (chakravatla, P. oaksavatla) is completely destroyed by fire, water, or wind. In the second (saiivavarttikayin, P. saivavinathayin) the state of void continues. This third (vasivata) the world is being built up again; and in the fourth (vasivarttikan, P. viivatinthayin) the world continues to exist.

It is during this last period that the world becomes first inhabited, by abhasavara gods of the Brahmaloka being born on earth. These self-luminous beings lost their lustre when they first began to feed on a delicious juice produced by the earth, and then created the sun, the moon, and the stars. While these beings gradually degenerated, the earth ceased to yield this first kind of food, and produced a kind of cream-like fungus. This was followed by a climbing plant, and this again by an extraordinary kind of rice. When this rice was used as food, sexual intercourse began. The rice deteriorated, and at last ceased to grow of itself. At the same time other vices were introduced, and personal property, till at last the present order of mankind was established.‡ Then comes the period of the twenty antarakaalpas, described above. A hundred thousand years before the end of the first mahakalpa, a god appears and warns mankind of the coming event, exhorting them to amend.

And after that time the destruction of the earth—nay, of a billion of worlds or chakravatlas—as in by fire, water, or wind. The mahakalpas are either empty (sthat) kalpas—those in which there is no Buddha—or Buddha kalpas. The latter are of five kinds, sra, wuñña, vara, sāramandala, and bhadrakaalpas, according as one, two, three, four, or five Buddhas appear. The present kalpa is a bhadra kalpa; for four Buddhas have already appeared—Krakucchanda (Kakusandha), Kanakamuni (Konagamana), Kasyapa (Kassapa), and Gotama; and the fifth, Maitreya (Mettayya), has yet to come (asahkhyeya, p. 288). The fifth and sixth Ages length of life will diminish down to 16 years, and the height of men to 1 cubit. There will be no tirthakaras in the last two ages, but the great spiritual leaders of the preceding uttarukalpi period the same Ajas will recur, but in reversed order. In this way an infinite number of avasaripins and uttaripins follow each other.* The idea on which the notion of these periods seems to be based is apparently the year. The avasaripin and uttaripin correspond to the two ayanas, the southern and northern course of the sun; and the six dvas of each period to the six months of the ayanas.† On the other hand, the first three dvas, with their pairs of twins, with the miraculous trees for their subsistence, much resemble the first krtayuga of the Purâpas, while the remaining three dva may be compared to the tretâ, dvarapulas, and krtayuga periods of the yugas. A peculiar feature of the Jain system, however, is the great disparity in length between the last two Ages and the first four, while the relative length of the four yugas is reversed, if we consider the fourth, fifth, and sixth dvas as one.*

On the whole, there is an unmistakable family likeness between the notions of the orthodox Hindus, the Buddhists, and the Jains, all three being derived from the same source. But the term with which they have developed these different lines.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works referred to throughout this article, consult the Literature given at the end of the article AGES OF THE WORLD (Buddhism). H. JACOB.
AGES OF THE WORLD (Jewish).—1. The Heb. word בָּשָׂם (בש), 'day,' is frequently applied in both Biblical and post-Biblical literature in a sense closely allied to that of an Age of the World. Lev. xiv. 46 and Num. xxvii. 71, refer to a thousand years. Philo in de Opificio Mundi, i. 3, etc., treats 'the Days of Creation' as covering an epoch. He denies that the story of Genesis is to be taken literally as meaning that the creative days followed one another in consecutive time. Creation was not in time: the six days described the arrangement or order of creation, much in the same sense as scientists talk of the geological orders. Midrash Ber. Rab. xii. deals with the time occupied in creation. 'The day of the Lord' (Mal 4:4) 'that day' (Zec 14:5), 'the great day' (Mal 4:5), 'the day of judgment,' 'the day of vengeance' (Jer 46:2), 'the day of rebuke' (Hos 5:1) are all expressions for the Last Judgment, sometimes covering the future world (Zec 14:5) which will succeed it. תָּמָא, 'our day,' is used as a synonym for הָיָה, 'this world' (Targum for 1 Kgs 1:32 [Heb. 1:31]), means the everlasting kingdom of the future world. 'The days of the Messiah' (Sanh. 99b) is used in the Talmud and Midrash for the Messianic Age; 'the days of the life of the world to come,' for the future world when the Messiah comes. The day is 'the day when' (Mal 4:4), 'the day which is altogether good,' 'the day which is altogether long,' 'the day wherein the righteous sit with crowns upon their head and enjoy the splendour of the Divine presence,' are expressions in the Jewish Liturgy (in the grace after meat for Sabbaths and Festivals, especially Passover) which also connote the future world.

2. Before this world existed there had been successive creations (Ps 104, 146; 1 Ab. B.N. xxxvii.). Seven things were created before the world was created, and these are they: the Law, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the Messiah's name' (Ps 78:5). There were 974 generations before Adam, which with the 26 generations between Adam and Moses make up a thousand (Shabb. 88b, Hag. 139b, 140a). The Mishna discourages such cosmogonic speculations. 'Two together should not study the Creation, nor even one the Chariot' (Hag. cap. ii.). The Gemara ad loc. (ib. 11b) forbids inquiry into what was before the world was, basing this on the biblical statement, 'Who can understand the Holy' (Ps 94:7).

3. In the Bible narrative there are traces of a Golden Age in the account of the Garden of Eden, where Adam dwelt till the Fall. As to the length of his sojourn the Rabbis differ. The Bible narrative presents some striking parallels to the Assyrian story, just as the post-Biblical does to Zarathushtrian speculations. But, as Goldziher points out in his Mythology among the Hebrews, even if the cosmogony had been derived from Iranian sources, it is an essential part of their system, whereas the Pentateuch makes no further use of it. It is notable that the later Jewish view is that Gen Eden (Paradise) will be the model for good conduct after death. This is no isolation from a Golden to an Iron Age (for traces of which in Dn 2, see below), and no evolution in an opposite sense, but rather a sort of endless cycle: 'the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be.' (Ec 1).

4. The Pentateuch is almost exclusively concerned with the history of Israel, and the first age of people after the Creation. Liturgically, 'Elohim,' 'captivity' (or 'atonement') is that of Egypt. According to Gn 15:13, Abraham's seed is to be afflicted 400 years. In Js 11:12 a period of 300 years is given as the interval between Jacob and Joseph, during which the children of Israel were wandering in the possession of the other side of the Jordan. In 1 K 6 a period between the Exodus and the building of the Temple is fixed at 480 years.

5. The Prophets, before the Assyrian captivity, are concerned only with the immediate future. They deal with their own times and warn the people to repent in view of disasters which is imminent. The Day of the Lord, which in the post-captivity literature of the Bible becomes the Day of Judgment, occurs already in Amos (5:18), the earliest of the later prophets, as well as in Isaiah (cf. W. R. Smith, Proph. 131 f.).

6. In the post-exilic literature of the Bible we first meet with a distinct promise of an ultimate, not immediate, Messianic Age, in which all wrongs will be righted. The return under Zerubbabel had proved a disappointment. The autonomy of the Jews had not been satisfactorily re-established. The Jews did not occupy their proper position in the world. The people were dissatisfied with their leaders, and thus the notion of an ideal Messiah rather than a political one seems to have become evolved. Zechariah (ch. 14), when he proclaims: 'One day which will be known to the Lord, day, nor night... there shall be no more the Canaanite in the house of the Lord of Hosts,' represents a Messianic Age distant but sure. Malachi is much more practical. He speaks against the sinfulness of his day but even the minor disasters threaten with immediate disaster. His 'day that I [the Lord] do make' (Mal 4:5)—the great and dreadful day of the Lord (4:5)—is the Day of Judgment, and here first Elijah the prophet promised as a precursor of that day. Daniel is written in a different spirit. Despite its mysticism, it is a political pamphlet. It is almost certainly late, and intended to encourage those who were suffering under Syrian oppression. See 3 Macc. 1:17, 18, and perhaps earlier. The Apocalyptic Literature, of which Enoch is certainly, and the Book of Jub. is perhaps, pre-Christian, is overweighted by the gloomy events of the time. The Messianic Age is increasingly needed, and national impatience insists on fixing its date.

7. The destruction of Jerusalem gave a mighty impetus to apocalyptic literature. The era of Messiahs and Prophets produced such men as Theudas in R. 44, under Fadus; the Egyptian Bar Saba (240), who appeared Bar Cochba the Son of the Star, who persuaded even an Aïkib to join him in insurrection against Rome; and so on through a long succession of pseudo-Messiahs down to Sabbatai Zehi (whose advent in the mystic year 1666 caused such excitement both in and out of Jewry), and even to Mari Shooker Kohail, an impostor who so lately as 1870 excited wild hopes among some Arabian Jews of Aden. The Diaspora seemed to lay stress on individual rather than national hopes of reward and punishment after death. But Messianic hopes are traceable even in Philo, who looks to a future re-assembly of the Dispersion time, and echoes of these views are to be met with in the 4th Escol of Vergili. The Kingdom of God and His people (see Ps 145:10), Wis 10:22 of the future (cf. Is 52:5, Mic 4:1, Zec 14:5). Contract the national view of Ps 145:10, 'The Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem,' with the universalistic concept of Orc. Sib. iii. 767, 'His everlasting Kingdom shall be over all the earth.' Jewish Universalism, the idea of a World Year and Atonement, 'all works shall fear thee... joy to thy land... shining light to the Son of Jesse thine anointed... when thou makest the dominion of thy progess pass over the earth.' But such universalistic ideas are comparatively rare. God's
Kingdom is also that of His people (De 24:27). And this idea prevails throughout the Jewish apocalyptic writings, e.g. Assump. Mos., Enoch (Eth. and Slav.), 4 Ezra: God's enemies, whole people, and the world will be destroyed. It is perhaps based on Ezekiel's Vision of Gog and Magog (38 and 39) as the first prophecy of this stage. After this war-world comes the Judgment (Jl 2:26). Meantime the people of Israel will be hidden away (Gen 49:28; Jer. 25:14; Ezk. 14:15). The precursors of the Messiah are Elijah (Mal 4: Sir 48:15; Orac. Sib. ii., Edynoth, vii. 7), Moses (Dc 18:23), Enoch (Gen 5:24, Eth. Enoch). The Messianic Kingdom is predominantly particularistic. The Diaspora will be reunited, Jerusalem rebuilt, the heathen converted.

3. In the Apocalyptic literature, and first in Daniel, we get the universalistic idea of 'this world' and 'the next' as parallel to the tribal idea of the Present Age and the Messianic Age. The Eeon of mab' (6 ror awlo, 1 Ti 6:19) is 5000 years in Assump. Mos.; 10,000 in Eth. En 18:18 21; Jud. 19:5000 in Sanh. 57a, where R. Katina says the world will last 6000 years and in the seventh will be destroyed; of the 6000, 2000 years are 'Tohu' (chaos), 2000 Torah, and 2000 Messianic. This theory is based on the 6 days of Creation. As the sabbatical year is remitted once a week, so in the world remitted 1 chiliasm in 7' (cf. Bucher, Agada der Tannaen, i. 139 f. [2nd ed. 133 f.]).

4. Daniel's theory of years-weeks (ch. 9) is based on the 70 of Jer 25:38 29' (The Babylonian year was divided into 365 weeks of 7 days each). Daniel has 4 metals (ch. 2) and his 4 great beasts (7) seen based on the classical conception of this world's division into the Gold, Silver, Bronze, and Iron Ages, Eth. 20:6. Ezra divides the world into 12 periods. All these figures, 4, 7, 60, 70 (72), and 12 have an astrological basis, and correspond to the seasons, the days of the week, the weeks of the Babylonian year, and the signs of the Zodiac.

5. The mathematical determination of the end of 'this world' and the beginning of the next was eventually discarded by the Rabbis after all such calculations had proved false. 'Rab says, All the terms (p'z) have ceased, and the matter rests only upon repentance and good works' (Sanh. 97b, cf. Am 5:18). Before God renews His world (mab' mab'), the Messianic Age will come. It is interpolated between this world and the next. The time of Messianic tribulations (mab' mab') is the precursor of the change of Eon. Men will be weaker (4 Ezra 5:20), they will suffer terrible diseases (Orac. Sib. ii. 538), children will be born with white hair (Jul. 25), women will be barren (Orac. Sib. ii. 164). Fields will not fructify (4 Ezra 6:2), poverty and famine will prevail (Eth. En 99a, Apoc. Bar 27), universal war will rage (4 Ezra 9a), the wise shall be silent and fools shall speak (Apoc. Bar 39), when the world will come to an end (7:9), when God will weigh sins and virtues, but even here the Messiah, Prince of Peace, emerges (Apoc. Bar 29 and 78); and after all this travail of the earth the Messiah shall be revealed (though he is hidden) no longer the national hero but the renewer of Paradise, the restorer of the Golden Age. Next will follow the Resurrection of the Dead (Is 26:19). God will destroy death (Dn 12:2). May of the dead sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake'). En 51', ...
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day for his coming;' the 13th, 'that there will be a resurrection of the dead at the time when it shall please the Creator.' (Shah Nâmeh; Book ii., p. 92.) In the Zalidi; (ib. p. 37), 'May he establish his Kingdom in your days . . . speedily!' (cf. Oros. Sib. iii. 677). In the Sabbath Morning's Service (ib. p. 129) the following antithesis brings out another stage of the stages or Ages of the World: 'There is none to be compared unto thee, O Lord our God, in this world, neither is there any beside thee, O our King, for the life of the world to come; there will be no end of the Messiah; neither is there any like unto thee, O our Saviour, for the resurrection of the dead.'

LITERATURE.—Bacher, Agata der Tannaiten, vol. i. 1884; Bouisset, It. d. Judäentum, 1884, pp. 46-55; list of authorities cited by him; Schürer, GJPT, ii. 446-556; E. H. CHALLIS, A Crit. Hist. of the Doct. of a Future Life in Israel, London, 1887; Lowery, 'Messianic and Zundlische Welt' in MGHJ, 1897, 392-409; Schuch, c. 11; Maenimens, μινίνην, Paris; Nachmanides, Torth Adam, 'Siha ba Ganem'! Maimonides, Guide to the Perplexed, c. 9, his Mishneh Torah, Hilchot Tenahab, viii., Azaria di Rossi, Meor Emunah, xiv. 54; Lipschitz, Mishnah, מלתה; An Excursion on the Future Life (based on Nechunia). E. N. ADLER.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Muhammadan).—See COOSMOGONY (Muhammadan).

AGES OF THE WORLD (Teutonic).—See COSMOGONY (Teutonic).

AGES OF THE WORLD (Zoroastrian).—1884, is far the most detailed account of Iranian cosmology is afforded by the Pahlavi Bûndakhshân, a work which, though dating in its present form from the post-Muhammadan period, undoubtedly contains material of far greater antiquity. According to it, Ahuramazd (Ormazd) 'produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means [his complete victory over evil], and they remained three thousand years in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unthinking, with intangible bodies' (i. 8). . . . And Ahuramazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: 'Appoint a period, so that the interminning of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.' For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit would be undone. Thus the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like two men who are together, who appoint thus: 'Let us appoint such-and-such a day for fight.' Ahuramazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, for three thousand years everything proceeds by the will of Ahuramazd, three thousand years there is an interminning of the wills of Ahuramazd and Ahriman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and the adversary is kept away from the creatures' (i. 18-20, West's tr.). Then Ahura Mazda (Pahlavi Ahrûmazd) recited the Ahumaznar, and exhibited to the evil spirit his own triumph in the end; the evil spirit, perceiving his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded and remained three thousand years in confusion, that is, the second trimillennium of time. During the confusion of the evil spirit, Ahura Mazda created Good Thought (Tâhrîv-î Nâmeh-î Nâmeh), and the two other archangels. Ahriman (wh. see) produced in opposition to them six corresponding evil powers. Of the creatures of the world Ahura Mazda produced five stars out of the firmament, and the two other archangels. Ahriman (wh. see) produced three corresponding beasts, the spirits of men, their fravenâshis and their consciousness, had already been created in the beginning.

Now Ormazd deliberated with them, asking them if they would assume a bodily form in order to contend with the fiend Ahriman, a phrase which doubtless designating Gayamaran (Pahlavi Gâyômâr), the primeval man, who existed undisturbed, during the same second trimillennium, with the primeval ox.

The evil spirit now rushed into confusion, and the seventh millennium, or the third trimillennium, began. The elements, the primeval ox, and the primeval man were successively attacked by the Evil One. But the appointed time for Gayamaran had not yet arrived. He lived and ruled for thirty years more, although the destroyer had come (iii. 22 f.). Attacked by Ahriman, the ox fell to the right; from his body and his limbs the plants were produced, and three thousand years were changed into the shape of a man and a woman (iv. 1, x. 1-3). Gayamaran lay on the left side in passing away, and from one portion of his seed received by the earth the first human couple, Mashya and Mâshyî, grew up for forty years as plants, and were changed into the shape of a man and a woman (iv. 1, xv. 1-5). The history of mankind, which then began, occupies the second half of the 12,000 years.

The 34th chapter of the original Bûndakhshân sums up the first two trimillennia of the creation as follows: 'Time was for twelve thousand years; and it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual state, where the creatures were unthinking, unthinking, and intangible; and three thousand years was the duration of Gayêmart, with the ox, in the world.' Those three millenniums are immediately connected with three of the connections of the zodiac: Cancer, Leo, and Virgo.

The first millennium of the human race is distributed as follows in the same chapter:—

Gayêmart, 30 years.
Mâshya and Mâshyî growing up during 40 years (Bûnd, 15. 3).

living without desire for intercourse, 50 years.
Bringing husband and wife, 93 years, until the middle of the three thousand years.
Mashya (Av. Mâshyå), great-grandson of Mâshyî became, 40 years (and six months, according to Windischmann).
Takhmûrûp (Av. Takhmîrûp-âr; Shâh-nâmeh Tahmûrâz), great-grandson of Mashya, 30 years.
Yima (Av. Ymân, Yima) Yima, the brother of Takhmûrûp, 361 years and six months, until the divine power or glory of the Iranian rulers left him in the shape of a bird, because he took the words of falsehood and error (Yashî, xix. 34), and made himself something more than a man.

Then he lived in concealment for 100 years.
Total, 900 years and six months (or 1000 years).

The next millennium, the second human history, and the eighth of the creation, was under the sway of Dahûk, whose lineage on his mother's side is traced, by Bûnd, xxxi. 6, nine degrees from the evil spirit himself, Dahûk, the Ahûl Dahûk, the dragon with three heads, of the Avesta, who tried to seize the kingly power-substance, the khwaremâah, as it left Yima, who had become too proud owing to his happy paradise reign; but Atar, the fire, saved it for himself.

According to another tradition in the same Yashî (xix. 35), the Khwaremâah, in leaving Yima, went in three parts: one to Mithra, the second to Thrahvisna, who killed the dragon Ahûl Dahûk; and the third to Kerêasra, the great hero, who is to be the successful adversary of the kingly glory, who has the Ahriman preserved the kingly glory during the reign of the fire, until Thrahvisna comes— as in the other version, just mentioned, Atar is said to save the kingly glory, which character at the end of the Yashî, xix. 47 ll.

After the millennium of Dahûk, who is assigned...
by Bünd. xxxiv. 5 to Scorpio, the sovereignty de-

volved on Frēšān, the Thráetaona of the Avesta, the Frēšān who was of the same blood, who killed the

terrible usurper and introduced the third millen- 

nium of mankind and of the third millennium of creation. This millennium is assigned by the Beitrage zur Gesch. der Eschatologie in Zeitschr. f. Kirchenge- 

sch., xxii., of the oldest list of the Iranian kings in the Mandane Gicas: Louis H. Gray, 'The Kings of Early Iran according to the Sihri Badb, in ZA, xiv. 273 f.'

This chronological table the successors of Alexander and the Parthian kingdom until Arab. the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, occupy only 248 years, instead of at least 547. On the other hand, the Sasanians have too many, 400 years in- 

teed of 45 or 467. This double mistake is perhaps uninten- 

tional. Although the total of the historical chronology is thus shortened, the number of the Sasanian, the millennium, 

should be finished and the expected Saviour should have come, as we have seen, sixteen years before the Arabs. This millen- 

nium should in reality contain the whole history since the revelation to Zarathustra, has been a puzzle to the Zarathushtrians. The Bahman Yast, the only extant Bahman Yast, in its present form, a com- 

plicated literary history behind it, shows the difficulty caused by the old traditional statement of the sacred writings that a son of Zarathushtra should be born in a supernatural way and appear a thousand years after the beginning of the new dispensa- 

tion. The popular belief awaited rather a valiant warrior, Bahram Varšav, the Iranian Messiah. Indeed, we read in the Pahlavi Bahman Yast, ii. 44 ('Pahlavi Texts,' tr. by E. W. West, SBE v. p. 531): ‘Regarding Hūsātar is declared that he will be born in 1000.’ This must mean 1000 years after Zarathustra. That is 600 years too late—but it brings us only to the beginning of the 15th cent. a.d., according to the tradi- 

tional Zarathushtrian chronology. (See the introduction of E. W. West to his tr. of Bakhsh Yast; and Bouquet, 'Etudes zur Gesch. der Eschatologie' in Zeitschr. f. Kirchenge- 


It is evident, as E. W. West has pointed out in his most important introduction to vol. v. of his tr. of Pahlavi Texts (SBE xlvii.), that this system of chronology must have been made up long ago, but should finish the millennium of the actual history of mankind after Zarathustra. The first revela- 

tion to the prophet being dated by the Pahlavi tradition 200 years before the death of Alexander, or 300 b.c. that is about 370 a.d.

Amongst other statements and calculations to be found in the Pahlavi writings alone, the first thousand years of the last or fourth millennium, besides the short notice at the end of the Bündahishn, two have an interest for our present purpose.

(1) The Pahlavi which has been in monasteries fixed at 6000 years, Zarathustra, who was born thirty years before the end of the former 3000 years, and whose first intercourse with the celestial beings begins the second millennium, makes his appearance in the middle of human history. According to the Sad Dar, ixxxi. 4–5, it is declared in revoca- 

tion, that the founder spoke to Zarathustra thus (SBE xxiv. 345):

'I have created thee at the present time, in the middle period; for it is three thousand years from the Day of Creating, which is now, and from now till the resurrection are the three thousand years that remain. . . . For whatever is in the middle is more precious and clearer and more valuable and in the middle of the whole body, . . . and as the land of Iran is more precious than other lands, for the reason that it is in the middle.'

(2) The Dinkart, ix. 8, a compilation of the 9th cen- 

tury, renders the contents of the seventh fargart of the now lost Sūtar Nasr of the Sasanian Avesta thus (SBE xxxvii. 181):

'The seventh fargart is about the exhibition to Zarathustra of the nature of the four periods in the millennium of Zar- 

athushtra, and the golden, that in which Ahāmarmand displayed the religion to Zarathushtra. Second, the silver, in that which Vīshapāt received the religion from Zarathushtra. Third, the steel, the period within which the organism of righteousness, Ātātpēr, son of Māraspand, was born (or Arabāhr, the great champion of orthodoxy) and his father and grandfather to Zarathushtra, have been in a stream of pouring molten brass on his chest in order to prove the truthness of the Mazdayaun faith. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which there is much propagation of the authority of the apostate and other villains, as regards the capital of the earth, and destruction of the good and the holy, and the appearance of false and wicked doctrine.'

It is not possible to say how much of this account belonged to the text of the Sūtar Nasr and what is taken from its ‘zend’ (its translation and Pahlavi paraphrase, used by the compiler). The seven fargarts needed must not come more than the time after the death of the great Shāhpihr ii. in 373. His grandson Yazgird i. (389–420) was called by the priests the ‘sinner’ because of his tolerance in quarrels about religion. At all events, it is not likely that the whole scheme of the four [Metal] Ages, known in India, Greece, Rome, etc., should have been wholly introduced by the Pahlavi paraphrase. In the Pahlavi Bahman Yast, i. 6, it is expressly said that the appearance of the accursed Mazdik (the heretic who flourished during the reign of Kōbād (488–531), and who was put to death by his son Khūsru Nōshirān during ‘this time’ (the Iron Age), is mentioned in the lost Zend Avesta. This is, however, although the two of these three Yasts still ex- 

tant (the Avesta Bahman Yast being lost) do not contain anything about the matter.

In the national history of the Pahlavi Yast the historical 

pointed is a later one than in the Dinkart’s rendering of Sūtar Nasr, and three of the four Ages are applied to other epochs. The next one of the Bahman period is the Copper, and his prophet, and King Vīshapāt’s acceptance of the religion. That is the period of the last destination, which is identically identified with Artaxeres Longimanus (465–424)—perhaps including the reigns of Zerxes i., Darius ii., and Artaxeres Meneon (404–359). That of Steel is the reign of the glorious Khūsru, son of Kōbād (531–579), the greatest of the Sasanians, during whose reign the Pahlavi literature flourished (P. Jüst in Grundriss der iran. Philologie, ii. 539). In i. 21–22 there is allusion to the great merit of the Steel Age king; ‘when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdik. . . . And that which was mixed with iron is the religion of the demons with Dischevaz, the son of the king of Zahhak (1600–2400). It is evident, as E. W. West has pointed out in his most important introduction to vol. v. of his tr. of Pahlavi Texts (SBE xlvii.), that this system of chronology must have been made up long ago, but should finish the millennium of the actual history of mankind after Zarathustra. The first revela- 

tion to the prophet being dated by the Pahlavi tradition 200 years before the death of Alexander, or 300 b.c. that is about 370 a.d.
the Christian Roman empires] is utterly destroyed by this redemptive process, unseen and unknown from the beginning. The Tin Age brings us to the powerful Sassanian monarch, Bahram v. (483-498), "when he makes the spirit of darkness [impotence] a footman with the wizards [i.e., the heretics] rushes back to darkness and gloom." The Stele Age represents the personifying of Man, King Khosrow, and thus the ferocity is ironized as in the first chapter.

As we have seen, the four original Ages are the same, but before Designated Person (Bhūmat-ereta) and the three are the themes (Artsāt*es and, i.e., the steel one (= Khosrow Anoshbin) three supplementary periods are interposed between them. (2) Copper Age is out of place, probably be put before the Bronze Age. The number four is thus changed into seven.

At the end of Zarathushtra's millennium Ukhshyetrena (Pahlavi Ḫuṣhtet), 'the one who makes pity grow,' she shall be born, in a marvellous way, from the prophet's seed. When thirty years old, he enters on his ministry to restore the Religion (Bundahish, xxxiv. 8; Bahman Iแทะ, ii. 14; Dinkert, vii. 8, 51-60). The second millennium of the post-Zarathushtra trimmillennium begins. In the 5th cent. of that millennium (Dinkert, vii. 9, 3) [SBE xli. 108] the wizard Mahkāshkh, in an external fragment (Wettergaid, vii. 2) of the Avesta as Mahkāshkh, will appear for seven years, and produce a terrible winter, that will, 'within three winters and in the fourth,' destroy the greatest part of mankind and of animals.

Those winters are mentioned in the second farvârī of the Vendidad without the name of Mahkāshkh, the demon or the wizard of frost and snow. Yima, the paradise-king, is told by Ormuzd to prepare an enclosure, a erva, and to live in it himself with a chosen host of men, animals, plants, and fires, in order to be preserved during the winters that will invade the earth.

The commencement of the enclosure made by Yima is opened, mankind and animals will issue from it and arrange the world again, and there will be a time of fulness and prosperity (Dinkert, vii. 9, 31; Masūn-i Khvārd, xvii. 27-31). New beings thus come back miraculously for the restoration of the world (Daštātan-i Dink, xxxv. 95 [SBE xxvii. 109-110]).

A thousand years after Ḫoshtet, a second son of Zoroasthtra will be born, Ukhshyetrena, 'he who makes the prayer grow' (Pahlavi Ḫuṣhtet-māh). When thirty years old, he will confer with the archangels. That is the beginning of the last and perfect millennium of the world (Bundahish, xxxii. 2; Dinkert, vii. 9, 18-23). After its end the third miraculous son of the prophet shall be born in the same way by a third virgin, pregnant from the water of the lake Kausava, which holds the seed of Zoroasthtra (Bundahish, xxxii. 8; Dinkert, vii. 10, 15-18).

The usual translation of his name Avesta-reda, 'he who raises the [dead] bodies,' seems very unlikely. The second part of the name, re-da, which means in the name of the first son of the prophet 'righteousness,' being the Iranian equivalent of the Skt. rita (which appears elsewhere in the Avesta as ritah), would then be a verbal form in the third name. More probable is Earth-bahnu's rendering (Ahitvan, Wettergaid, col. 212), 'he who is the personal righteousness' or 'pious.' But the analogy with the former two names: Ukhshyetrena and Ḫuṣhtet-renakā, makes one wonder if the second part of this third name is a verbal form, an act, participle, of re-da, 'to raise;' with a preceding a. It, indeed, the initial a was long, the name might be translated, 'he who raises righteousness.'

More frequently the third expected restorer of religion is called Avesta-reda and Ḫuṣhtet-renakā, regardless whether generically in the Avesta an appellative applied to the zealous Mazda-yandites, the inerrant and incorruptible spirits. Now the last conflict breaks out: resurrection and purification open the way to eternal blissful existence. The time preceding the coming of the three restorers of faith will be marked by misery and impiety (Spend Našk, according to Dinkert, vii. 9, 23; Masūn-i Khvārd, xxvii. 9). A successive deterioration in Zarathushtra's millennium. The Pahlavi apocalypses paint the time before Ḫoshtet's coming in dreadful colors borrowed from history. At the end of the last thousand years Azhi Dāhāka will break his fetters. But, on the other hand, the end of those three Ages is described in an apocalyptic manner which devours or whatever. The Iron Age is dissolved in a terrible conflagration or whatever.
creation,' is derived, are very shortly reproduced in the following terms in the *Dinkart*, vii. 5 (SBE xxxvii. 13-14).

The Ages of the World are particulars about the maintenance of action and the production of the beneficial creatures. First, as to the ages of inanimate things, and secondly, as to the ages of living beings, and how the maintenance in the spiritual existence; and the production of the worldly existence therewith. qualified and constructed for the world, to be coexistent with the universe, and accordingly a necessary end for the end and circulation of destructiveness (West's tr.).

Zarathushtra, the holy spiritual creation (cówn Amen a sthah samaymata thasam dawz as). It shows that the complete Avesta knew the system of four times theodicy.

Except for the events at the end of Zarathushtra's millennium, the Susianian Avestas must have known all the principal features of the world-chronology now described, with its environment of the endless time.

(2) Plotarch brings us further back, about 300 b.c., but speaks only of two or three of the four periods. (B. P. 43), expressly quoting Thucydides, and adding: "Plutarch, without quoting Thucydides, says, 'The ages of the world as divided by the Babylonian historian.'"

The first part of this quotation agrees with the Mazdaznan record of the last nine thousand years (Böd. ii. 190).

Lagrange ("La Religion des Perses" in RR, 1904, p. 52) understan this age as indicating two thousand years. In modern times, the time of Ahura Mazda as ruler, another with Ahura Mazda as ruler; then follows their fight in a third and last period, ended by the battle of evil. It is possible to translate αρανίων and έκ παλαιόν in this way. But, as the phrase runs, it is more natural to apply the two 'times' to the two different millenniums mentioned. Thus the period belongs to both the following statements. The μέτοχα τας χρόνας comes, as the second 'time' of the two gods' relation, after the μετά τας χρόνας το δυτικότερον. The tr. of Lagrange has another drawback. It would be quite an isolated statement in opposition to all other records about Mazdaznan chronology.

Some slight misunderstandings may easily have been perpetrated either by Theopompos or by Plutarch in quoting him. But it seems impossible not to recognize (1) the impotence of Ahriman, (2) the victory of Ahura Mazda—marking up the well-known Mazdaznan scheme.

The second part of the quotation from Theopompos offers some difficulties. The word after qinag has been more ingeniously changed by various conjectures. The phrase should mean: "The god who has brought about these things [the defeat of Hades (identified with Άραμαθευς also by Dr. Laerz, Proser, 6) and the blessed state of mankind] keeps still and remains himself during a period not very great for the god, as it would be for a sleeping man. But the end of the phrase is not tolerable Greek, and must be corrupt in some way. The meaning compels us to think of a rest of Ahura Mazda after the consummation of the destiny of the world. Such an idea is in no way inconsistent with the opposition of the other Mazdaznan theology (Skand-gamand-gat-kar, xili. 220-222 (SBE xxiv. 237)) to the Jewish doctrine of a rest of God after the creation. But we know nothing of any such thing (the rest of Ahura Mazda, or the rest of the world, or the rest of mankind) in the Avestan texts (e.g., Xerxes, 11. 114, 110, 10, etc.). After the astrakhkert, the fulfilment of the end, Theopompos is supposed to have thought of another being, Kerapatun, who is to awake from his long sleep in order to kill the unfaithful Ashi Dahka; or of Saohshyan, "sleeping" as the prophet's holy seed in the house of Kausha waiting for his virgin mother, or of Zarathushtra, expecting at his turn the end of the desolation caused by the great winter. He may be supposed, as far as the present writer can see, the introduction of a third god, after the two enemies spoken of. But it might be that the Greek author has applied the word "duxing" as meaning a statement regarding another figure in the final drama."

The elder Pliny writes (HN xxx. 2.1), "The ages under which our clasification is made:

1. One thousand years reigned and the other was under his dominion during three thousand years. 2. During another thousand years they were equal, and destroy each other's works. 3. At the end, the war of the gods, Ahura Mazda and the king of the infernal regions and of the gods, and men should be happy, needing no food and having no shadow."
ters, and the restorers of the living world from Yima's wana—after the well-known scheme:

'Past and to come seems best; things present worst.'

(From Henry IV., iii. 169.)

It is impossible to say whether the age of the three Ages ever existed as a theory by itself. But there are several traces of the greater importance of Yima Khshathra, the radiant,' Jamsheed in pre-Zarathushrian legend. His temples are called Mani, as in the Zend Avesta. The Zend term, however, means a mandala or mandulae, p. 126 ff.). He seems to have been once considered as the first man and the first ruler. For further discussion see Soderblom, La Vie Future, 175-187.

(b) The contemporary of Iran knew a list of heroes and old rulers, which is preserved in the extant parts of the Avesta, especially in the fifth Yasht, consecrated to the goddess Ardvi Sira Anahita, in the dramatic history of the Shavenrath (the spiritual substance-power of the Iranian kingship), as given in Yasht, xiv., and in the ecclesiastical lists of saints of the Yazat, xiii. These legends have been, tout bien que mal, amalgamated with and adopted into the Zarathushrian chronology.

c) The division of the present millennium into the common Metal Ages is a combination of two systems, of which the Mazdayasnian tradition evidently adopted or borrowed the second one at a later period.

(d) The real existence of mankind from Meshya-Mashyoi until the coming of the Shoshyant, over which the final Zarathushrian chronology seems to hang, has never been stood by Thespompos as the time of fulfillment, rather than as a time of judgment and change. It is possible that the division from Meshya is earlier. That would better suit the spirit of the Gathas, where the final renovation of the world seems, in some texts at least, to be more expected.

In any case, Thespompos refers to the main contents, with the last 9000 years of the Barhista, and 4000 years of the Virdi Vivasvan, as the period to reckon 6000 years, but in a different way: 3000 for Ahura Mazda's supremacy (Gâyomart) and a millennium, and 3000 for the conflict (until Zarathushtra), the two periods being ended by the final victory and eternal bliss (and the release of the sons of Ahriman) which looks like a Jewish-Christian Sabbath of the world; cf. Ep. Barn. 15.

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*AGHORI.*—*Agnya* and the present evil Kali Age form the constant feature of periods which ebb and pass away in endless similarity. The system of periods in Iran did not unite, as in India, with the popular belief in the transmigration of souls—a belief which took a fundamental place in philo-, Gímnar, Hindóo, orthodox philosophical doctrine in Indian systems of periods.

The Mazdayasijn scheme expresses, in a somewhat scholastic way, the idea implied in the word *Khi*; that is to say, 'something happens in what happens' (E. G. Geijer, so that the intricate mass of events has a meaning and a goal beyond the actual combinations and situation. The real kernel of history is a 'forward,' not a 'see-saw,' and not a 'backward,' although it may seem so to human eyes. This profound conception has arisen only twice in the history of human thought—in the only two ancient prophetical religions, one Aryan, one Semitic—in Zarathushtrianism and in Mosaism. Neither seems to have brought it from the other. Christianity inherited it from Mosaism, and it has become prevalent in the Western civilization in the form of belief in a Divine purport in history, including the evolution, or in the redeeming crisis, and constitutes one of the most significant features and influential factors in the civilization of Europe and America, as distinguished from the great civilizations of India and of the Far East. It is so deeply rooted in the Western mind, that even so sincere and acute an admiral of and believer in the Indian conception as Schopenhauer unconsciously yields to it (cf. his *Sämmtliche Werke*, v. 224).

To have originated faith in the significance and purpose of history may fittingly be called Zarathushtra's greatest gift to mankind.


NATHAN NÖBELING.

AGHORI, AGRAPAINTH, AUGAIR, AUGAIR.—These are names applied to a sect of ascetics in India who have for a long time attracted attention on account of their habit of cannibalism and other abominable practices.

1. Meaning of name.—Their name indicates connexion with the cult of Siva, being derived from Skr. *agha*, 'not terrible,' one of the euphemistic titles of the god. *Agrapainth* means 'one who follows Siva,' or *aghar* (Skr. *paraya*) or cult of Siva in this form. The worship of Siva as Aghoríva, 'the non-terrible Lord,' is practised at a fine temple at Ikkeri, in Mysores, and in many other places.

2. Distribution.—The present distribution of the sect is facilitated by the propagation of some difficult to the Census of 1901, they number within the Empire 5530, of whom the vast majority (5185) are found in Bihar or W. Bengal, the remainder in Ajmir-Malwa, Rajpal, and Benar, with 225 in the Andaman Islands. This differs widely from the Census figures of 1891, when 630 Aghori and 4317 Angars were recorded in the United Provinces, 3877 Aghori in Bengal, and 436 Angars in the Punjab. The explanation of this disparity lies partly in the fact that, like all ascetics of the kind, they are constantly wandering from one part of the country to another to attend bathing fairs and visit places of pilgrimage. Secondly, the unpopularity of the sect doubtless induces them at the time of the Census to record themselves under other and more reputable titles. The chief centres of the sect, where a monastery (mata) of some kind was assigned to them, used in former times to be Mount Aíta, Girnár, Dodi Gáy, Benar, and Hinglaj—the last the most western to which Indian polytheism extends. But they have now disappeared from Mount Aíta, and they seem to have totally vanished from the other holy places, which, however, they still occasionally visit.*

3. History of the sect.—The first account of ascetics following the rule of the modern Aghori is found in the *Travels of the Buddhist pilgrim*, Hiuen Tsiang. He speaks of 'naked ascetics, and others who cover themselves with ashes, and some who make chapelets of bones, which they wear as crowns on their heads' (Beal, *Si-ju-wei, Buddhist Records of the W. World*, i. 55; Watters, *Yuen Cheoung's Travels in India*, i. 125). In another passage he speaks of the Kapáladhám, or 'weavers of skulls,' some of whom have no clothes, 'but go naked; and their chief, Zarathushtra, is the last of the patriarchs' (Beal, op. cit. i. 76; Watters, op. cit. i. 149). When we come to later times, we have more particular accounts of these Kapálaka or Kapáladhám (Skr. *kápdla, a skull, dhürvin, carrying*). Anandagānita, lord of the Kádi-vijaya, thus describes the Kapálaka: 'His body is smeared with ashes from a funeral pile, around his neck hangs a string of human skulls, his forehead is streaked with a black line, his hair is woven into the nattled braid, his loins are clothed with a tiger's skin, a hollow skull is in his left hand (for a cup), and in his right hand he carries a bell, which he rings incessantly, exclaiming aloud, 'Ho Sambhu, Bhai- rava, Kádi, Kádi, Kádi,' titles of Siva.' (H. H. Wilson, *Essays*, i. 264 n.). Again, the poet Bhavabhúti, who wrote in the first half of the 8th cent. A.D., in his drama *Malati and Mándhava*, Act V., gives a vivid account of the rescue by Mándhava of his mistress from the clutches of the Aghora Ganthá, who is about to sacrifice her at the altar of the goddess Chánníndá, who represents Devi in one of her most terrible forms. Within the temple the human-sacrificing priest circles in his Tantric dance round his victims, while he invokes the goddess, round whose neck is a garland of human skulls (Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindoos*, ii. 55; Prazeres, *Hist. India*, i. 135). A vivid description of this Kapálaka-vrata, or worship of the terrific forms of Siva and his consort Durgá, is given in the *Prabodha Chandrayana*, or 'Moon of Intellecg' (Eng. tr. J. Taylor, 38 ill.). In the *Dabistàn* (Eng. tr. Shen-Troyer, i. 120), the author of which died about 1670, we have an account of the sect of the Yógis, who know no prohibited food, . . . They also kill and eat men. There are some of this sect, who, having mixed their excretions and filtered them through a piece of cloth, drink them, and say that such an act renders a man capable of great affairs, and they pretend to know strange things. There is the performance of this act Attis and also Achkot. They have all originated from Goraknáth. The author of this work saw a man, who, singing the customary song, sat upon a corpse, who was not unbaptised, and who convicts men of dissipation, and then ate the flesh of this; that act they hold extremely meritorious. Goraknáth is the great medieval Hindu saint, of whom many

* Havell, in 1905, found an Augar at Benares seated in a stone cell raised high above the burning-ground, and identified him as a repentant robber, but this black-robed ascetic, who is shown in the photograph studying a sacred book, proved to be a cunning trickster. He bestowed his blessing on a supposed pilgrim tourist, but contemptuously refused to accept a present (Beaman, *The Sacred City*, 1910).
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marvellous tales are told, and from whom some of the yoj Orders trace their origin."

4. The sect in modern times.—There are numerous accounts of the disgusting practices of these ascetics in modern British India, but whose Travels were republished in London in 1687, alludes to what was apparently a community of Aghori cannibals, who during his time were established at a place which he calls Dehob, on the Brahuc, died in the Bourbon Presidency; but his statements must be received with caution. Ward (View of the Hindoos [1815], i. 373) mentions, among other ascetics, the 'Ughorni-panthi'.

'These mendicants, born in the western parts of Hindootham, wander about naked or nearly so, carrying in the left hand a human skull containing brain and ordure, and a pan of burning coals in the right. If these marks of self-denial do not extort the alms they expect, they proceed to eat the ordure out of the skull, in the presence of the persons from whom they are begging."

Toil (Travels in W. India [1830], p. 33 ff.) gives a vivid description of a colony of Aghori at Mount Abu (where they群e up the base of the most famous of the naked temples), named Fatehpuri, was finally, by his own instructions, immured in the cave which he had occupied for many years. A native gentleman informed Toil that a short time previously, when he was conveying the dead body of his brother to the burning-ground, an Aghori begged to be allowed to remove the corpse, saying that it would make excellent chutney (chhati), the relish used with curry. He further refers to another fellow of a like stubbornness, who, when asked by a person, whether he was an Aghori, answered in the affirmative, and then added, 'yes, but I was not successful with the charms. This much I do, I eat and drink out of a human skull. I also eat the flesh of every dead animal, with the exception of the horse, which we are forbidden to devour; all my brethren do eat the flesh of all dead animals but the horse."

It has been a subject of much debate why the flesh of the horse is specially prohibited. Some have believed that the reason is that the Hindoo, especially the horse (ghora) may be con- nected by its members with the title of the sect. But this seems hardly probable. On the other hand, the horse has never been a sacred animal in India, and its sanctity possibly dates from a period earlier than that of the cow. In the Vedas, horse and cow-ascendric, it is regarded as an emblem of Virâj, the primal and universally manifested Being, and even at the present day there is considerable evidence of the sanctity of the animal (Celebrooks, Essays, ed. 1555, 36; Cooke, Pop. Religion, ii. 284 ff.). As a coincidence it may be noted that Pliny (H.N. xxvii. 8) specially points out that the horse used in public ceremonies the france was forbidden to touch it.

6. Relations of the Aghori to other Hindu sects.—The Aghori are naturally so reticent about their sectarian organization that their relation to other Hindu sects is as yet imperfectly known. The sect in modern times, or at least that branch of it which has its headquarters at Benares, assigns its origin to one Kini Ram, who was initiated by one Kâlu Râm, an ascetic from Gînarâ, towards the close of the 18th cent. (Crooke, Tribes and Castes, i. 26). Hence they are sometimes known under the title of Kînâ-Râm. The Kînâ-Râm is religiously held by the Aghori as closely allied to the Paramâna, who

is solely occupied with the investigation of Brama, of spirit, and who is equally indifferent to pleasure, to heat or cold, and incapable of satiety or want. Agreeably to this definition, individual members of this sect are to have attained such a degree of perfection; in proof of it they go naked in all weathers, never speak, and never indicate any natural want; what is brought to them they dispose of it to the nearest mendicant, or else the person, is received by the attendants, whom their supposed sanctity or a confederation of interest at the time, those attendants are fed and served on all occasions, as if they were as helpless as infants" (Wilson, Essays, i. 222).

Another sect of the Aghori, the Munshi William, who displays an equal disregard of the decrees of life, is the Sârângi (Crooke, op. cit. iv. 262). But the dis-
regard of the ordinary needs of life shown by these two sects is very different from the abominable practices of the Aghori. Their relations, again, to the Aghar yopis of the Punjab have not been clearly ascertained. It would seem that to the general Hindoo, little of the latter, the former added the occasional eating of human flesh and filth.

7. Cannibalism and eating of filth.—The questions of importance in connexion with the Aghori are: the eating of human flesh and filth; secondly, the use of the human skulls from which they eat and drink. The practice of human sacrifice and cannibalism in India has always been chiefly associated with the rites of the Sakti worshippers of Devi, the Mother-goddess, in one or other of her various forms, as Kali, Durga, Chamundi, and others. This cult is supposed to have had its origin in E. Bengal or Assam about the 5th cent. A.D. The Kalka Purana distinctly recommends the immolation of human beings, for which at the present time pigeons, goats, and, more rarely, buffaloes are substituted. It may be suspected that Hindunism, in the form of Brahmanism, assimilated some of the customs of the Medi-Aryan races; but from the place of its origin it is more probable that these practices were adopted from the E. tribes rather than from the Brahils, to whom they have been ascribed. (Hopkins, Calcutta, 400, 580). According to other (Census, Census Rep. Bengal, 1901, i. 181 f.).

Human sacrifice in this ritual form still prevails in dark corners of the land, as in Assam, and the more remote forest tracts of the Himalaya central hill ranges (Cal., Census, 1901, i. 80; Crooke, Pop. Rel. ii. 169 f.). With this side of Hindunism the Aghori sect is closely connected. There are, again, as in the case of the Sradha, or annual festival of the dead, fairly obvious survivals of the primitive custom of the sacrificial eating of the dead, as well as that of devouring the bodies of old or eminent persons for the sake of keeping in the family their valor out of their virtues (Hari-land, Legend of Persuas, ii. 278 f.). But none of these motives accounts for the cannibalism of the Aghori.

It is perhaps possible to account for these practices in another way. We find among some savage races instances of wizards or medicine-men eating substances which are in themselves disgusting and revolting, or poisonous or medicinal in nature, with a view to enhancing the spiritual exaltation of the eater.

Thus, according to Hudson (Report Cambridge Exped. v. 221), at Malakog in Torres Straits, the Maidigbi, or sorcerer, makes a practice of eating anything that was disgusting and revolting in character, or poisonous or medicinal in nature, not only during the course of instruction, but subsequently whenever about to perform a special act of sorcery. For instance, they were said to eat flesh of corpses, or to mix the juices of corpses with their food. One effect of this diet was to make them "wild" so that they did not care for any one, and all affection temporarily ceased for relatives, wife, and children; and on being angered by any of them they would not hesitate to commit murder. In parts of Melanesia, according to Cobbington, Magic, or spiritual exaltation, is gained by eating human flesh; and in this way people obtain the power of becoming vampires, the ghost of the corpse which was eaten entering into friendly relations with the eater (JAI x. 305; Melanesians, 223). In Central Africa, according to Maclean, witches and wizards feed on human flesh, and any one eating a morsel of such food becomes himself a wizard (JAI xii. 107). Among nearly all the native cannibals there is a lingering suspicion that the sorcerer, or person desiring to become a sorcerer, is a corpse-eater, a ghoul who digs up the bodies of the dead. People cursed with this disease are calledGanders (JAI xii. 267), or in Uganda called Basent (Johnston, Uganda, ii. 587, 621 f.).

The same story is repeatedly told of witches in India. According to Buchanan, eating human flesh gain the power of flying in the air and performing other wonders (Tawney, Katha-sarat-siara, i. 390). In the same country the same thing is told in India (Punj. Notes and Queries, ii. 75; Temple-Steel, Wanderer's Stories, 418). Even at the present day the OjI negmaine in Malabar are said to eat filth as a means of acquiring power (Fawcett, Bulletin of the Madras Museum, iii. 217).

8. Use of human skulls as cups and vessels.—The same motive possibly accounts for the use of the human calveria for purposes of eating and drinking. In many places, moreover, believers attach special magical qualities. Thus, among the Wadood of E. Africa, at the appointment of a chief, a stranger is killed, and the skull of the victim is used as a drinking-cup at the inauguration rite (Mois, ii. 61). The new priest of the king of the Baganda drinks out of the skull of his predecessor, whose ghost thus enters into him (JAI xxii. 45). In the same way the Zulus make the skull of a noted enemy into a bowl for holding the "charming-medicines" with which the war-doctor sprinkles the soldiers before a campaign (ib. xix. 255). Similarly, in the Indian Himalayas, the skulls of some women killed in a snowstorm were made into cups for summoning demons (Waddell, Among the Himalayas, 401). In these and in many other instances of the practice collected by Balfour (JAI xxv. 347 f.), it is clear that the skull has been carefully preserved, and that the custom was not that of some person, or of one whose death has occurred under tragic circumstances. The custom of the Aghori, if it originated in this way, appears, therefore, in a delusional form, for they do not seem to exercise any special care in selecting the skulls which they use. Several bowls of this kind, procured in India, Aschanti, Australia, China, Tibet, and the lower Himalayas, have been figured and described by Balfour (JAI xxv. 353), but none of them was ever used in Tibetan devil-worship, as well as a drawing of a modern Tibetan hermit, an exact representation of the Aghori, drinking out of such a bowl (Lhasa and its Mysteries, 220, 320, 243, 570). In fact, Tibet, with its remarkably considerable of immured hermits described by Waddell (op. cit. 257 f.), appears to exhibit more closely than even modern India the course of austerity practised by the early Hindu ascetics. The veracity of the modern Aghar yopis or sanagni proves that austerity is not a part of his way of life.

This habit of using skulls as drinking-cups shows itself even in Europe. A legend of the old Germans, and Livy (viii. 24) tells the same tale of the Celts. Pantus Diascorides (Lan-ge, 120) figures a picture of a Saracen, or an Arab, who met his death when he insisted on his son drinking out of a cup made of the skull of her father. It is still a common belief that epilepsy may be cured by drinking out of a cup made from the skull of a suicide (Folk-lore, vii. 376, xiv. 310; Anderson, Pict in the Present, 151; Rogers, Social Life in Scotland, ii. 255). The powder made from human skulls, and even the grass growing on them, are valued as a styptic in cases of hemorrhage (Black, Folk Medicine, 90).

9. Punishment of Aghori.—There are numerous cases of members of the sect convicted in modern times by Indian courts of law, on charges of eating human flesh and using human skulls.

In 1862 the Sessions Judge of Ghazi-Apur in the United Provinces convicted and sentenced an Aghori to one year's rigorous imprisonment, under sections 327 and 328 of the Indian Penal Code, for having used a human skull as a cup along a road. A similar case, in which cannibalism was proved, occurred at Rohilk in the Panjab in 1882, and in Delhi Durah of the United Provinces in 1884. In 1888 a case of human flesh on an island in the Ganges. Several skulls, one of which had been recently severed from the trunk, were found

* In Nepal, Buchanan Hamilton saw people using human skulls as drinking-cups, and drinking spirits out of human skulls, until they dined in a state of drunken excitement, which was said to increase the effects from imbibition (Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, 39).
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impeled on bamboo posts round his hermitage (PASB iii. 299 l., 300 ff.).

10. Initiation rites of the Aghori.—Ascetic Orders usually adopt the methods of initiation and the formula which is whispered in the ear of the neophyte. Hence the accounts of the initiation rites of the Aghori are, from their general un-popularity, most trustworthy. According to one, and that perhaps the most authoritative account, the guru, or head of the Order, blows a conch-shell accompanied by rude music performed by a hired band. He then, with a human skull and pours the contents over the head of the candidate, whose hair is then shaved by a barber. The neophyte next drinks some spirits and eats food which has been collected as alms from the lowest castes, and assumes the ochre-coloured, scanty waist-cloth, and the stick of the ascetic. During the rite the guru whispers mystic formulae (maatra) into the ear of his disciple. In some cases it is reported that one of the bones of a snake and the other of the vertebra of the cobra, are placed round the neck of the disciple (PASB i. 551). According to a third account, the initiation takes place in Benares at the tomb of Kinna Ram, the founder of the Order, on which cups of hemp liquor (bhang) and spirits are placed. Those who wish to retain their caste drink only the hemp; those who solicit complete initiation drink both the hemp and spirits. A sacrifice of fruits is then made on the holy fire, which has continued lighted since the days of Kinna Ram, and an animal, usually a goat, is sacrificed. It is believed that the victim often comes to life, and that the cups on the tombstone miraculously raise themselves to the lips of the candidates for admission into the Order. The rite ends with the shaving of the head of the neophyte, the hair being previously moistened with urine, and a feast is given to the assembled brethren. Full admission to the Order is said to be granted only after a probation lasting twelve years.

11. Dress and appearance.—The Aghori, of whom photographs were collected by Leith for the Anthropological Society of Bombay, is represented as wearing front marks denoting the unity of the deities Brahma, Vieni, and Siva. He seems to wear frontal marks denoting the unity of the deities Brahna, Vieni, and Siva. He wears the rosary of Kudriiksha beads made of the seeds of the tree Elcereus ganitrea; a necklace made of bones, and the tasks of a wild bear, and carries a skull in his hand. Some members of the Order are said to wear necklaces made of human teeth (PASB iii. 345 ff.).

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities have been quoted in the course of this article. The most complete accounts of the sect are those of H. Balfour, "The Life History of an Indian Fanak," JAI xxxv. [1897] 347 ff.; H. W. Barrow, "Aghori and Tribes of the Upper Ganges," 2 vols. (1895) PASB iii. [1895] 197 ff.; Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Provinces (1896), i. 26 ff.; W. Crooke.

AGITATION.—1. The methods of the agitator are usually considered to be a modern phenomenon, although this is not an entirely accurate view of the case. All that has been done for the conditions of social life have recently become as much to bring his labours into startling prominence. It is possible to trace the rudiments of this device far back into the past, since the ringer of the tocsin bell, the lighter of the fire that fed the bearer of the flaming torch may fairly be regarded as the predecessors of the runners of a Massini or a Shaftesbury. But there is a pregnant distinction. The message of the tocsin bell in medieval Florence was an agitating one, but it was single, and it did not announce a bare fact, but conveying no new idea. A developed agitation, on the contrary, depends almost entirely on popularizing a new thought; it applies fresh moral judgments to events which may have been familiar enough. The present writer has elsewhere described this instrument of collective action as 'an attempt to act meditatively on social abuses by acting directly on a social conscience' (History of Eng. Philanthropy, p. 172). Even in this, its developed form, agitation can be discovered in so-called ancient as well as in modern history. Whether judged by its results or by the splendid vigour of its onset, no greater agitation has been witnessed than the propagation of Western society by the enthusiastic promulgation of the Christian faith. Nor is any more instructive description of the effect of the agitator's art to be found than that which have turned the world upside down are come hither also' (Ac 17).

Nevertheless, agitation is characteristic modern. There is not much opportunity for its successful use, unless a 'public opinion' exists to which its appeal can be directed. Public opinion itself has existed in some shape for many centuries, but it continually gains in power and effectiveness. In the more definite form of what Professor Dicey calls 'law-making public opinion' it is now evolved except in the more progressive nations. The formation of public opinion in its modern sense has been referred to the era of the first printing-presses, and its mature growth to that of the periodical press (Taine, L'Opinion et la Fonte, pp. 7-9). This is also the period of democracy, and it is precisely in democratic societies that agitation is found to be a potent and familiar weapon. We have to appraise its ethical value. If we are to do this with any precision, we shall be compelled to limit the range of the discussion, and to treat not all agitations, but only one leading group. The present article, then, is immediately germane to agitation as an instrument of the humanitarian spirit, and may require some modification in details before being applied to purely political movements, as for the franchise, or class struggles, as of Trade Unionism.

2. The most obstinate labour of public life is to make institutions (e.g. laws or customs) match with the ethical ideal. The agitator's function is to facilitate the task. Accordingly, any good agitation should possess the following characteristics:

(1) It is the antithesis of quietism, for it is necessarily based on the conviction that objects of social concern are the proper concern of the individual also; it denies the distinction between public and private interests, and asserts the duty of each to share in the life of all. It is directed to the removal of abuses; but, so far from being caused directly by the existence of a wrong, it springs from the perception of the evil. Successful agitation is, therefore, an index of moral sensitivity. Men treated animals with cruelty long before the Kindness to Animals campaign began (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals A.D. 1824). (2) Agitation is a leading method of popularizing higher moral standards. In the instance just referred to, the matter of judgment was simple enough. Frequently, however, the full significance of the wrong is only discovered only in the course of the agitation itself. This was notably the case with Prison Reform and
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Factory Legislation, so that what was at first a goal to be reached becomes repeatedly the starting-point for fresh effort. (3) Agitation appeals to the emotions and prejudices more than to reason. Agitation creates sympathy and sympathy creates the society of imagination. Most of us live largely in a world of personal aims purified and enriched only by consideration for the aims of a few neighbours. Indubitably marked by many (not necessarily poor) sympathies strikes the inpetus of a larger claim. It may be a Dreyfus affair, the appeal for justice to one;* or Emancipation, the appeal of the enslaved Negro race; or the ideal of Italian unification. Individual sympathy instances are stirred into the larger realm of public sympathy. (4) Agitation is a morn of social peace. This is in the nature of paradox, because the first result is always controversy and strife. But even in the turmoil something is gained when social imagination is stirred. Through the effort to remove particular wrong there emerges forefeeling of and admiration for the ideal human society in which recklessness of its attainment is regarded. Opposed to the bad is one form of loyalty to the good, and those who enter on the conflict prepare the type of mind fit for the better life of social peace.

There are other forms of Agitation. The illusion of Agnosticism, as the name, was originated by Ferrier (pp. 50-51, 406, 435). Agnosticism is intended to meet the plea by which Ontology is often baffled, that Absolute—being which that truly is—may be something of which we are ignorant (pp. 60, 406-408). This plea is met by showing that ignorance is an intellectual defect, and must, therefore, admit of a possible remedy. Consequently we cannot be ignorant of anything which cannot possibly be known. We cannot, for example, be ignorant of two straight lines enclosing a space. To be ignorant of them would imply that our ignorance might possibly be removed, and that they might be shown to be coincident, that they are contradictions, absurdities; and therefore also they cannot be things of which we are ignorant. For the same reason, matter by itself, that object which is not related to conscious intelligence, contradicts the very nature of knowledge. It is something which we cannot possibly know, and therefore cannot be ignorant of. Accordingly the conclusion of Agnosticism is that the only existence that we can be said to be ignorant of, is like the real object of all knowledge, not what is commonly spoken of as an object in contradistinction from a subject, but that object in relation to an intelligent subject by whom it is known. Thus matter and mind, some object plus some subject, is the complete object of all ignorance as well as of all knowledge (p. 432).

From this the ontological inference is that, as Absolute existence must be either that which we know or that of which we are ignorant, it cannot be an object by itself or a subject by itself, but must always be a synthesis of the two (pp. 511-521).

The Agnosticism of Ferrier is thus by anticipation a critique of the system which soon afterwards came to be known as Agnosticism (q.v.). Ferrier's work appeared six years before Spencer's exposition of Agnosticism in his First Principles, and it is not clear whether it was alluded to in the system its unclassical name. Yet neither of these writers has attempted to grapple with Ferrier's critique, and in the vast literature of Agnosticism the critique has failed to receive the recognition which it certainly deserves. There is, therefore, no work to be consulted for Agnosticism besides the Institutes of Metaphysics. The above references are to the pages of the 3rd edition (1873).

AGNOSTICISM.—I. Meaning. — The origin of the term is described by Huxley as follows:

*When I reached intellectual maturity, and began to ask myself serious questions, I was an atheist, a materialist or naturalist; a materialist or an idealist; a Christian or a freethinker, I found that the more I learned and reflected, the less real was the animal I used to be. Last I came to the conclusion that I had neither art nor part with any of these denominations, except the one in which I stood; the one thing in which most of these people were agreed was the one thing in which I differed from them. They were quite sure that they had attained a certain 'gnosis'—had come to a correct and successful knowing of the object of existence; while I was quite sure I had not, and had a pretty strong conviction that the problem was insoluble. I was a Christian, an idealist, and Kant on my side, I could not think myself presumptuous in holding that by that opinion. This was my situation when I had the good fortune to find a place among the members of that remarkable confraternity of antagonists, long since deceased, but 'of green and pleasant mien,' the Metaphysical Society. Every variety of philosophical and theological opinion
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was represented there, and expressed itself with entire open-
ness; most of my colleagues were of one sort or another; and,
however kind and friendly they might be, I was never
nobody could be prevailed on to join me in it, and I
had to fall back on my own resources. I adopted the
very head as suggestive of what the "gnostic" of Church
history, who professed to know so much about the very
thing I was ignorant of, and I took the earliest opportunity of
parading it at our society, to show that I, too, had a tail, like the
other foxes. But in the great general and fundamental
doctrine of the Spectator had stood godfather to it, any suspicion in the minds
of respected persons as to whether I might have awakened was, of course, completely nullified" (Collected Essays, vol. I, pp. 239, 240).

Mr. E. H. Harton has given a slightly different account; he
states that the word was 'suggested by Professor Huxley at a
party held previous to the formation of the now defunct Meta-
physical Society, at Mr. James Knowles' house on Clapham
Common, one evening in 1860, in my hearing. He took it from
St. [What, after all, do we know of 'the unknown God'?" (Maur-
ray's New English Dictionary).

The inscriptions on the altar of the 'unknown', not 'the unknowable God' (ἀγνωστός το θεόν), and the term 'agnostic' is said to be ling-
guistically incorrect. The Gnostics of Church History are often called in contempt of these
they opposed their extravagant speculations to the his-
torical testimony of the Church; and in opposing
Agnosticism to the knowledge of God claimed by Christian
theology, Huxley suggests that it is an equally baseless fabric. There was no necessity
for the introduction of the new term, as the familiar term 'scepticism' is almost synonymous with it,
although Agnosticism restricts its doubt to a nar-
wrowing sphere, and with the possibility of a
knowledge is denied, but only the possibility of any know-
ledge of ultimate reality. This restriction the
term does not, however, indicate; nor has Huxley
proved his right to impose on the term this arbit-
rary restriction. The identity also of the ac-
count must produce a painful impression.

It is as a refuge from the dread of Materialism that Huxley offers us this doubt of Agnosticism.

"It is in itself of little moment whether we express the
phenomena of matter in terms of spirit, or the phenomena
of spirit in terms of matter—each statement has a certain relative
truth. But with a view to the progress of science, the material-
listic terminology is in every way to be preferred. For it
necessitates the other phenomena of the universe . . .
whereas the alternative, or spiritualistic, terminology is utterly
barren, and leads to nothing but obscurity and confusion of
ideas. Thus there can be little doubt that the future and
advances, the more extensively and consistently will all the
phenomena of Nature be represented by materialistic formulae and symbols (Collected Essays).

In the supposed interests of science he is pre-
pared to sacrifice the real interests of morality and
religion, although in determining the mode of ex-
plaining the world these suppositions are of the
life of man have surely a prior right to be taken
into consideration. Not only so, but he assumes that
the supposed point of 'spirit,' science will not
get its due, whereas an idealized point of 'spirit'
has no interest in traversing the conclusions of science
in its own sphere—the explanation of phenomena.
It is only when science attempts to be a philosophy
of ultimate reality as well, that it comes into neces-
sary conflict with a spiritualistic interpretation of
the universe. If all the phenomena of the Uni-
verse are known only as they exist for thought, it
is not necessary to connect thought with these
phenomena by reducing it to them, for there
must ever be the essential connexion between the
and them of the subject which the
and the objects which are known. Thought is not an alien
in the Universe to be made at home only by a
proof of its kinship with the material phenomena it
knows. Nay, rather it alone holds the secret of relationship with the
objects which
be given in the materialistic terminology. Life
and Mind alike cannot be resolved into matter and
force. This line of criticism belongs to the
article on MATERIALISM; but it was necessary to indicate it so far in order to show on what
unproved assumptions Huxley's agnosticism rests.
The materialistic explanation, even he recognizes,
cannot be accepted as a solution of the problem of
ultimate reality. It is because he refuses to treat
doctrine seriously as it is held
the model of the spiritual forces, and that
the spiritualistic, explanation, which does offer the solution, that he
is compelled to assume, and even to make a boast
of, his attitude of non-conformity.

2. Hume.—To understand Agnosticism as the
modern phase of scepticism, it is not necessary to
go further back than Hume, to whom Huxley
confidently appeals. 'The fundamental doctrines of materialism, like those of spiritualism and
most other 'isms,' he outside the limits of philosophical
inquiry; and David Hume's great service to
humanity is his irrefragable demonstration of what
these limits are. Whether the thought which
is as irrefragable as Huxley thinks, we may inquire.
Hume reduces all the contents of consciousness to
perceptions, and divides perceptions into 'im-
pressions' and 'ideas.' The former include 'all
our sensations, passions, and emotions which are
given us with a peculiar 'force and liveliness' by
which we distinguish them from the latter, which
are but their faint copies. In thinking, we connect
impressions and ideas with one another, by such
conceptions as causality and substance and subject.
These cannot be derived from our sensa-
tions, the ultimate and exclusive source of knowl-
dge. How does Hume reconcile these con-
ceptions? He derives all such conceptions from
custom. 'Because we are accustomed to see that
one thing follows another in time, we conceive the
idea that it must follow, and from it; of a relation
of succession we make a relation of causality' (Schwegler's Hist. of Philos. p. 183). That any
such connexion necessarily exists we have no
right to affirm. 'All events,' Hume says, 'seem
entirely loose and separate. One event follows
another, but we can never observe any tie between
them. They seem conjoint, but never connected' (Works, A. C. Black, 1854, iv. p. 84).
"Necessity," he says elsewhere, "is something that exists in
the mind, not in the objects" (p. 212). He has
attempting to offer an ultimate reason for this
custom, he recognizes it as a universal principle of
human nature. Substance is explained in a similar
way. 'The idea of substance is, of itself, nothing
but a collection of simple ideas, that
are united by the imagination, and have
a particular name assigned to them, by which
we are able to recall to our minds that
collection' (p. 31, 32). A consequence of
this definition of substance is the denial of
the reality of the external world. 'The opinion of
external existence, if rested on natural instinct, is
counter to reason, and, if referred to reason, is
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contrary to natural instinct, and carries no natural evidence with it to convince an impartial inquirer' (Hume, § 157). "What do we call a mind," he says, 'is nothing but a heap or collection of different perceptions, united together by certain relations, and supposed, though falsely, to be capable of producing simplicity and identity' (I. 260). Such radical scepticism could not offer any solid basis for a rational theism. While Hume expressed his satisfaction that 'our most holy religion is founded on Faith, not on Reason,' Kant identified the belief in the existence of God; yet in his Natural History of Religion he sought to trace back the origin of belief in God to ignorance and superstitious fears; and in his Dialogues concerning Natural Religion there can be little doubt he endeavoured to throw discredit on the theistic evidences. This apparently inconsistent position may be explained by the fact that his own scepticism, in spite of his philosophical rationalism, is not the scepticism of Hume who so frankly and boldly drew from them, was not absolute, but mitigated; for he recognized, in practical life at least, 'the strong power of natural instinct' and common beliefs, for which no rational proof could be given.

3. Kant.—Although Kant set himself the task of answering Hume, yet his answer was so incomplete that Huxley claims Kant as well as Hume on his side. Opposed to Hume's scepticism in regard to the forms of sense and the categories of the understanding, Kant himself becomes sceptical as regards the ideas of reason.

He conclusively showed that knowledge could not be reduced to sensations, and that intelligence implied in all its operations necessary conditions as well as contingent impressions. This was a substantial departure from the scepticism of Hume by proving its dependence on an inadequate and erroneous psychology. But when he proceeded to argue that the constitutive principles involved in knowledge have to do only with phenomena or states of conscious experience, and are wholly incapable of placing us face to face with things; that they have a merely subjective and relative value, but give us no information as to external reality; that, while useful in co-ordinating and unifying our perceptions, they in no degree justify our affirming that there is anything corresponding to these perceptions,—then he virtually unid his own work, and became not the conqueror, but the linear successor of Hume' (Finn, Agnosticism, p. 141).

Into the details of Kant's criticism of Hume's scepticism it is unnecessary to enter (see KANT). Sufficient it is to say that Kant has shown once for all that the connective principles, by which the contents of consciousness are combined in an intellectual and rational unity, belong to necessity of the mind itself. Scepticism cannot do without them: custom cannot bring them into being; the very possibility of consciousness depends on them; they are not casual results of, but necessary conditions for, any experience. Nevertheless he distinguishes the 'thing-in-itself' from the thing as it is for our knowledge; and thus the necessary constitution of the mind makes a knowledge of the reality as it is impossible. This sceptical element appears most prominently in Kant's treatment of the ideas of the reason. 'The mind from the very nature of its intellectual constitution necessarily assumes the unity of the soul, the existence of the universe (the totality of phenomena), and the reality of First Cause' (ib. p. 163), and nevertheless the ideas are only regulative, and not constitutive. By them we can give the rational unity to our experiences, the aim of all thinking; but we are not at liberty to regard these ideas as clues to reality, or as proofs of the existence of world, self, or God. Kant's criticism of the rational theology of the age (the cosmological, teleological, and theological) leaves the question of the category of the world of the pure concepts of the understanding. Here it need not further concern us. It is true that in his Critique of the Practical Reason he restores the ideas of God, freedom and immortality, as postulates of the moral consciousness, yet his conception of the world is theoretical in its essence. Sceptical. German idealism laid hold on the anti-sceptical aspect of the Kantian philosophy; but in more recent Neo-Kantian movements the sceptical aspects of Kant's position are more evident. Kant's position may be urged that the reason which, by its very constitution, is destitute of knowledge as it is, and which in its final unifying experience is necessarily illusive, is grotesque with the conception, that so great a thinker can be excited, its creation only on the ground that, as a pioneer in new ways of thinking, he could not himself realize whether he was allowing himself by his tortuous reasoning to be led. The division of the mind into sense, understanding, reason, is an unreal abstraction; the separation of the pure from the practical reason is opposed to more recent developments of psychology, which recognize the control of the cognizing by the covative aspect of personality. If mind be a unity, the illusiveness of the ideas of the pure reason would attach to the postulates of the practical reason; and the categories of reason and common beliefs, for which no rational proof could be given.

4. Comte.—The positivism of Comte is necessary as a reaction against that idealism, such as the positive elements of Kant's analysis forbid, be denied reality. Kant should have been more, or not at all, sceptical.

5. Hamilton.—Hamilton, although in his general philosophical position a follower of Reid, had read Kant without thoroughly understanding him,
and developed the sceptical elements in his system. While the Divine nature cannot be investigated, the
Definite relationships exclusive of each other
be conceived as possible, but of which the existence is self-limited, condition and excluded middle, one
The last and highest consecration of all true
Religion must be an altar 选址于 God. To the
unknown and unknowable God. That there is no
warrant for such an application of Absolute to
out the altar at Athens, has already been shown. If
the endeavour to think what God is in blasphe
not only all theology but even all religion must
be convicted of it. The recognition in all
humility and sincerity that God cannot be per
fectly known by the imperfect mind of man is
characteristic of all genuine piety; but that does
not involve the admission, which is something altogether
difficult to the absolute, that God cannot be
known at all unless mind must think the Infinite and Absolute, that
is, which is not the case in the former. (2)
As the only possible object of knowledge and
positive thought is the conditioned and the
limited, the Absolute as the unconditionally unlimited, and
the Absolute as the unconditionally limited cannot be
known or positively thought. But is there any
justification for so defining the Infinite and Absolute,
and still more for identifying such verbal abstractions with the conception of God? God has a
mind of His own, a mental faculisation of mind, the
operations, and to think God is not to think an
abstraction at all. His infinitude and absoluteness
mean self-limitation and self-conditioning.
Since for our knowledge and our thought all
existence, save God, is conditioned and limited by
other existence, the mind cannot find rest until it
conceives such self-limitation and self-determina
tion. It may be said that the mind not only can
but must think the Infinite and Absolute, that
is, God. (3) As has already been indicated, the
Infinite and Absolute are both so defined as to be
merely a negative thought'; but as the necessity
and legitimacy of so defining these terms have been
challenged, his conclusion that God as Infinite
and Absolute cannot be known or thought falls to
the ground. Both are positive conceptions, and
both are necessary to complete our positive think
ings about the world. Above all, conceptions of
Correlative conceptions, finite and infinite,
relative and absolute, may claim to be equally
known and mutually illuminative. (4) He concedes
that although he may not know God, yet we believe that God is an author of the universe, and
yields us 'the original data of reason.' This faith
rests on 'a mental impotency.' To state his amaz
ing argument in his own words: 'The conditioned
is the mean between two extremes—two incondi
tionates exclusive of each other, of which one
must be admitted as necessary. We are thus
warned from recognizing the domain of our know
ledge as necessarily excluding conceptions
outside the circle of the universe of God. And by a wonderful revelation we are thus, in the very consciousness of our inability to
conceive aught above the relative and the finite,
inspired with a belief in the existence of something
unconditioned beyond the sphere of all comprehensible reality' (Discussions, p. 15). It has already
been shown that the Infinite and Absolute are not
conditionates; but if they were, how can positive
thought be the mean of notions that are 'a mere
negation of thought'? How can these to there be
applied any of the laws of thought? If we cannot
define these notions, how can we affirm that they
contradict or exclude one another? Or, in fact,
how can we base any sort of argument on terms
unknowable and unthinkable? One cannot but
feel that most of this argument is merely verbal
juggling.
Mansel. Nevertheless, Hamilton found a
follower in Mansel, who adopted his philosophy
so far as he could use it for an avowedly apologetic
Christian purpose. He believed that he could best
cut the ground from under the feet of any objectors
to the Christian revelation, by showing that in these
matters human reason was quite incapable of offer
ing an opinion. He set himself to answer in the
negative this question: 'Whether the human
mind be capable of acquiring such a knowledge
as can warrant it in deciding either for or against
the claims of any professed revelation, as containing
a true or a false representation of the Divine Nature and Attributes!' (1) The first argument Mansel
advances is that reason is not entitled to criticise
the contents of revealed religion unless it can prove
itself capable of conceiving the nature of God, that
is, of constructing a philosophy of the Absolute.
The moral insight and spiritual discernment which
qualify a man to judge of a doctrine, whether it
be of God or not, are very much more general and
simple than the speculative capacity, not to say
audacity, which can and does undertake to find
out God unto perfection. (2) Having made this
demand, he seeks in his second argument to prove
that neither psychologically—from a study of the
distinctive mental peculiarities of the human
mind—nor conceptually—from a knowledge of
the nature of God—can it be met. This second argument loses its
validity with the disproof of the first. Both by
looking within and by turning without can man
get such glimpses of God as make real religion
possible; and he need not, therefore, concern himself
about the question whether he can or can not constr
uct a philosophy of the Absolute and Infinite.
(3) Having demanded a philosophy of the Infinite
and Absolute, and demonstrated its impossibility,
Mansel next concentrates attention on the conceptions
of the Infinite and Absolute, and seeks to show how contradictory they are. How can human
thought distinguish the Absolute, as one and
simple, a plurality of attributes? If the Infinite is
free of all possible limitations, how can it coexist
with the finite? The conception of God as First
Cause as involving the limitation of the Absolute
is irreconcilable with the conception of the Infinite.
But all this playing with words fails to mislead, if
we look steadily at realities and keep our eyes off
abstractions. If we define, as we may and should,
the Infinite and Absolute as the full life, mind, power, which is distinguished from rela
tive and finite existence in that it is self-conditioned
and self-limited, not determined either positively
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or negatively by that which is not itself, this whole scholastic structure falls to the ground. (4) Turning from these conceptions, Mansel then seeks by an analysis of the universal conditions of human consciousness to prove that the Infinite and Absolute cannot be its object. ‘Consciousness is the relation of an object to a subject and to other objects, but the knowledge of the Absolute precludes all such relation. Further, our consciousness is subject to the laws of space and time, and cannot therefore think the thought of a Being not likewise subject to them’ (God and the Absolute, 1855, p. 257). But to be known by a mind which He has endowed with the capacity of knowing Him is no limitation of God’s infinitude. As the Absolute, God is not without relations, but only as related to Him do all things exist, consist, persist. The consciousness of their own consciousness of time and space implies the correlative conceptions of eternity and immensity. This argument, further, is inconsistent with the claim that man may and should believe that God is, even although he cannot know what God is, as belief is a state of consciousness, even as knowledge is.

(3) Mansel denied, to state briefly some of his conclusions, the moral likeness between God and man, and thus the possibility of man’s judgment by reason or conscience what claimed to be the revealed mind and will of God; he admitted the possibility of moral as of physical miracle, that is, the suspension of the laws of right as of force; he rested the claim of the Scriptures to be accepted entirely on external evidences; he thus sought to protect the orthodoxy of his time from attack by a moral and religious scepticism, which, if taken seriously, would be fatal alike to goodness and godliness.

7. Herbert Spencer. — Herbert Spencer attaches himself in some of his arguments to Hamilton and Mansel; but his interest is altogether different from theirs. He is not seeking to protect revealed religion against attack from philosophy, but to vindicate the materialistic method of modern science as the only valid method of interpreting the Universe. His motive is not, however, irreligious, as his desire is to reconcile religion and science, and he is confident that he has called a truce to their age-long conflict. As the most influential of the exponents of Agnosticism, he claims a fuller treatment and closer criticism than any of the writers already mentioned. Following step by step his discussion of the Unknowable in his First Principles, we must consider the following questions: — (1) Does the idea of the Unknowable in science and religion, so as to be warranted in his assumption of the conception which alone can reconcile them? (2) Does the incomprehensibility of the ultimate religious and scientific ideas lie in their very nature, or only in his statement of them? (3) Is his use of the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge valid, and does it strengthen his conclusion that God is unknowable? (4) Does this reconciliation of science and religion do justice to religion?

(1) In the first chapter Spencer argues that science and religion are co-ordinate, the sphere of the one is that of the other, and that the manner in which is known to a conscious mind, and further that consciousness has the faculty of determining its own limits, and of arriving at the truth of propositions. It is a mistake of the latter that which, though in consciousness, yet transcends knowledge; that each must ‘recognize the claims of the other as standing for truths that cannot be ignored’; and that a reconciliation can be effected only by the discovery of what is the ultimate fact, and the first principle of each, is common to both. It is in the most abstract truth of religion and the most abstract truth of science that, he holds, the conception that science occupies the whole realm of the knowable, so that for religion is left only the region of the unknowable, must at once be challenged. For the self-conscious personality the categories of science — force, matter, law — are not adequate; and within the realm of knowledge — life, mind, will must be employed to which physical science does not do justice. Religion contributes a conception, God, to the interpretation of the knowable, which cannot be got rid of by this arbitrary division of the province of science into religion. Not a truth common to science and religion is what we have to look for, still less the most abstract truth; but, on the contrary, the abstractest category is that which comes next, and is corrected and corrected by the much more concrete categories of philosophy, morality, and religion. It is the same reality which science explains and religion interprets; but the explanation of science is completed in the interpretation of religion. Matter, force, law are less intelligible conceptions than mind, will, personality, God; for the self-conscious spirit of man finds itself in the latter as it cannot in the former. To confine knowledge to objects of sense and such connections between them as the understanding, with its categories of quantity, quality, relation (substance and causality), may constitute, and to exclude from knowledge the larger category, any self-consciousness, any, of a personality in man, and, above all, of the all-embracing, all-sustaining, all-directing, and all-illuminating reality, God, is altogether an arbitrary proceeding. It has already been criticized in dealing with Kant’s scepticism regarding the ideas of the pure reason. To deny all value to the knowledge religion claims is necessarily to challenge the validity of the knowledge allowed to science.

(2) Spencer’s proof in the second chapter, that science must end in nescience, and religion must be content with awe of the Unknowable, is as follows: (e) Conceptions are symbolic, when their whole content cannot at once be represented to the mind. These are legitimate, if we can assure ourselves ‘by some cumulative or indirect process of thought, or by the fulfillment of predictions based on them,’ that there are actualities corresponding to them. Otherwise they are to be condemned as vicious and illusive, and cannot be distinguished from pure fictions. Here, it is evident, he tries to limit conception to representation (Vorstellung), and to exclude the idea or notion (Begriff). But regarding this restriction, which, it must be emphatically stated, the world’s greatest thinkers have not denied because it never occurred to them to question their position. There are other questions which may reasonably be asked. Is man’s thought to be limited to what he can image to himself? Having started from sense-objects that alone knowledge of him which can be referred to sense-objects? Or, beginning with these, has he not the right, nay, does it not rest on him as a necessity of his mind, to bring into clearness of consciousness all that is implied in this rudimentary knowledge, whether the ideas so attained have corresponding images or not? Does not his own inner life furnish him with spiritual conceptions, which, although they have no corresponding sensible actualities, are not on that account any less real, any less personal interests, but even make more intelligible to him the world of sense around him, and help him to discover its meaning, worth, and aim? As Kant has sought to confine this thought and its own connective principles, which, derived from and inexplicable by experience, are yet necessary to experience. If knowledge were as Spencer re-stricts it, the connection of its possibility would be excluded from it.

(b) Having prejudged the question by this definition of the conceivable, Spencer proceeds to deal
with the ultimate religious conceptions concerning the origin and the nature of the Universe, and maintains that 'a critical examination will prove not only that no current hypothesis is tenable, but also that no tenable hypothesis can be framed' (p. 30). The Atheistic hypothesis of an existing Universe is inconceivable, as it explains one mystery by another; so is the Pantheistic, for 'really to conceive self-existence is to conceive potential existence passing into actual existence by a change in the actual.' As regards the Theistic hypothesis, the analogy with human art is properly set aside, as this does not produce its own materials. 'The production of matter out of nothing is the mystery.' Granted an 'external agency,' that must be accounted for; and we must assume 'self-existence,' and that is 'rigorously inconceivable.'

This statement calls for several comments. First, it is altogether illegitimate to identify the ultimate religious conceptions with theories of the origin of the Universe; for these theories hold a second place in Spencer. Yet religion possesses an inward witness of kinship and fellowship with God which is quite independent of them. Secondly, what Spencer endeavours to show is that the conception which God is an 'external agency,' and the solution of Christian theism combines the theory of pantheism (immanentism and transcendence) in the synthesis of a conception of God as unity-in-difference—a conception which certainly accords with the triumph of Spencer's abstractness and intelligibility, but which for many thinkers of clear vision is altogether luminous. Thirdly, theology is not required to conceive the production of matter out of nothing, as it is not committed to the assertion of an ultimate, absolute dualism of matter and spirit, which can conceive the possibility of God as Spirit. Lastly, that 'self-existence is rigorously inconceivable' is an unwaranted assertion, as dependent existence inevitably leads thought to conceive an existence on which there is dependence, but which is not itself dependent. It is evident from the analysis that explains itself can be used by the application of the category of causality, to seek for existence that does not so explain itself and is thereby an illusion.

(c) After having thus endeavoured to show that all theories of the origin of the Universe are untenable, Spencer fixes his attention on the nature of the Universe. We must assume a First Cause, which is Infinite and Absolute; and, nevertheless, these concepts, all equally necessary, are yet mutually contradictory. Here he borrows freely from Mansel, and indulges in the same verbal jugglery, the fallacy of which has already been shewn. The conclusion, which is supported by such arguments, is put forward as having the support of the religious consciousness itself. 'Not only is the omnipresence of something which passes consciousness common to all religions, but the consciousness of this common to all religions, which becomes the more distinct in proportion as they develop, and which remains after their discordant elements have been mutually cancelled, but it is that belief which the most unsparring criticism of each leaves unquestionable, or rather makes it ever clearer' (p. 45). Although it may be admitted that the conception of God has changed, as it necessarily must, since man's thought is dependent on external information; it must be maintained that the progress has been mainly positive and not negative. Growing knowledge of self and of the world does necessarily correct that which can into closer harmony with experience; but this conception of God is not less but more rational, moral, spiritual; it answers the question of the mind, the longings of the heart, and the needs of the life man must necessarily have. In fact, the religious consciousness will assuredly not sustain the contention that 'this deepest, widest, and most certain of facts that the Power which the Universe manifests is not without a self-existence.'

(d) It is not necessary for the present purpose to follow Spencer in his proof, in the third chapter, that the ultimate scientific ideas are also inconceivable; a closer examination would show that all the difficulties are due to an inadequate method of thought, which tries in vain to reduce the concrete complexity of existence to an abstract simplicity of conception. To give but one instance, he tries to prove that the self which knows cannot by itself be known, for the relativity of knowledge involves as ultimate the distinction of subject and object. But that subject and object may be discriminated, it is necessary that both be embraced in the unity of consciousness; in self-consciousness that unity is still ultimate. The meaning of being an object itself as subject; and it is mere word-play to affirm that the self cannot both be intelligible and intelligent. In fact, self-consciousness is the ideal knowledge, the perfect accord of thinking and being. Assuming for the sake of argument that the ultimate ideas of science are inconceivable, why does Spencer not draw the same conclusion for science and religion? Science with inconceivable ultimate ideas possesses the realm of the knowable; religion with inconceivable ultimate ideas must content itself with the unknowable. How can a system of knowledge be based on inconceivable ideas? And secondly, how must that be the necessary result in the other? The private ideas of religion—the phenomena of the religions life—have as much claim to be treated as data of knowledge as the perceptions of the outer world with which science deals itself. It is not so evident regarding ultimate ideas undermines science as much as religion.

(3) The argument in the fourth chapter, based on the relativity of knowledge, is borrowed from Hamilton and Mansel. The inference says Spencer, 'which we find forced upon us when we analyse the product of thought as exhibited objectively in scientific generalization, is equally forced upon us by an analysis of the product of thought as exhibited subjectively in consciousness' (p. 74).

(e) The analysis of the product of thought leads to this conclusion. 'Of necessity, therefore, our explanation must eventually bring us down to the inexplicable. The deepest truth which we can get at must be unaccountable. Comprehension must become something other than comprehension before the ultimate fact can be comprehended. This ultimate fact, he assumes, will be 'a highly general fact regarding the constitution of matter of which chemical, electrical, and thermal facts are merely different manifestations.' The method of explanation here taken for granted is entirely false. To discover that is common to all religions, and to ignore their differences from one another, is not to explain them. The logical universal does not at all account for the particulars it embraces. The abstraction man does not help us to comprehend Caesar, Paul, Luther, Napoleon. It is the most concrete unity—that which combines the most numerous and varied differences in a system within itself—that is the ultimate fact which not only explains all, but is itself explicable. Not in the divorce of existence and intelligence can thought be brought to a halt; but only in such a conception as makes reality most fully rational can its goal be found. Spencer in looking from concrete differences to an abstract unity, is looking in the wrong direction for the ultimate fact. Explanation, to be adequate, must be synthetic and not analytic; it must end not in a generalization, but in a synthesis.'

(b) In the analysis of consciousness, the relativity of knowledge is said to imply two kinds of relation—the relation of object to subject, and the relation of subjects to objects in such a fashion as to be known only in such relations. Spencer argues that it cannot be known in itself, whatever that may mean. This assumption, that the knowledge of reality adds to reality an element so foreign that
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consequently as known it is other than it is as unknown, is an absurdity which has already been sufficiently exposed. Spencer adopts Hamilton’s objection, that God as the Absolute must be known either as subject or as object, or as the indifference of both. But what forbids our thinking of God—the object conceived as God—He Himself has distinguished our consciousness from His own—as the subject which thinks all things as existent by His will? We as subjects knowing God are, for God, objects which do not limit His indwelling in us, and who are all. Because He knows us as exact in distinction from Himself by His own self-determination and self-limitation. Our intelligence which seeks God as its object, and which, on the assumption that the Universe is a manifestation and not a concealment of God, believes that it knows God, must be by God’s act delusive, if God does not manifest Himself as He is. It would require much more cogent arguments than those verbal juggleries of Spencer to convince us that God made intelligences in such wise that He Himself could never become intelligible to them. Enough has already been said to show that the notion of a consciousness in which the relativity of knowledge is used. To conceive God is not to think a Being out of all relations, but a Being whose reality is revealed in His relations, constituted by Himself.

(c) While agreeing with Hamilton in this argument from the relativity of knowledge, Spencer differs from him in asserting that the unrelated, though inconceivable, is yet a constituent element of thought. ‘Our notion of the Limited,’ he says, ‘is composed, firstly, of a consciousness of some kind of being, and, secondly, of the consciousness of the limits under which it is known. In the antithetical notion of the Unlimited, the consciousness of limits is abolished, but not the consciousness of some kind of being. It is quite true that in the absence of conceived limits this consciousness ceases to be a concept properly so called, but it is none the less true that it remains as a mode of consciousness (p. 96).’ He then tells us that this something is constituted by ‘combining successive concepts deprived of their limits and conditions’ (p. 85). Here a logical abstraction is supposed to be a reality, and even the reality that explains all; but, as already been shown, God, to explain the Universe, must be conceived as the concrete unity which embraces all differences, and relates them to one another.

Spencer hopes, in the fifth chapter, that ‘in the assertion of a Reality utterly inscrutable in nature,’ science and religion will be reconciled. Science is to admit the existence, religion the inscrutable nature of this reality. He thinks that this will not be a vain appeal, as his understanding of the history of religion is that it is developing in this direction. How mistaken he is needs no proof. The religious consciousness does recognize that the abysmal depths of the Universe cannot be fathomed by the human mind; but it does not admit that the truth about God it claims to possess is an illusion. Religious knowledge is valid and valuable, though imperfect and incomplete. Spencer requires religion to give up the conception of God as personal. ‘It is just possible,’ he says, ‘that there is a mode of being as much transcending Intelligence and Will as these transcend modes of existence. Nevertheless the insistence on interpreting the Universe which is the manifestation of the ultimate reality as mechanical notion. Rejecting the highest conceivable category as too lowly to express Divine activity, he insists on interpreting the manifestations the lowest conceivable category. He represents the inscrutable mystery as causal energy, while declining to describe it as Intelligent Will. His system is materialistic rather than idealistic. He gets rid of the absoluteness of religion to a higher but not a lower conception in interpreting the Universe. In surrendering the personality of God, religion surrenders everything; in admitting the existence of this reality, art is not in itself as a confidence that explains the world in terms of matter and motion. In this reconciliation religion loses, science gains, everything.

In the criticism of the authors passed in review the objections to Agnosticism have been stated. But a brief summary may be allowed at the close. The materialistic explanation for which it seeks to find room is inadequate to account for life, mind, morality, religion. The idealistic explanation which it seeks will not only does justice to the highest interests of life, but makes more intelligible the whole process of the Universe as an evolution of spirit. The theory of knowledge on which it rests is sceptical in its result, and this scepticism must extend to science as well as to philosophy and theology. The trust in the reason of man, on which the proof of God’s existence rests, is no exceptive to the general which the relativity of knowledge is used. To conceive God is not to think a Being out of all relations, but a Being whose reality is revealed in His relations, constituted by Himself.

AGNOSTICISM (Buddhist). — One of the most important and, in some ways, most obscure questions in Buddhism is whether the Buddha was an agnostic, in the sense that he refused to express an opinion upon a future life (transmigration) and on the state of the Buddhha after death, and prescribed only the attainment of Nirvana upon earth. We propose, in the first instance, to describe the authorities bearing upon this question, then to discuss them, and finally to draw conclusions.

I. Authorities. — 1. When Buddha is asked by King Ajātaśatru what are the actual fruits of a ‘religious life’ (or life of a monk, brahmacarya), he gives an answer in which there is nothing metaphysical. He regards the question, as his interlocutor desires, from the point of view of the present life. In the first place, the monastic state confers a great dignity on the person who assumes it. The Buddha himself has become a monk is honoured by his former master; in the same way the free man is relieved from private cares. There is, however, something better: good conduct, mastery over oneself, and clothed in sufficiency, without excess, produce a rich contentment. And there is something better still: the practice of successive ‘trances’ (dhyanas), the knowledge which accompanies them, and the annihilation of all passion, the extinction of egoism, the becoming of an arhat or of nirvāṇa upon earth—these are the sublime fruits of the monastic life.

* See the Sāmaññakathāsutta, Dīgha, i., pp. 47–56, translated by various hands. Also see, on the same subject, the words of the Buddha, pp. 56–56, with an Introduction.

† There are many charming descriptions of the happiness of life in the interest among the trees, which are more kindly and complaisant than men (see Sīkṣāsāmakahāya, ch. ix.).
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2. This sketch of the monastic life will perhaps be more correctly understood if compared with the sentiments expressed by the Buddha when he is questioned on metaphysical subjects. The examples are numerous, and at times widely divergent. We shall confine ourselves to a discussion of the most remarkable. Perhaps the most characteristic is that related in the Mahāvagga, thus: The Buddha is asked: "Do you teach the doctrine of annihilation [that is to say, that there is no life after death, and no future retribution for the deeds done upon earth]? Is that true?" The teacher answers: "There is thus a kind of play upon words; and this passage, in which the problem of the future life is curtly dismissed, confirms the impression left by the dialogue as summarized above.

3. In the 'Net of Brahmā' the Buddha enunciates a series of propositions, of which some at least are of historical and doctrinal worth. They are presented to us in a series of three parts, and, while some are more specifically condemned, the series as a whole is rejected. The following is the order:
   (1) The universe and the soul are eternal (ākāśavāda) in the sense that they have had no beginning,—a belief founded upon the fact that some sages have memory of their previous existences.
   (2) The universe and the soul are, at one and the same time, eternal and non-eternal, either because Brahmā, the creator of the universe, has neither beginning nor end, while other beings are perishable, or because the soul is eternal and the body perishable.
   (3) The universe is (a) limited in space, (b) unlimited, (c) unlimited at the sides and limited towards the top and the bottom, (d) neither limited nor unlimited (the contradiction is not explained).
   (4) It is possible to refuse to choose between four propositions (affirmation, denial, simultaneous affirmation of the affirmative and negative, simultaneous denial of the affirmative and the negative) with reference to (a) the existence of another world, (b) the reality of 'apparitional beings,' (c) the fruit of actions, (d) the renewed life of the man who is set free from desire, i.e., of the arhat. The Buddha says that each of these is a sign of sanctity and sophistry. Teachers of such doctrine are 'slippery as eels.'

4. The soul has no cause, that is, it appears in the present world without having passed through a previous existence. In the same way the present evolution of the universe has had no antecedents.

5. The soul has, after death, (a) conscious existence, conceived under sixteen different aspects; (b) unconscious existence, under eight different aspects; (c) existence neither conscious nor unconscious, under eight different aspects; or (d) it is annihilated at death (seven distinct theories, corresponding to seven classes of souls).

6. Some maintain that the soul is attained in this life (dīttadhammanibbāna), conceived as the possession either of the pleasures of the senses, or of the first, etc., up to the fourth century (dītga).

These opinions regarding the past and the future are theories (dṛṣṭi-buddhipatā).† The Buddha knows the consequences which they entail upon those who accept them; they form the net in which the man of wisdom is caught; however, he believes himself to be eternal! The Buddha knows far better things, viz., the origin and the end of sensations, and the means of escaping them. He ends by saying that he has destroyed every germ of re-birth in himself; so long as his body lives, it is seen by gods and men; after his death neither gods nor men will see him.

4. Of all the questions raised in the 'Net of Brahmā' only ten are found in the Majjhima Nikāya, i. 420.§ These are especially important, for with slight modifications they constitute the list of fourteen questions to which no reply is allowed.
   (1) Eternity of the universe: Is it eternal? Is it non-eternal?
   (2) Infinity of the universe: Is it infinite? Is it finite?
   (3) The vital principle (jīva) and the body: Are they identical? Are they non-identical?
   (4) Continued life of the Tathāgata, i.e., the arhat, the saint, 'he whose thought is emancipated': Does he survive death? Does he not survive? Must we assert of such an one at the same time survival and non-survival of death? Must we deny both?
   (5) Malunkya is sufficiently curious to insist on obtaining an answer to these questions, which he regards as fundamental. The Buddha refuses to reply. He has withheld information on questions of the eternity or otherwise of the universe,

   * As a matter of fact, the pseudo-Buddhism of the Tantras identifies supreme bliss or nirvāṇa with sexual enjoyment.

† Strictly speaking, the possession of the fourth fringe is not 'nirvāṇa upon earth,' because this possession is a momentary one. But we may assume that this definition of 'nirvāṇa upon earth' is very like the ordinary conception of nirvāṇa.

§ That is to say, erroneous views and speculations; not that there may not be, in certain cases, a soul, a body, a conscious future life, a 'nirvāṇa upon earth,' but this past and this future are not the past and future of an ego given as permanent. This conclusion follows the Mahāvagga, xxvii., and the dogmatic teaching of the Pāli Suttas.

Chinā-malunkya-sūtra, translated by Warren, Buddhist in Translations, p. 117, and by Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 574. See also 'Mahāvāsa,' in Dialogues, p. 151.

The fourteen 'unelucidated topics' (avyākta-cutavasa) of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature are the same as these, with the addition of four concerning the eternity and the infinity of the universe (viz., is it at one and the same time eternal and non-eternal? or is it neither eternal nor non-eternal?), and the difference that the questions concerning the Tathāgata precede those on the vital principle (see below, p. 224, note 1).

Oldenberg has proved that, in many cases, 'world' must be interpreted as the 'ego' (Buddha, p. 271, Fr. trans. p. 260). In any case loka means sattavelokā, world of the living, and not bhūtvādāloka, world-receptive of living beings. On the other hand, we have seen that 'eternal' is equivalent to 'without beginning.' It is noteworthy that the Sanskrit authorities define 'finite' as 'having no end in time,' contrary to the interpretation of the Sutta quoted above. The questions, then, regarding infinity, will be interpreted to mean: 'Do beings attain nirvāṇa?' Will there be anything in the world of living beings attain nirvāṇa, while others will not? Is it false to say that some beings attain nirvāṇa and others that do not?

As regards the relations of the jīva and barīra, it is difficult to determine the original meaning of the words and the teaching of the question. Certainly nothing is more alien to Buddhist doctrine than to identify the 'jīva' with the body (jīva-dhyāna). With the body by jīva Buddhism understands the personal and so-called permanent principle denoted by the technical word pādavī. It has been stated, therefore, that the 'element of form,' and, by extension, the other skhandhas (body-element) differ from the previous sāttvika, which consists in the very remarkable fact that the Buddha, on the subject of the jīva-barīra, condemned both the denial and the affirmation of their identity, but was silent upon the doctrine of 'Neither identity and non-identity' and 'neither identity nor non-identity,' the
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e
c, because knowledge on this point does not help in any way towards the annihilation of the passions.

5. In the 'Dialogue of Vaccha,' we observe a slight difference in the attitude on the part of Buddha. When questioned as to the ten points above specified, he condemns the ten 'theories'; they produce suffering, and do not help towards the annihilation of the passions. He himself has no 'theories' (dīthi, his knowledge) even the skandhas only (Pali skhandas), the constituent elements of beings, their beginning and their end. In fact, as has been pointed out, all the 'theories' connected with the past or future, and the identity or survival after death of the Ego, presuppose the existence of the Ego. But this Ego does not exist in itself; there is only an aggregation, a complex of skandhas. Vaccha insists, and returning to the four questions concerning the existence after death of the Tathāgata, who is here denoted by a descriptive term, evamuttachatta, 'he whose thought is set free,' receives a formal answer: 'It is wrong to say that the Tathāgata exists after death, wrong to say that he does not exist, wrong to assert survival and the contrary, wrong to deny both.' Vaccha fails to comprehend this, and the Buddha says: 'Canst thou, be not moved by an extinguished flame that it has gone to the right or to the left . . . ? Similarly in the Tathāgata there exists no matter, no skandha which one could name when speaking of the Tathāgata, and being alien to every conception of matter and skandhas, the Tathāgata is deep, immeasurable, unfathomable, like the great ocean. It is wrong to say that he exists after death, wrong to say that he does not both.

That is to say, if we understand correctly, it is impossible either to assert or deny, or to say anything about what does not exist, inasmuch as it is not an object of knowledge, but the skandhas are the only objects of knowledge, and the skandhas, which constituted the man 'whose thought is set free,' have no existence after death, the emancipation of the thought consisting in this, that the thought does not reconstitute the skandhas in a new grouping.

6. This comparison of the Tathāgata with the great ocean is repeated in a passage in which it seems to be interpreted in a medical sense: 'When the body, the Buddha not revealed whether he exists or not . . . after death.' To this question, asked by King Pasenadi, a learned nun replies: 'Hast thou a mathematician who could measure the water of the ocean? . . . The ocean is deep, immeasurable, unfathomable. In the same way there exists no matter in the Tathāgata . . . (as above, § 5).

On examining the comparison more closely, however, we see that it does not hold. The water of the ocean evades measurement because it is too vast, while the Tathāgata after death cannot be calculated, measured, or fathomed because there no skandhas, no without reason, drew the conclusion 'that the Buddha exists, without any one being able to state what relation it bears to the skandhas. This is the reason of evamuttachatta, 'he whose thought is set free,' which contradicted by the Abhidharmakosa and the Madhyamakas (see next col. note). The reason of the silence is explained by the Avaspathikas, according to Oldenberg, pp. 272, 273.

(At the same time, however, does not seem to allow this acceptance of the term here. Place us upon words are very frequent in Hindu metaphysics, and the simile of the ocean is the most appropriate in the present instance. See Avaspathikas, ili. 109; Warren, p. 188; also Oldenberg, p. 340, note on an exception of this present article, even more than its conclusions, depart from the views expressed by this eminent Indian scholar, it is the writer's duty to acknowledge to the full the obligation under which he is placed."

But why is it here to maintain the annihilation of the Tathāgata? Because there is no opportunity of distinguishing between the Tathāgata living and the Tathāgata after death. * Amma as it is wrong to assert that the Tathāgata, during his lifetime, is either distinct from or identical with the skandhas either united or singly, the Tathāgata, living during life, exists and is only approximately,' there is nothing real in him, Buddha is only a name,—so what is true of the Tathāgata is true of the Ego, of any Ego whatever; the Ego does not exist in itself.† This way of looking at the problem is precisely that adopted by the Viṣṇujīva and the Mādhyamika schools. The Tathāgata has no further existence, because there is no Tathāgata. It is the same in reality with all the other so-called Egos. The Buddha has nothing to say about them, because it is impossible to speak about what does not exist.‡

II. Discussion.—We have thus given an account of the chief authorities on which the study of the problem of agnosticism ought to be based. These documents, the agnostic statements of the Buddha bearing upon various problems, and assuming slightly different forms, admit apparently of three different, and even contradictory, methods of interpretation. It is a method either (1) of evading an answer, the policy of the 'slippery col.' as Buddha says, or (2) of asserting the existence of the mystery, but forbidding dwelling on it, or (3) of denying both existence and the conceivability of the object in question by closing up all 'joins and holes' by which the true facts of the case might escape caught in the logical net.†

Let us examine the three interpretations.

1. A agnosticism.—The first constitutes one of the most remarkable amongst the theories that have been considered, being so recently differentiated from those precepts of the Buddha which are more or less faithfully preserved in the Pali writings. It is remarkable quite as much for its own sake as for the contrast which it presents to the present

* Dialogue between Vamsa and Siriputta, Sasāyuttanihāsa, i. p. 112; Oldenberg, Buddhā, p. 281 f.; Fr. tr. p. 279; Warren, p. 132; cf. Sāṅguttānihāsa, i. 260. Avaspathikas, according to Oldenberg (Buddha, Fr. tr. p. 272, note), means 'not to be conceived,' and Warren renders "you fail to make out and establish the existence of the saint in the present life' (p. 141). In Buddhist logic, Avaspathikā is 'the non-perception which cannot be perceived'; there is no far because, all the conditions necessary to the perception of a far being fulfilled (light, proximity, acuteness of sight, etc.), I do not perceive a.

† According to another school, that of the Sammitiyaśas, the Ego is not without existence, but without characteristics, but none the less exists, though 'unnameable' (anatītā).

‡ We have seen that all Buddhists do not deny the reality of the self, and that the Buddhists who do believe in it, calls it pūrva-dhātu—the commonest word in the sacred literature for 'something which exists,' or 'an individual,' in order to disguise the doctrine of heresy which the use of the Brahmanical word ityan would necessarily involve.

‡ Oldenberg, p. 278. It is thus that the 'four-branched syllogism' is indiscriminately employed by the Madhyamikas. The following is an example of which has been pointed out in the eulogy of things. An object is not produced by itself, nor by anything else, nor by itself together with something else, nor by anything caused by another; the two last hypotheses, affirmative and negative, neither affirmative nor negative, are usually rejected as absurd, being self-contradictory.
AGNOSTICISM (Buddhist)

2. The agnostic statements may conceal positive affirmations.—(1) The texts themselves invite us to study the reasons, opportunity or otherwise, which justified the Buddha in refusing to answer certain questions of a cosmological or metaphysical nature.

On one occasion the Buddha declares that the world is inconsistent with him, but that he is not inconsistent with the world; that he asssents to all questions to which the world answers yes as it is based on sound reasons. And, in fact, he sometimes adds that, since discord and quarrelling are the worst evils, and the absence of discord is the essential characteristic of a monk, one ought to refrain from expressing any opinion. Moreover, moral therapeutics, directed towards the emancipation of thought, demands the regular purification of the mind, progressive suppression of all the ideas to which the mind can cling, extending even to unconsciouness of the end in view, since this can be attained only in the suppression of thought. ‘To long for nirvana is sheer folly and an invincible obstacle to its attainment.’ Thus, on the one hand, the Buddha should try to win the favour of all, and to choose the more advantageous course or that which involves less evil. ‘Just as it is necessary to speak to each in his own language, and to preach to barbarians in the language of the barbarians, so it is necessary to teach one or offending any one, and to guide each on that path of progress which he is capable of following, to the neglect even of the real truth, that is to say, of the inexact statements’ (2) by a point, momentously. And, on the other hand, the belief, the ‘view’ (drsti), which is in itself perfectly justified, that we have passed through innumerable existences before arriving at the present one, must be abandoned, because it is unprofitable to salvation, lies and also approves the idea of the permanence of the individual. It is, moreover, in reality false, the text of the truth of any proposition being its accord with the end in view.

(2) Two points, moreover, of capital importance rest upon the most definite testimony. It is certain, on the ground of tradition, that Buddha adopted a very distinct attitude towards the question of action (karma [which see]), and consequently the question of existence after death. To quote the texts would be impossible, and perhaps it is of greater interest to recall the historical example of the friendly relations existing between the Order and the sect of Ajahn Chah, who accepted the doctrine of the fruit of works.

The early Buddhists believed in retribution for actions, in the influence which earlier existences exercised upon the present, and in a future life conditioned by the accumulated and imputable effects of previous actions.

There is no less evidence that they believed in the possibility of escaping from the circle or whirlpool of existence to the rest of nirvana. ‘In the language of that time,’ as a very competent judge affirms, ‘the word nirvana always denoted supreme happiness, apart from any idea of annihilation.’ He knows, and he alone was able to impart to us, saving truth’ (see JIPP, 1902, p. 263). It will be noticed that, in the older narrative, Buddha, having attained to bodhi, thinks of death after enlightenment and the word, in its earlier use, seems to refer to disciplinary or purgatorial mediation. The Buddhist world does not indulge in sensual pleasures, but is physically and morally perfect, and has been the object of many suggestions of asceticism. See Rylas Dowling, Dialogues, p. 207. For the previous word, see p. 51, n. 1. 4 See Dialogues, p. 398. This remark, the interest of which is evident, was pointed out long ago, and has been written by H. P. Blavatsky.

The only passage within the writer’s knowledge in which a distinction is drawn between a self, existence after death, etc., and a person, who is the word, in its earlier use, seems to refer to disciplinary or purgatorial mediation. The Buddhist world does not indulge in sensual pleasures, but is physically and morally perfect, and has been the object of many suggestions of asceticism. See Rylas Dowling, Dialogues, p. 207. For the previous word, see p. 51, n. 1. 4 See Dialogues, p. 398. This remark, the interest of which is evident, was pointed out long ago, and has been written by H. P. Blavatsky.

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AGNOSTICISM

It seems, indeed, quite probable that, in the dogmatics of Buddhism, the conception of nirvāṇa was not yet identified, or almost not identified, with that of annihilation, certain reservations being always made; but that, however far, from the very first, the Buddhists diverged the word nirvāṇa from its ordinary acceptation, in order to make its definition hold its pristine sense—i.e., to render it subject to no rebirth or renewed death.

In speaking of facts which attach a particular importance to the conception of ‘nirvāṇa upon earth,’ or, as the Brahmins say, ‘of emancipation during this life’ (jivanmukti), it would be an unjustifiable step to assume, in many cases, a departure from the normal conditions of Indian religions to restrict the word altogether. In the doctrine of the arhat, the most part, to the attainment of that perfect condition denoted by the name of arhat-ship, or ‘nirvāṇa upon earth.’

One text declares: ‘The disciple who has put off lust and desire, rich in wisdom, has here on earth attained deliverance from death, repose, suffering, and immortality.’ It is undoubtedly right to say that nirvāṇa is not merely the hereafter which awaits the emancipated saint, but the perfection which he enjoys in the world of the living. He will live and die, but life ends in this really signifies that after death he will enter the abode where death is no more.

It is, indeed, denied that Buddhism has a very definite theory concerning a hereafter, the nature of which cannot be explained. Whatever the everlasting abode may be, it is the aim and the essence of the teaching. It may be conceived as a prolongation of the state of the arhat. All other good is said to be purely negative, the removal or the alleviation of suffering, but nirvāṇa is good absolute. Would this be so, however, if it would mean more than an arhat-ship doomed to extinction at death, which, moreover, according to the ancient texts, does not prevent former wicked deeds from receiving their due punishment?

The Buddha, at times, refuses to answer, it is not in the manner of the evasive sophist who is slippery as an eel. Nor is it that he himself is ignorant or wishes his disciples to remain in ignorance. But the essential point is that his disciples should learn to distinguish profitable knowledge and thoughts. What is the use of indulging in those idle dreams concerning the universe, past or future existence, or nirvāṇa? In the same way the ancient Hindu Vedanta, who presumably subscribed to the Nicene creed, cuts short his meditations on the Trinity: ‘What is the use of being trained in the mysteries of the Trinity if you sin against the Trinity? What can the Buddha tell concerning the after-life of the emancipated saint, when emancipation can be attained only by ridding the mind of all thought and all desire? He refuses to satisfy useless curiosity, for nirvāṇa is a state essentially indefinable.’

The present writer will not conceal his opinion that the expression ‘nirvāṇa upon earth’ (dīttadharmamukti) possibly conveys a meaning very different from that skillfully pointed out by Carpenter, Rhys Davids, and Oldenberg. It signifies, in contradistinction to the nirvāṇa to be attained during a future life, etc. (upapadyanirvāṇa, antaraparinirvāṇa, etc.), the nirvāṇa to be attained at the end of the present existence. With regard to the state of an arhat, it should be observed (1) that there is not actual cessation of suffering (dakkhaññanirvāṇa = mihana, Samadhigallanirvāṇa v. l.), and (2) that it is called ‘nirvāṇa with a residue,’ in contrast to the real nirvāṇa.

1 Cf. Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 261 f., whose judgment, according to the present writer, ought to be slightly modified. From the earliest texts we are led to think that the Tathāgata and the saints in general were able to prolong their life for an ‘age of the world’ (see Araṇa or yasa Woots). ‘Buddhism is a philosophy very like immortality.’ On the Vedic beliefs concerning the immortality of a particular incarnation and the gradual formation of the doctrine of renewed death (punarrajñita, i.e., transmigration), see A. M. Boyer’s very instructive art. in J.A., 1901, II, p. 451 f. He states that the Brahmanical definition held its ground long after the notion of death and that everlasting immortality is reserved for the saints (Gautama).

1 At least so far as human powers of understanding are concerned. The intelligent Buddhist sometimes examines the texts, with his more acute intellect, and discerns to them what appears to be a pondering over them: ‘These matters are understood only by the Tathāgata, only the Tathāgata knows, we do not know’ (Bodhisattvabhumi).

On the remaining ‘non-discussed topics’ it may be said:—

(1) As regards the existence of the Ego and of the universe

3. The agnostic statements are formal denials.—In the two preceding pages tradition has been treated selectively; the theory of the skandhas has been laid aside. This theory is found in countless, though ancient and scattered, passages in the Buddhist texts. It is consistent with the denial of an Ego. It admits the existence of a phenomenal Ego, which prolongs its existence as long as thought worlds remain unbroken. When the transmigration of souls, the phenomenal Ego dissolves, the skandhas are no longer associated to form the illusory Ego; there no longer exists anything.

The Tathāgata, therefore, does not exist after death; so that the assertions relating to the Tathāgata after death must be understood in the sense of a radical denial, as has been done by the writers of the various dialogues in the Majjhima and Aṅguttara, above mentioned.

Moreover, if there is no Ego in the emancipated Tathāgata, there is none in Tathāgata living,—there is no Ego in any being. All speculation concerning the future and the past of the Ego is therefore without meaning, and what is said above must be understood as a formal denial. This is the system of the Madhyamikas openly professed in the Suttantas.

It seems clear that if we admit the primitive conceptions concerning the theory of the skandhas, and assume the absolute consistency of the early Buddhist speculations, we must ascribe a purely negative value to the Buddha’s statements. Thus is obtained a doctrine entirely coherent, identifying nirvāṇa with annihilation. All the statements on the one side or the other will find their explanation in practical considerations. On the other hand, the agnostic hypothesis, as far as it concerns them, may exist as a hypothesis of the world, etc., must be understood as a formal denial. This is the system of the Madhyamikas, which we have been examining.

III. Conclusion.—Of the three systems expounded above, the third is the system of a large number of Suttantas, that is to say, the orthodox doctrine of the Pali canon, and of the Madhyamikas. The second is very probably that of popular Buddhism and of the ‘ pudgalavāda’; while the first has nothing to support it save the inadequate dogmas of the orthodox European scholars. The present writer does not conceal his preference for the second. In order to establish it, or rather to reconcile it with traditional assumptions, a comparative estimate is needed. To this let us finally proceed.

It is generally believed that the earliest Bud- from eternity, all the texts and the best attested dogmas entirely denies the ideal that the Ego and the universe are un-

(2) As far as the ‘infinity of the universe’ is concerned, the text quoted (p. 222) understands by infinity (sannata) ‘limitless extension in space.’ It is very probable that this is the original meaning of the word, and that the word ‘eternal’ refers to the universe as well as the soul. In fact, the eternity of the world, etc., must be understood as a formal denial. This is the system of the Madhyamikas, which we have been examining. This moment will probably never come. But in each individual, ‘the end of the world’ (lokaçaya) may be achieved by the emancipation.

(3) As to the relation between the first and the second, it will be seen (above, p. 222) that the different philosophical questions, only the two hypotheses of identity and non-identity are examined. The philosophical doctrine explains them under the headings of satta, pudgala, sitata, permanent principle; and denies its existence, in the course of a discussion of its relations, not the existence of the Ego. The same idea is also expressed by the Jaina writers, who are more remarkable in this respect than the Buddhist texts. Skandhas is also the word of the Madhyamikas, vital faculty, which is not destroyed with the body in the emancipated Ego. The existence is prolonged by the possibility of the succeeding life (except where the re-birth has taken place in certain heavens).

See above, p. 221, n. 1, and 229, n. 1.
dhism did not lay any claim to originality of doctrine; it shared with the whole of India the belief in the imputation and the retributive effects of action (karma), the concatenation of causes, and the possibility of attaining nirvana. The Buddha himself, splendidly accomplishing the nirvana, the Buddhaists understood something different from what all others understood by it—a state certainly very difficult to define, but quite distinct from nothingness, from death and destruction. In the Sutras of Buddha's direct descendants, the Buddhist texts lead us to believe, by a certain contempt for speculation; whence we may conclude that the theory of the skandhas, if it existed, in the form, in the form in which it is presented in the Order, there had not attained its final form. In the Order there were monks who were opposed, as no doubt the Buddha himself had been, to cosmological or metaphysical speculations; there were also philosophers and Abhidhammas, and it is to these Abhidhammas that we owe the philosophical writings as well as the writings of the Sarvastivadin.

The question of nirvana having been raised, the earliest documents (from Buddha himself?) had given the reply that nothing could be considered the subject, either existence or non-existence, etc.—an answer perhaps childish from the Aristotelian point of view, but sufficiently frank to declare at one and the same time that it is a mystery and that the reality of phenomena is very much in the eye of the beholder, is, in any case, parallel to that suggested with regard to the eternity of the universe; and the former no more seeks to deny the existence of the Pathgattara after death than the latter the actual existence of the universe, or even its eternity. Buddha's only wish, as is said in so many words, was to forbid idle or harmful speculations. It was the philosophers who developed the doctrine of the skandhas; the direct result of which is the denial of the ego (Suttantus), and the indirect result the denial of all phenomena in themselves, and the universal void (Madhyamika). It is no wonder that the philosophers put an entirely new meaning into the old answer:—Nothing can be said of the Buddha after his death, because there is no longer any Buddha, because there never has been a Bud-

dha even during his lifetime; the two things go together, as the Suttanta expressly states. It is scarcely conceivable that this was the original Buddhist doctrine. But if it had been, it is most probable that a less ambiguous formula would have been used. The Buddha himself, in his first sermon, cut off all possibility of definite answer.

The Buddhist who accepts the revealed texts as they stand cannot have any doubt as to his choice. He must adhere to the third interpretation, the only one which is orthodox and in harmony with accepted teaching. The choice of the historian of religions is more difficult, for it is modified by the manner in which he conceives the orthodox view to have grown up. The present writer confesses to a reluctance to exercise a definite choice, but if a choice be required,—which is by no means the case,—he believes that the second interpretation is to be preferred.

L. DE LA VALLEE-POUSSIN.

AGRAGRAULIDS.—Euripides, in Jon 23 and 496, speaks of the three daughters of Agoraus, who, according to Apollodorus (iii. § 180), are called Agraus, Horae, and Paradores. A rich banquet, the Decipaphoria, was offered to them together (Belker, Anecd. i. 239). They danced, Euripides tells us (i.e., on the northern descent of the Athenian Acropolis, on the great meadow before the temple of Athen, beside the Apollo groto and the seat of Pan, who piped to them. This is the picture which the votive-reliefs represent, some of which have been found on the spot in question (Ath. Mitth. iii. 509). In fact, these are beside each other the caves of Apollo and Pan under the Erechtheum, and the temple of Athen;

* Agoraus or Agraus—both forms have been used throughout the article. It will be observed also that in the spelling of proper names the Greek forms have been employed, except in familiar words like Erechtheum, Cercopes.
and there, too, lay the sanctuary of Agraulos Pansania, i. 18, 2; Herodotus, vii. 83; Jahn-Michaelis, Arch. Athenarum, Table vii, and v. 3). In the Athenian myth it was the Agraulos, daughter of Pandrosos and Hebe, the dうter sisters, show that she was a goddess of agriculture. Later she is, in the same way as Pandrosos, so united with Athens that both appear as secondary names of Athens, or that Agraulos is designated the first priestess of Athené. At quite an early date their connection was very close; the disaul feast of atonement and cleansing sacred to Athené, the Πνευτήρια in Thargelon (May), stood also in relation to Agraulos (Hesych.; Bekker, Anecdota, i. 270); the Αρχαινοπορία or Hesperia was associated with Athené and Hebe (Istros in school to Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 642); and the Pandroseion, with the sacred olive tree of Athené, was closely connected with the Erechtheum (Pansaniai, i. 27, 2). Athené herself had once been a goddess of agriculture. Agraulos, however, is also united with Hermes, and is regarded as a secondary name for her (CIA iii. 372). This point of view is still maintained; it was originally an independent goddess, who, however, disappeared more and more in consciousness, and for this reason was united with a greater related goddess. This was the case with many other deities who were originally independent. Their memory was, in the end, preserved only in secondary names of related divinities. The important signification of Agraulos is seen, too, in the fact that the Agrauls in Cyprus, where she, along with Athené and Diomedes had a common sanctuary, human sacrifice was down to a late date offered to her (Porphyry, de Abstinentius, ii. 54). In Athens there were secret rites in her worship (Athenagoras, Leg. pro Christ, 1), which the family of the Praxigordoi seems to have practised (Töpffer, Attische Genealogie, p. 133).

In accordance with the serious nature of the feast of the Πνευτήρια, her secret rites, and her human sacrifices, is the legend which has developed out of her worship. This we find in a threefold form. (1) Agraulos, along with Hebe and Pandrose, receives from Athené and Erechtheus a chest in a chest, with the command not to open it. Agraulos and Hebe open it notwithstanding, and in maddened frenzy cast themselves down from the Acropolis (Pansaniai, i. 18, 2; Apollodorus, iii. 159). This is obviously meant, too, to explain the situation of their sanctuaries below the Acropolis, while that of Pandrosos was on the top. (2) Agraulos casts herself from the Acropolis in order that she may, in accordance with an oracle, secure the victory for her country against Eumolpos; for this reason a sanctuary to her was founded there (Philochores, Fig. 14). (3) Agraulos is changed by Hermes into a stone, because, being invited by Athené to feasting, she had refused him access to her sister (Ovid, Metam. ii. 708 ff.).

From all this we have as the result that the Agrauls resemble the Horae and the Graces. They unite the child Erechtheus, the seed-corn, entrusted to them by Athené, just as Demeter does Triptolomenos. In the month Thargelon (May), when the dew ceases and the harvest begins, Agraulos is lighting.

Agraulos appears in the tradition twice: (1) as the mother of the Agrauls, daughter of Actæus; (2) as their oldest sister, and daughter of Cecrops. Connected with Agraulos are Alkippe, her daughter by a servant of Athénæum, who was seduced by the son of Poseidon, and Keryx, her son by Hermes, the head of the Eleusinian family of the Kerykes, who is, however, also called the son of Pandrosos or Hebe (Töpffer, Attische Genealogie, 81 ff.).


Agriculture.—1. Until recently the theory was held that the human race passed from the nomad shepherd, and from that again to the life of the tiller of the ground. As a sweeping generalization it is no longer possible to hold this theory; that it is not altogether untrue is shown by what is happening to the Bushmen. In the present day their case agriculture has been forced upon them by the danger of starvation. Russian civilization has encroached upon them from the north and west, and the Ural Cossacks from the east, so that the area of their pasture lands, and, as a consequence, the amount of live stock they are able to maintain, have much diminished. Before resorting to agriculture themselves, they employed Russians to fatten them, and barned part of their land on the metayage system. But when the virgin soil is exhausted, the master, who loves the easy life of the shepherd and disdains the hard toil of agriculture, is no longer able to pay for hired labour, and the definition of a ploughman (Wallace, Russia, new ed. i. p. 265 ff.) is.

The same observation was made regarding the Tatars of the Crimea in 1794 (Pallas, Travels, Eng ed. 1823-3, ii. p. 355). In those parts of the world, however, which are best known to us, there is evidence of a settled agricultural population from the earliest period. Not only in Neolithic times, but from the earlier Stone Age, there is good evidence that some kings of communities of Ed. Piette in various cave-shelters in France, that agricultural plants, and animals at least partially domesticated, were well known (see DOMESTICATION). In Egypt and in Babylonia there is evidence of agriculture going back, at a moderate calculation, to the early part of the third millennium B.C., and possibly to a much earlier period. Mesopotamia is the only area for which there is evidence that at some time cereals grow wild (de Candolle, Origin of Cultivated Plants, 1884, p. 358 (common wheat); p. 364 (spelt)). It is in countries with a rich alluvial soil that agriculture begins; a priori expect agriculture to begin. In Egypt a primitive agriculture along the banks of the Nile would be possible merely by casting seed upon the mud left behind by the river when it subsides after flood. Agriculture in the earliest times was probably thus practised before the invention of the plough, the seed being left to sink into the soft mud, or, as represented on Egyptian monuments, being trodden in by cattle.

It is, however, to be remembered that when we consider primitive agriculture, we must discard all generally accepted notions as to its practice. Agriculture at the present day, as practised in most countries of Europe, may be defined as (1) the regular cultivation by the plough and other well-known implements, and with the addition of manure, of (2) definite areas of (3) arable land, held as (4) frehold or (5) on a legally defined tenancy, (6) such cultivation being for the most part in the hands of males. But if we may deduce primitive methods from the practice of such tribes in modern times as combine some agriculture with hunting, and we may rely only in the first stages of agricultural development, primitive cultivation preceded all implements except those of stone and wood. Thus the Navajos and many tribes of New Mexico, who practise sheep-breeding, melons, and other vegetables, and also some wheat, and make some attempts at irrigation, dibble the
AGRICULTURE

ground: ‘with a short sharp-pointed stick small holes are dug in the ground, into which they drop the grain, and no further care is given to the crop except to keep it partially free from weeds’ (Baneroc, Native Races of Pacific States, i. p. 489; cf. H. Ling Roth, Sarawak, i. p. 402). In Northern Honduras at an earlier period the Indians, as we are informed by Herrera, cleared the ground with stone axes, and turned the sod by main strength with a forked pole and with sharp wooden spades (Baneroc, i. p. 719). Dibbling alone is found sufficient in the Amazon area, where the ground never being turned up for manured (Wallace, Travels on the Amazon, p. 333). In Melanesia, where horticulture rather than agriculture is the form of cultivation, and has reached a high degree of excellence, adzes of stone or shell were used before the introduction of metals. In the New Hebrides and in most of the Solomon Islands the natives use stone; the Santa Cruz people, Torres Islanders, and Banks’ Islanders used shell, for adzes the giant clam shell” (Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 513). Stone adzes, which may have been used by the early inhabitants of France, were found by L’Epee (L’Anthropologie, vii. p. 141), and which, it is said, were used by the negroes of the Congo (Hancroft, pp. 719). The adzes used in Queensland are typical of the species. Dwellings affords no clue to the direction in which they spread, the French islands, or for the women and children in the neighbourhood of their huts, while the men wandered at greater distances after the crop path. Hence agriculture reaches an advanced stage before the women hand over the greater part of the operations to the men. The Dyak men of Sarawak (Bancroft, i. pp. 708-10) in clearing the ground for the wheat reaping the harvest; the hard intermediate till of weeding is left to the women and children (Harrisson, i. p. 369). The South Sea Islands local customs settle the respective shares of the men and women in the garden work (Codrington, p. 362). If a man has another occurrence of horticulture in the Pacific islands, it should be noted that the production of the agricultural work to the women, as may still be seen in the Polynesians and especially in Eastern Barrows and in the West Highlands of Scotland. In more advanced parts of the British Isles it is only the rapid development of agricultural machinery in the last few years that has reduced the working of the women from field-work. But the agricultural duties of primitive races also brought her important rights and privileges, such as a right to the soil, which, as the importance of agriculture became more marked, brought her many other privileges in its train, and these privileges had the greatest influence upon the family of history relations (Grose, Die Formen der Familie und der Formen der Wertheits system, i. 525). Superstition also recommended having agriculture in the hands of women. ‘When the women plant maize,’ said an Indian to the Jesuit Guinail, ‘the stalk produces two or three ears. Why? Because women know how to produce children. They only know how to plant corn to ensure its maturing. Then let them plant it; they know better than we know’ (J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Studies of Greek Religion, p. 272, quoting from Day, History of the New World, ii. p. 77). This site of agricultural production of the New World is much greater detail by E. I. Hahn in Domestik und Bandol and elsewhere. (For Africa, see Introduction of the War depicted, the history of Religion, p. 249). 2. The earliest cultivated plants are not easy to define. The cultivation of the cereal plants is figured by L’Epee in his L’Art pendant le Cége du Roi, plates 17 and 14, and from him by Hoopes (Widltbauam und Kulturpfansen, pp. 278-9), from Mosapatolothie strata, and undoubtedly represent ears of corn. From a late Paleolothic representation of an ear of winter barley (secouron), as still grown in France, have been discovered (L’Epee, in Hoopes, op. cit. p. 280). In the rock-shelter of Mes-d’Azil, on the left bank of the Arise, Little found a primitive species of barley (Hordeum kazanichum,—this was the most widely spread,—distichum, tetraestichum), and two species of millet (Panicum miliaceum and italicum), were grown in Europe—naturally in greater variety in the south than in the north of Central Europe. Not only was flax cultivated, but weaving was practised (the fabrics are figured in Fornor and Messikommer’s Prehistorische Versammlung, 1880), [plates iv. and v.], and woolen vestments, coverings for men, women, and children. In Northern India, the peas, beans, parsnips, and carrots—and pappules were cultivated, as well as vines and fruit trees (Heer, Pflanzen der Ruhrbauten; and, more recent and more general, Hoopes as above, and Basulan). In the prehistoric period, the pine, juniper, and holly (Olearia'), the precise characters of the grain figured on early Egyptian monuments cannot, it is said, be identified. But both in Egypt and in the Middle East‘the ears of barley were gathered together in bundles which were laid on the ground in terms of Egyptian (Meyendorf, L’Orient classique, i. p. 761, n. 2). As already pointed out, botanists regard Mosopotamia and the countries bordering upon it as probably the original home of wheat and barley. As the earliest cultivators
tion of them in Europe appears in the warmer intervals between successive ages of ice, in the earlier of which ice probably extended as far as the Alps, in the latter to the latitude of London and Berlin. They clearly must have been introduced from the Mediterranean basin. It is hardly to be expected that evidence of grain cultivation will be found in the British Isles or other parts of Northern Europe in strata corresponding to those in which Fossils have been found toward the north of France, fossils as Nehring has shown (Über Tundren und Steppen der Jetzt- und Vorzeit, 1909), a period when these countries consisted of tundras and steppes like those of modern Siberia, must be postulated as existing for some considerable time after the end of the E. Age. In such an area, where ice still exists below the surface, agriculture would be impossible. Importation, moreover, from Asia through Russia would have been equally impossible at this period, the Caspian then extending much farther to the north and west, while the northern Ēgean did not exist (see Ratzev's map in SSBW, 1900). From the earliest literature of the Indo-Germanic peoples—the Zendavesta and the Veda is clear that, though this stock had large flocks and herds, they also practised agriculture. But the meaning of the word ear-s which they apply to grain, and which is etymologically identical with the Greek word, 'spelt' is hard to define. Its modern representative in Persia, Baluchistan, and India seems always to mean barley. A word for corn, however, is very likely to vary its meaning according to altitude. Thus, in English, corn means to an English toad, wheat, to a Scotsman oats, to an American of the United States maize. The same word amongst other peoples of the same stock is variously applied, malt, corn, as a North German word, and in Scandinavia barley. The Greeks knew and cultivated wheat, barley, and two kinds of millet. In the classical period the Romans cultivated the same cereals, though the poets write of far, 'spelt,' as being the grain which formed the food of the early Romans. The Roman word for wheat, triticum, is in origin an adjective, and must have originally meant the threshed or milled grain, from tero, 'thresh.' Oats and rye are not so well known in warm countries, and were not cultivated by the Greeks and Romans. Oats (gýgaion) and rye (gýpe) were both known to the Greeks from Thrace. From the former, Dionysos, who came into Greece from Thrace, derived the epithet of the god of wine (J. E. Harrison, Protopomous, p. 416). Schrader (in Hearn's Kulturgeschichte und Haustiere, p. 553) quotes Dices, a doctor of the 4th cent. B.C., for oat meal, which was regarded as superior to barley meal. In both Greece and Rome, probably, barley played a great part in early times. It is to be noticed that far is etymologically identical with the English berr and barley. The most plausible explanation of the name of the Greek goddess Persephone may be that of the name Persephone (persephata) (the name occurs in a great variety of forms in the different Greek dialects) was the barley killer, the first element of the name being from the same root as far and berr. This harmonizes well with the functions of Persephone, who is queen of the under world during the four months which elapsed between the planting of the grain in the summer and the harvest in the summer. A description is given by Homer. On the shield of Achilles four rural scenes are depicted, three of which represent the seasons when the farmer's life is most arid (Hliad, xvii. 541 ff.). On the first is shown a rich fallow in which many ploughmen are driving their teams this way and that: many because, according to Professor Ridgeway's explanation of the scene (JHS vi. p. 356), the land that is being ploughed is the common land of the community, and all therefore must help to work it. In all the holders at the same time—an ancient practice which is still commemorated in England by Plough Monday, the first Monday after Twelfth Night. The field is broad, and is for triple ploughing, which is done with three ploughs. The headland is long (770. 84), a man comes forward and offers them a drink. "Then they turn their team along the furrow, eager to reach the headland of the deep fallow." This explanation is because explained, rather naïvely, as arising from the prospect of a drink at the other end. More probably the emphasis rests upon the epithet deep. A fallow specifically becomes covered with grass and weeds, which, with the very ineffective plough that is still used in Greece, makes ploughing a hard task, even for a strong man. In modern times, even with the best plough, the breaking up of old pasture (which with improved implements would be impossible) all probability, took its origin in larger matter. The threefold ploughing was required partly, no doubt, because the ancient plough was so ineffective. In Egypt, where the ploughing was done in the fallow, the first two ploughings represented (not in the earliest art) as preceding the plough with a mattock, for the plough has no couter. That Homer looked upon ploughing fallow as very hard work is clear from other passages, in which we are told that he who has been holding the plough (yryeo ^divop) in a fallow all day is glad when the sun goes down and he can hie him home to supper, though his knees have been wearied by the weight of his task (I. xii. 705). Hence, with the development of the plough and of a system of tillage, agriculture of necessity passed more into the hands of men. Moreover, when a pastoral people turns to agriculture, it objects to women having to do with the cattle. "Among the Bechuanas the men never allow the women to touch their cattle. The ploughs cannot be worked by women, because the men have now to do the heavy work" (E. Holub, JAI x. p. 11). In countries where cultivation is carried on in gardens rather than in fields, the hoe or mattock remains the regular implement of cultivation. Such countries are the South Sea Islands and a great part of China. So also in the world of the gods, Demeter handed over agriculture, so far as ploughing was concerned, to Triptolemus, who, as the Homerian lyman to Demeter tells us, till then was but a prince (thryesvΣtoS bavos, 473) of Eleusis. Henceforth his name, whatever its original meaning, is identified with Triptolēmos, the word for the triple ploughing. It is, however, probably only Athenian pride that makes ploughing take its rise in the little plain of Eleusis. In such little plains in the Hebrides, the castrum, the little crooked spade, is hardly yet extinct. The plough, in all the lands, is always an improvement on the crooked spade. In areas with deeper soil. Such an area was Boeotia, from which comes the earliest European poem on agriculture, Hesiod's Works and Days. A still better example of an area suited for the plough is Northern Greece, which in the spring of an earlier period, when the Peneus cut its way through the vale of Tempe, Eleusis had traditions of a connexion with the far north of Greece and Thrace, and it is significant that the word Triptōlemos by its p instead of p preserves a feature which, in historical names, is specially characteristic of Northern Greece.
times, most of the straw was left on the ground, and this when set on fire or ploughed in helped to manure the ground. Pliny observed (xxvii. 3) that the stubble was left long except where straw was required for thatching or fodder.

Between neighbourhood and harvest in most countries having has to be done. Where the harvest could be completed early, the plough was left to women. In Greek agriculture, at least of the 6th and later centuries B.C., this work was done by men, and to leave it to women gave rise to the term ploughing of the corn (Xenophon, Conon, xix. 12; Theophrastus, x. 14).

For all the operations of husbandry a cart or waggon is of importance. The employment of the cart is slower in development than that of the plough, partly because extended use of it demands good roads. The prudent Hesiod advises the farmer to have his cart ready in good time for the spring, "for it is easy to say, "Let me have a pair of oxen and a cart," and it is easy to answer, "No, my oxen have field work to do." The man wise in his own conceit says he will make a cart for himself, poor fool, and does not even know that there are a hundred pieces of wood in a cart, which he must take care to have in store by himself beforehand (op. cit. 453-457). Yet in some parts of the British Islands which are now famous for agriculture there were few or no oxen in the 17th century.

In Aberdeenshire, crops were even then carried from the field and manure from the farmyard in carriages, a sort of wheeler panniers hung on either side of a crook saddle, while corn was taken to the mill in square wooden plough horses (Pratt, Buchan, p. 19). Pennant observed in Caithness that the beasts of burden were the women. They turn their patient backs to the dungsills, and receive in their kizers or baskets, as much as their lords and masters think fit to fling in with their pitchforks, and then trudge to the fields of drawks or seventy (Tour in Scotland, 1769, 3rd ed. p. 168). The first purely mechanical method of transporting heavy weights was, no doubt, upon a sled, a rough frame of wood with stout cross-bars, or a hurdle. A good specimen of the Egyptian sled for carrying corn-sacks is figured in H. Schaefer's article in the Annals of the British School at Athens, x. p. 139. Varro tells us that manure was taken to the fields upon hurdles for the purpose (curas sternacivus, i. 23). This was an old Roman practice, as the list of necessaries for a farm which he is quoting is taken from Cato (de Agricultura, x.). Cato, however, also provides three asses with panniers for this purpose (asinos ornatos ellitarios aut stercus sculentis tristes, so that the crates, as they are being carried in a kind of rake, may have been used for harrowing in the manure after it was spread upon the fields.

A cart without wheels was formerly widely used in the mountainous parts of Britain, and is still used in Ireland, the shafts being continued to form the frame, with their ends resting on the ground. The body of the cart was formed by two semicircular bows of wood, the ends of which were fastened to the shaft poles. These bows were kept in position by a bar running between their apices. The shaft poles were kept in position by cross-bars, and the bows also had cross-pieces; so that the whole form of the body of the cart is that of a half-cylindrical cone (as is illustrated in Dr. Hadden's Study of Men, 166 f.).

A great advance in the development of the cart is marked by the introduction of wheels. The early history of the wheel is not clear. As, in the early heavy wagons, it was not possible to combine a very broad turner, it was obvious that wheels and axle in one block might have developed out of rollers. This view is adopted by Dr. Tylor (J.A.S. x. p. 78), and doubtfully by Dr. Ellis (J.A.S. x. p. 180). Such a primitive arrangement is still to be found in Portugal. On the other hand, Professor Ridgeway contends (Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse, p. 171) that the wooden, not the spiked wheels is earlier than the ox carts, which
was modelled upon it. The body of the cart was a
creel of wicker work, which could be removed at
will. Of farm carts the Romans had two kinds—
two-wheeled (plow-car, ploceum) and four-wheeled (plow-
strum maior). Since they are termed sternaria
pantastra (Virgil, Georgics, iii. 536), it is evident that
they moved with much creaking, like the
‘groaning’ or ‘singing’ carts of Spain and Portug.

talia (Men. iii. 156 ff.). The noise is
carried by the friction of the axle against the
wedges in the floor of the waggon which keep it
in its place’ (Hudon, p. 189). The cattle were
harnessed to the cart by the yoke which was fastened
by a pin near the end of the pole, and lashed
tightly with a thong or cord. Some kind of strap
was fastened across under the neck of the animals.
The modern forms are figured by Sir C. Fellows
(Journal, p. 71), the ancient Egyptian by Schäfer
in the article already mentioned.

4. Since in the countries round the Eastern Medi-
terranean the corn harvest comes on in May and
June, the industry of autumn is the ingathering
doubtless by early times such heavy penalties alone
just as the making of cider is a characteristic
autumn occupation of England, and on the Saxon
font at Burnham Deepdale, in Norfolk (which
has two inscriptions representing the months), is taken
as the typical occupation for October. Hence the
vintage is taken for the autumn scene upon the
shield of Achilles. The young men and maidens
carry the fruit in wicker baskets, a lad plays on
the lyre and sings to them in an Aristophanes
singing and dancing (II. xviii. 561 ff.). The vine grows
wild round the Mediterranean, and in Asia as far
as the Himalayas. Grape seeds have been found
in a cave at the foot of the Alps in the ice, and of at least the Bronze Age in Switzerland,
and vine leaves have been discovered in the tuft
round Montpellier and Meyrargues in Provence
(de Candolle, Cultivated Plants, p. 192). The use
of wine was probably introduced to the Greeks
from Asia Minor or Thrace. Hesiod contemplates
that his farmer may make a voyage after harvest,
but adjures him not to wait for the new wine, in
case of bad weather (loc. cit. 662 ff.). Such a
voyage from Beotia would probably be to Lesbos,
or the adjacent mainland, which was famous for
its wine. According to all tradition, the use of
wine and the culture of the grape were later in
Italy than in Thrace, and more so in the countries north of the
Alps (Schrader, Realecizion, s.v. ‘Wein’).
The last of the crops which had more than a local
importance was that of the olive. According to de
Candolle (Origin of Cultivated Plants, p. 285),
‘its prehistoric area probably extended from Syria
towards Greece.’ At Athens, till the development
of the mines at Laurium, the trade in olive oil was
the only important export industry, the soil being
thin and ill adapted for agriculture. The olive,
indeed, was supposed to be the special gift of the
patron goddess Athene, and the sacred olive trees
were protected from harm by heavy penalties. No
doubt in early times such heavy penalties alone
protected all produce, whether of domesticated
plants or animals, against the instinct of primitive
savagery to seize it for immediate use without re-
gard to future loss (see Tabu and Totemism).
The olive, as the Latin form of the word shows, spread
from Greece to Italy, and from Italy again to the
north of Europe. It is clear from Cato and Varro
that in their time the vine and olive crops were
regarded as of much greater importance than the
money growing of cereals. This was the result of the
second Punic war. Hannibal devastated rural
Italy; the agricultural population had to flee
to Trieste for protection, and stay there for half a
 generation while the war lasted, and the farmers
themselves were drafted into the army. When
the war was over, the result was no capital where-
with to restore their farms; the State was unable
to help them, and the wealthy quietly annexed
their property. The fund which aided the develop-
ment of an Empire outside Italy, corn came in
payment of taxes from the subject States. With
curious lack of economic insight, Gaius Gracchus,
who was anxious to restore the rural population,
tried to raise corn by the ‘subsidy of Men. (i. 156 ff.).

It is impossible to enter here into the more
detailed history of corn, but we may notice that
irrigation, which developed early in Egypt and
Mesopotamia, and which is also recognized by
Homer; and the cultivation of fruit trees by prun-
ing and grafting. Wallace observed (Travels, p. 337) that the natives on the Amazon never
pruned or did anything else to their fruit trees.
On the other hand, the labourers imported from
Melanesia into Queensland were much surprised
that the New Zealanders had no gardens. In the
Melanesian islands, in Sarawak, and elsewhere,
irrigation has long been practised (Codrington, The
Melanesians, p. 363; Sarawak, i. p. 466).

After the corn harvest was finished, the corn had
to be threshed. This was done in the usual way, at
least by taking it out on the hard threshing-floor (for the making of which Varro and Virgil
[Georgics, i. 178–180] give careful directions), or by dragging over it a sledge
or heavy toothed plank, as was the Roman prac-
tice, and as is still done in Asia Minor (Fellows,
Travels, p. 51). (Prehistoric methods were probably
much simpler, the corn possibly being stripped
from the ear by hand). The corn was stored in
ground chambers, so as to escape, as far as possi-
ble, the ravages of vermin. As we have seen,
corn was stored even in the Stone Age.

The last task in the preparation of corn for food
preparation and cooking was the making of it into meal
or flour. Piette found rubbing stones in a late
stratum of the Palaeolithic Age (Hoops, p. 290),
though these were not necessarily used for corn.
Bancroft's description (i. 653) of the methods of
the aborigines of Yuquotan probably represents
approximately very ancient practice. The grain
is first soaked, and then bruised on the rubbing
stone and wetted occasionally till it becomes soft
enough to be ground. In the countries north of the
Alps, such as Switzerland, the first grindings are
made with a wooden pestle or hammer and a
mortar. In the Tayas and Rhaetian Alps, a pestle
is still found with a cup-shaped bowl, used for
winnowing grain. The grain is still occasionally
ground quite coarse with a wooden paddle and a
round wooden plough, and for the making of flour
as it was in the Bronze Age in Italy, a sledge
and a metal pole were used (Codrington, Realecizion, s.v. ‘Mahlen’).

As they are often found in the graves of women, it is evi-
dent that this also was one of the duties of early
women, as indeed is clear from the literature of all
countries from the earliest times.

Literature.—For Mesopotamia and Egypt the representations
in art; Perrot-Chipiez for both; the Illustrations in Wilkinson
268 (the text is out of date) and Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten;
and the books mentioned in the text. For Greece; Hesiod,
and Incidentally Homer; Theophrastus, Hist. of Plants, etc.
and de Causis Plantarum; with many allusions in Aristotle,
 Xenophon, and elsewhere (the Goponida belongs to the late
Minoan, but a detailed account would entail another article.
For Rome: Cato (its present is not the original form of
the work); Varro, who professes to have read Plutarchus, Greek,
and Latin works on the subject, and was himself competent;
Virgil, who, as a farmer's son, and himself a farmer, writes
in the light of both knowledge and interest. It was, of
course, in technical fashion the Metamor forfes attributed to
him while he was in the army, which he made in the 6th
Columna, elaborate but inept; Palladius, the greater part
of whose work is arranged as a farmer's year, and with
which much needful material is added; John of Capua, the
Middle Ages. Detailed information Greek and
Roman agriculture will be found in Baumsteiger's Dehioahler
des Römisclien Romanen, s.v. 'Ackerbau im Altertum,'
and Pauly, s.v. 'Ackerbau' (this, though old, still contains
much that is useful). The agriculture of the Semitic nations is
treated in the various Biblical Dictionaries; Indian agriculture

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AHIERIA—AHIQAR, THE STORY OF

in the Vedas age by Zimmer, Athismiskes Leben. General accounts, especially for the Indo-Germanic peoples, are given, with full references to literature, in Schrader's Die Götter der Völker (a new edition is in course of publication) and Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertums- kalten. The life of Vithoba and the Panhales is told in Mittel Europa, in.vorchristlicher Zeit (Ullstein, 1901); Meringer, in Der Hindu, 38. 70 (1897), and in many others. The cultivated plants are treated by de Candolle (Origin of Cultivated Plants, 1845), by Hey (Kulturpflanzen und Hauspflanzen), etc. (ed. by Schrader, 1902), and by Hoops (Waldgebäude und Kulturpflanzen in germanen Altertum, ed. by Hey, 1897). The rage of Vithoba is common to all Indian sects from that time to the present. But each school of thought looks at it in a different way, and carries it out in practice in different degrees.

The early Buddhists adopted it fully, and placed it on the line at which we should now call ordinary, reasonable, habitual. It occurs twice in the 'eightfold path,'—no doubt the very essence of Buddhism,—first under right ascertainment, and again under right conduct (Majjhima ni, 251 = Sanjuvata v. 9). It is the first in the Ten Precepts for the Order (sikkhapadani), and therefore of the five rules of conduct for laymen (sanjivani silanii), which correspond to the first live of the Precepts (Vinaya i. 83, Anguttara ii. 293). It is the subject of the first paragraph of the old tract on conduct, the Silas, which is certainly one of the very oldest of extant Buddhist documents, and in which it is clearly indicated by way into so many of the Suttantas (Ryas Davids, Discussions of the Buddha, i. 3. 4). Asoka made it the subject of the first and second of the Rock Edicts in which he recommended his religion to his people, and refers again to it in the fourth. After Asoka had been a Buddhist before, in the first Edict, he proclaimed himself a vegetarian. The rule of the Buddhist Order was to accept any food offered to them on their round for alms; when Devadatta demanded a more stringent rule, the Buddha expressly refused to make any change (Vinaya Texts, ii. 117, iii. 253); and a much-quoted hymn, the Amangadana Sutta (translated by Fanshull, SBE x. 40), put into the mouth of Kanaka the Buddha, lays down that it is not the eating of flesh that deiles a man, but the doing of evil deeds. The Buddhist application of the principle differs, therefore, from the Jain.

It would be long, and not very useful, task to trace the different degrees in which the theory has been subsequently held. It is sufficient to note that the less stringent view has prevailed. At the end of the long Buddhist domination the practices of animal sacrifices had ceased, and though with the revival of Brahman influence an attempt was made to restore them, it failed. The use of meat as food had been given up, and was still forbidden by the Buddha. The Indians have not become strict vegetarians. Dried fish is still widely eaten; and though there is a deep-rooted aversion to taking animal life of any other kind, the treatment of living animals, draught oxen and canals for example, is not always thoughtful. Nowhere else, however, has the doctrine of ahimsa had so great and long-continued an influence on national character.

AHIERIA—AHIQAR, THE STORY OF

in several versions of the Thousand and One Nights, the story of the sage Ahiqar (Hakkar, Ḩikār, etc.; cf. on the original form of the name, Litt. in T.J.A., 1899, col. 605) is to be found. The tale is derived from a compilation which was circulated especially among the Christians of Syria (cf. Litt. in ZDMG I. 1886, p. 192). The contents of the story are as follows:—

T. W. Ryas Davids.

AHIMAŚA.—Ahimśa is the Indian doctrine of non-injury, that is, to all living things (men and animals). It first finds expression in a mystical passage of the Chāṇḍogya Upanishad (1. 5. 7), where five ethical qualities, one being ahimsa, are said to be equivalent to a part of the sacrifice of which the whole life of man is made an epitome. This is not explained as the literal content of the prophet's "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," but is connected with it. The date of this document may be the 7th cent. B.C. This was also the probable time of the rise of the doctrine, which made the non-injury doctrine a leading tenet of the sect which made the Nārāyaṇa Sutta 1. 4. 2, translated by Jacob, Jaina Sutras, i. 39. It is the first of the five vows of the Jain ascetics (ib. p. xxiii.); and they carried it to great extremes, not driving away vermin from their clothes or bodies, and carrying a filter and a broom to save minute insects in the water they drank or on the ground where they sat (ib. p. xxvii).

The doctrine was early adopted in all Indian sects from that time to the present. But each school of thought looks at it in a different way, and carries it out in practice in different degrees.

The early Buddhists adopted it fully, and placed it on the line at which we should now call ordinary, reasonable, habitual. It occurs twice in the 'eightfold path,'—no doubt the very essence of Buddhism,—first under right ascertainment, and again under right conduct (Majjhima ni, 251 = Sanjuvata v. 9). It is the first in the Ten Precepts for the Order (sikkhapadani), and therefore of the five rules of conduct for laymen (sanjivani silanii), which correspond to the first live of the Precepts (Vinaya i. 83, Anguttara ii. 293). It is the subject of the first paragraph of the old tract on conduct, the Silas, which is certainly one of the very oldest of extant Buddhist documents, and in which it is clearly indicated by way into so many of the Suttantas (Ryias Davids, Discussions of the Buddha, i. 3. 4). Asoka made it the subject of the first and second of the Rock Edicts in which he recommended his religion to his people, and refers again to it in the fourth. After Asoka had been a Buddhist before, in the first Edict, he proclaimed himself a vegetarian. The rule of the Buddhist Order was to accept any food offered to them on their round for alms; when Devadatta demanded a more stringent rule, the Buddha expressly refused to make any change (Vinaya Texts, ii. 117, iii. 253); and a much-quoted hymn, the Amangadana Sutta (translated by Fanshull, SBE x. 40), put into the mouth of Kanaka the Buddha, lays down that it is not the eating of flesh that deiles a man, but the doing of evil deeds. The Buddhist application of the principle differs, therefore, from the Jain.

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AHIR.

An important tribe of agriculturists and breeders of cattle, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 9,806,473, of whom the vast majority are found in the United Provinces (where they are the largest caste), the United and Central Provinces, and in smaller numbers throughout N. India. Their name connects them with the Abhiras, a people occupying the same district in the South, and with the Ambirs, tribes of the Sudras, or servile caste of the Hindu polity, with the Abhiras and Nishādas, who were a black, long-haired Indian race, occupying what is now the valley of Sind, is perhaps correct. Another suggestion, which would connect them with a Syrian tribe, the Alats, who are believed to have entered India in the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C., is less probable.

In N. India their traditions connect them with Mathura, the holy land of Krishna; and the Jādava, one of their subdivisions, claim descent from the Yādava tribe to which Krishna is said to have belonged; while another, the Nandī, of the United Provinces, the Nanda Ghosha of Bengal, claims as its ancestor Nanda, the foster-father of the divine child.

1. Bengal. — In Bengal the caste is known as Gollā (Skr. gāpūta, 'a cowherd'), and in accordance with this the animals of the smaller kind, generally worshippers of Krishna, and therefore members of the Vaishnava sect. But their cult is of a much lower type than the pictorial form of Vaishnavism associated in Bengal with the cult of Nandī. It is not necessary that they should have a special feast, known as the Govardhan-pūja, which takes its name from the holy Mathurō hill associated with the cult of Krishna, at which they pray to a heap of rice which is supposed to represent the hill, and make an offering of food, red-lead, turmeric, and flowers to every cow which they possess. In other parts the worship is paid to a mass of cow dung made to represent a human form, presumably that of Krishna. A still more primitive rite is that described by Buchanan (in Martín, F. Indica, i. 194), when at the Dīvolī, or Feast of Lamps, they tie together the feet of a pig, and drive their cattle over the wretched animal until it is killed, after which they boil and eat the flesh in the fields, though on other occasions they are not permitted to taste pork. Here the pig was probably originally a sacred animal, and is sacramentally purified by the beating of the beast, and the eating of the flesh. It is a curious proof of the sympathy which even Hindus of high castes entertain. Its almost complete exclusion under the code of Hinduism, that when, in 1855, the English officer in charge of the Rental country prohibited this brutal rite, a protest was immediately made in the Legislative Council of Bengal by one of its members. It is satisfactory to find that the Lieutenant-Governor supported the action of his subordinate (North Indian Notes and Queries, v. 38).

In W. Bengal they have special reverence for the hero Lorkī, round whom a cycle of curious legendary characters, and for Kālī Bākā or Kālināth, the ghost of a murdered Brāhmaṇ, which is greatly feared. If he be not propitiated, he brings disease upon the cattle; and Kesley describes how, when the plague appears, the village cattle are massed together, and cotton seed sprinkled over them. The fattest and sleekest animal being singled out, it is severely beaten with rods. The herd, scared by the noise, scampers off to the nearest shelter, followed by the scare-crow; and by this rite the ghost of the marrion is stayed.

2. United Provinces. — In the United Provinces, those members of the caste who are initiated into the sacred fire are called Abhira or Saivas, the former preferring the cult of Krishna, the latter that of Siva or of his consort Devi in some one of her many forms, in preference to that of the Vedas. Another interesting incident which has its temple at and near the city of Vindhyāchala in the Mirzapur district, and is supposed to be the guardian goddess

turns out a failure. He squanders the property of Ahiqar and commits all kinds of crimes. When he is on this account called in question by Ahiqar, Nasrāh and Sennacherib devise a device to remove him (see his uncle). He contrives an intrigue to represent him as a traitor to the king. The king is deceived, and condemns Ahiqar to death. However, Ahiqar and his wife Sennacherib, in alluding to the executioner to spare his life, and to execute in his stead a slave who had been condemned to death. Ahiqar is kept concealed by his wife, and is generally supposed to be dead. The news, too, reaches the ears of Sennacherib’s rival, the Pharaoh of Egypt, and encourages him to impose on Sennacherib the task of building him a palace between heaven and earth. If Sennacherib should be able to carry out this demand, he would pay him the income of his empire for three years; but if not, Sennacherib must do the same to him. Of all the advisers of the king, no one is able to comply with the demand of Pharaoh—least of all, Nadan. The king makes Nasrāh, a relative of Ahiqar, his viceroy in Egypt, and compels him to remain in Egypt for five years, and then returns to Babylon. If on the one hand, the king is highly delighted, releases Ahiqar, and sends him to Egypt. He easily solves all problems proposed by Pharaoh, and the latter has to pay the tribute and still other sums to Sennacherib. After his return home, Ahiqar is again installed in his old position, and his nephew is unconditionally handed over to him. Ahiqar reproaches him for his actions, and the effect on Nadan is so strong that he is belted up like a skin and burst asunder.

The importance of this narrative, from the side of the history of religion, consists in the fact that, in all likelihood, it belongs to the lost literature of the Arameans of the pre-Christian era (cf. Lidzb. in TLLS and Ephemer. i., 1899). The story that has arisen in ancient times can be included from the consideration that the contents of the tale, with the names of both the principal heroes, are alluded to in the Book of Tobit (1:49). The connexion of this passage in the Book of Tobit with the story of Ahiqar was first recognized by G. Hoffmann (Aussage aus syrischen Akten persischen Mährer, p. 182), but he adopted the view that the story too is first in the Middle Ages under the influence of the passage in Tobit. However, the various versions of the story discovered since then make this supposition untenable, and the priority of the story of Ahiqar is now generally recognized. The heathen character of the tale, too, cannot be mistaken, and this is especially prominent in the Armenian version. Among the gods mentioned in the text, the ‘God of heaven’ takes the first place. He is Bel Saman, whose worship was widely diffused among the Semitic peoples in the last centuries B.C. and the first A.D. Especially instructive is the passage in which Ahiqar emphasizes the ascendancy of Bel in the matter as the ‘God of heaven’ over Bel, sun and moon (cf. Ephemer. i. 1, 1899).

of the Vindhyian Hills. In Sahāranpur they have two deities who preside over marriage—Brahm Devatā and Bar Devatā, the former representing the great Hindū god Brahmā, who is often image of a dead bridegroom (Hind. bar, Skr. vata). On the night of the wedding the image of Brahmat Devatā is brought by the goldsmith and placed upon the marriage-platform. When the bride they are worshiped in the kitchen, the site has been perform, the bride and bridegroom offer to the image sandalwood, rice, flowers, incense, sweetmeats, and cakes, and light lamps before it. The women of the household then wash the image, and raise an earthen platform over it. The members of the family worship this daily by pouring water over it, and on fast days offerings of milk and rich cakes are made to it. This is done until a second marriage takes place in the family, when it is dug up and removed, and its place is taken by a new image. This is a very curious survival of Brahmā worship among a people where we were unlikely to suspect its existence. Except in a few temples especially dedicated to this, the head of the Hindu triad, his cult has now largely fallen into disuse. The worship of the banyan tree is closely connected with the custom of tree-matriage (Crocke, Popular Rel., p. 311). Among the Ahir the bridegroom marks the trunk of the tree with vermilion at the same time as he marks the parting of the bride's hair with the same substance, so as to represent the form of the blood-covenant, marking the reception of the bride into a new kith and kin different from her own. They also worship the Pāchuišpūr (see Pach-chišpūr) and various minor local gods, the most popular of whom is Kāśāṇā, a deified ghost, at whose festival pots of milk are set to boil for the refreshment of the godling; and one man, becoming possessed by the deity, pours the contents over his shoulder, and is said never to be scandals. Their special cattle-god in the eastern parts of these Provinces is Bīrnāth (Skr. vīra-nātha, 'hero-lord'), who is represented by a collection of five wooden images radely carved into human form.

3. Central Provinces.—A similar quintette of gods of disease is worshipped in the Central Provinces. Here their principal deities are Dhāra Dev, said to be a deified bridegroom who died on his wedding-day (see Davidiāns), and Būdha Dēo, the chief god of the Gonds. As in Bengal, their chief festival is the Divalī, when they go about be-decked with strings of cowry shells, singing and dancing. They also pay much respect to a deified man, Haridās Bāhā. He is said to have been a yogī ascetic, and to have possessed the power of separating his soul from his body at pleasure. One day he went in spirit to Benares, and left his body in the house of one of his disciples, an Ahir. As he did not return, and the people ascertained that a dead body was lying in this house, they insisted that it should be burned. After this was done, Haridās returned, and when he found that his body had been burned, he entered into another man, and through him informed the people what a terrible mistake had been made. In atonement for their error, they worship him to this day. We have here an excellent example of the world-wide belief in the separable soul. The beliefs of the Ahir in this Province are of a very primitive type, and Russell points to obvious survivals of totemism in the titles of some of the sub-castes.

4. Deccan.—In the Deccan the Ahir are known as Gavli, which is the equivalent of Gavli, explained above. Before the caste are worshiped in the form of sandal paste, flowers, and food. Each family dedicates a she-[buah] to Kailung, the Hindu god of the kitchen; the site has been perform, the bride and bridegroom offer to the image sandalwood, rice, flowers, incense, sweetmeats, and cakes, and light lamps before it. The women of the household then wash the image, and raise an earthen platform over it. The members of the family worship this daily by pouring water over it, and on fast days offerings of milk and rich cakes are made to it. This is done until a second marriage takes place in the family, when it is dug up and removed, and its place is taken by a new image. This is a very curious survival of Brahmā worship among a people where we were unlikely to suspect its existence. Except in a few temples especially dedicated to this, the head of the Hindu triad, his cult has now largely fallen into disuse. The worship of the banyan tree is closely connected with the custom of tree-matriage (Crocke, Popular Rel., p. 311). Among the Ahir the bridegroom marks the trunk of the tree with vermilion at the same time as he marks the parting of the bride's hair with the same substance, so as to represent the form of the blood-covenant, marking the reception of the bride into a new kith and kin different from her own. They also worship the Pāchuišpūr (see Pach-chišpūr) and various minor local gods, the most popular of whom is Kāśāṇā, a deified ghost, at whose festival pots of milk are set to boil for the refreshment of the godling; and one man, becoming possessed by the deity, pours the contents over his shoulder, and is said never to be scandals. Their special cattle-god in the eastern parts of these Provinces is Bīrnāth (Skr. vīra-nātha, 'hero-lord'), who is represented by a collection of five wooden images radely carved into human form.

5. Gaddi, Goši.—In N. India, when Ahir have converted to Islam, they are known as Goši ('a kinder,' Skr. gush, 'to shout after cattle') and Gaddi, and follow the Muhammadan rule, with some adumbration of Dravidian animism. In Bombay they use many Hindū rites at marriage and birth, and worship the image of the goddess Devatī at the Dasāhrā festival, and of Lakshmi, the goddess of good luck, at the Divalī, while they also adore the Tulasi or holy basil plant, as at the Holī they worship the castor-oil plant.

Quite distinct from these are the Gaddī of the Panjab Hills, of whose beliefs Rose has given a full account. They are nominally Hindus by religion, and worshiping Siva by preference, and converted to Islam, they are known as Goši ('a kinder,' Skr. gush, 'to shout after cattle') and Gaddi, and follow the Muhammadan rule, with some adumbration of Dravidian animism. In Bombay they use many Hindū rites at marriage and birth, and worship the image of the goddess Devatī at the Dasāhrā festival, and of Lakshmi, the goddess of good luck, at the Divalī, while they also adore the Tulasi or holy basil plant, as at the Holī they worship the castor-oil plant.

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embodied in this is taken into the cattle shed, where he is worshipped by the sacred fire on a Thursday. A bull or a cow, like the Dyak, a few drops of the blood sprinkled on the iron. At the same time cakes are offered, and some are eaten by one member of the household, but not by more than one, or the scourgings will not abate; the rest are buried in the earth. Every month a sacrifice is offered in the same fashion. Kailâ is a demon worshipped by women after childbirth, by putting up a stone under a tree, which is sanctified by magic formulae (none of which are described). When Muhammad, a white goat, which may have a black head, is offered up to the demon by making an incision in the right ear and letting the blood fall on a white cloth—a good example of the commutation of the blood sacrifice. The Ahoms eat coarse sugar and moss, the cloth, which she must wear until it is worn out, thus maintaining a sacramental communion between the demon and herself. If any other woman should happen to wear the cloth, it would cause her divers bodily ills. These facts regarding Gaddi religion are specially interesting, as being one of the best extant accounts of Indian animism as shown in the Panjâb Hills.

LITERATURE.—For Bengal: Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology, 314 ff.; Riceley, Tribes and Castes, i. 295; Buchanan Hamilton, in Martin, Eastern India, i. 1044, ii. 133. For the cult of Lorg and the Chalukyas: Crooke, Popular Religion and Folklore, ii. 160; Riceley, op. cit. i. 192; North Indian Notes and Queries, v. 72. For the Provinces: Crooke, Tribes and Castes, i. 60, ii. 370, 415. For Kajpatuwa: Census Report, 1901, i. 139. For the Central Provinces: Crooke, Tribes and Castes, i. 295, iv. p. 59, iii. p. 597. For the Deccan and Concan: Bombay Gazetteer, xv. pt. i. 597, xvi. 191, 1914; P.A.S.E. li. 42. For the Panjâb: Rose, Census Report, 1901, i. 119 ff.

W. CROOKE.

AHOMS.—The Ahoms are Shâns belonging to the great Tai family of the Sino-Tibetan branch. This family extends from the Gulf of Siam northwards into Yûn-nan and thence westward to Assam. It comprises several divisions, viz. the Siamese, Laos, Shâns, Tai Mau or Tai Khî (Chinese Shâns), Kien-kang, and Annam. According to Dr. Grierson, the Tai race, in its different branches, is beyond all question the most widely spread of any in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and even in parts beyond the Peninsula, and it is certainly one of the most numerous. Its members are to be found from Assam to far into the Chinese province of Kwang-si, and from Bangkok to the interior of Yûn-nan. The Ahoms used to call themselves not ‘Ahom,’ but, according to the etymology of the word ‘Ahom’ there has been some discussion, and various views have been expressed. Dr. Grierson seems to incline to the opinion that the word is a corruption of Asha. Shâns is the name given to the Burmese people, the same spelling and pronunciation of the name of the well-known tribe. We have not, however, been able to ascertain what is the force of the initial A. The Ahoms, however, like the other Shâns, call themselves Shâns, but they also call themselves ‘Ahoms,’ and say, when mentioning them, that ‘Asâm did this and that.’ If this suggestion is correct, ‘Ahom’ must be a comparatively speaking, modern corruption. It is very probable that this tribe gave the modern name to our Province of Assam, the old name for the country being Saumārpî.

History.—Gait, in his extremely valuable work, A History of Assam, gives a detailed historical account of the tribe. All that need be stated here is that the Ahoms invaded Assam, under the leadership of Chulâ-spâ, from the Shân States in the 12th century, and that they were called burut, or ‘Ahoms’ from an exact date, which has been computed by us from their reckoning to be A.D. 1225. The conquest of Yûn-nan by Khâблâr Rûhân took place in the year 1227, and it is possible that the invasions into Yûn-nan began some years previous to the final conquest of the country by the Mongols. This general disturbance of the people which took place in consequence caused some of the Shâns to migrate to other countries, as was the case with the Ahom branch. Probably, in the 12th century, they might have determined to shift their quarters, for the Shâns are restless by nature, and are constantly changing from one settled place to another, even in times of peace.

The Ahoms, passing over the Patakî range, which divides Assam from Upper Burma, subdued in turn the different Tai tribes, the last and most important of which they took possession of in the 14th century. They thus obtained a country in which they found possession of the Brahmaputra valley. Although it is said that the Ahoms were a peaceful people, they were, as they appeared in the Provinces, not large in numbers, they must have increased considerably afterwards, for they gradually extended their dominions. With the expulsion of the last ruler of Judges Sinâ-pô (1413) they were in possession of practically the whole valley of Assam, and were, moreover, more than once to repulse the Mohammedans who had invaded the country on several occasions, and to defeat the great Kâkâchi king Nara Nâryâyl, as well as the Raja of Jalâl. The Ahoms probably received a certain number of recruits from their Shân relatives beyond the Patakî; but they seem to have adopted most of the people of the country largely into their tribes, and by this means also they probably increased their numbers.

At the Census of 1901 those who returned themselves as Ahoms amounted to 275,624, the greater portion of this number being resident in the two upper Assam districts of Sibâugy and Lakhimpûr.

The Ahoms, as two brothers, Khânbâng and Khânsâl, from whom they claim descent, came down from heaven and established the kingdom of Yûn-nan. The country was open to any invaders knew or could have introduced. The result is a style which is influenced by the Burmese, the Kâbâo and Chalûk-yan art, with a certain largeness of conception which the Hindus never quite attained, but which is characteristic of the people who have lived for ages under the same dynasty. Among these buildings the Jami Maskâlî, or Cathedral Mosque, though not remarkable for size, is one of the most beautiful mosques in the East. This and other buildings of the same class, following the most elegant and instructive of Indo-Saracen styles, were built during the century and a half of independent rule (A.D. 1413-1753). Their tombs are equally remarkable, that of the King Mahmuâd Begdâ, being one of the most splendid sepulchres in India.


† In Assam it is said to be a gharial.


§ Dr. Cushing’s note in the Burma Census Report of 1891, P. 301.

¶ Said to take its name from the Ahom words pāl, ‘to cut,’ and kāf, ‘tool,’ it being the Ahom custom to seek out enemies by examining their cutting knives.


§§ See note by Dr. Cushing in the Burma Census Report of 1891.

* For derivation of ‘Pong’ see Burma Census Report, 1891, p. 302.

†† Cushing in Burma Census Report, 1891.
ordinary Kachari* woman of the plains, whose skin is frequently dusky in hue, and whose features are hard and ill favoured. Though more muscular, and certainly more capable of physical endurance than the Assamese Hindoo, she is very subject to the semi-Aryan extraction, the Ahom, by long residence in the steamy plains of Assam, has lost the more vigorous parts of his originally physical constitution, and has become an incorrigibly lazy as the ordinary Assamese ryayt. Ahoms are heavy drinkers, consuming large quantities of toddy, called by them tanta, which they brew in their own villages. The Rhikus, or harvest and sowing festivals, are principally celebrated among them more than usually here. 1 The deadhus, or Ahom priests, sit in a spirit from rice in out of the way localities, often in defiance of the Excise laws. The evils of the habit of drinking, and the class of women whom it bequeaths to origin, do not, so far, appear to have spread among them. In education, the Ahoms are more enlightened than even the ordinary Assamese Hindoos, which is saying a good deal. In consequence, both the Ahoms and the Assamese Hindos stand in great danger of being allowed out of all Government as well as industrial employment, by the people of Eastern Bengal. The condition of the old Ahom aristocracy becomes worse and worse each year, owing chiefly to the failure of its members to realize the new conditions of life. Families in Sibsagar which a generation or two back held positions of power and comparative wealth at the Ahom Rajas court are now practically destitute.

Dress.—The dress of the Ahom turnsman at the present time consists nothing to distinguish from the worn by the Assamese cultivator. It was the Ahoms, however, who probably introduced into Assam the large brocaded hat or phopi, which is an adaptation of the Shih head covering. The dress of an Ahom nobleman used to consist of a turban of silk or cotton, a long cape or shawl generally of Assamese silkphoi or silk silk, reaching to the waist, a long coat, also of silk, called phoijhuris reaching down to the knees, and a chiria or silk-woven waist coat. Ahom females dress in a similar manner to ordinary Assamese women, wearing either silk (varying in texture or pattern) or cotton (worsted) of the same wearer. All this silk is spun and woven in the Assamese homes, and, as the Ahom are as well as men wont to wear a phopi, a specially large and gaily decorated hat being reserved for the bride on her wedding-day. Formerly the phopi was an emblem of authority, and none but the women were allowed in the presence of the Raja. Jewellery is much the same as that ordinarvly worn in the plains, but, though the different articles are sometimes called by different names. The girls of the Deodhai, or priestly clan, tattoo star-shaped designs on their hands and arms, and dye used being prepared by Ahoms of Nara villages. Tattooing takes place when a girl has reached about her fifteen years of age. The Ahom tribe of Assam, who possess a few settlements in the valley, observe a similar custom.

Houses and Villages.—Ahom villages do not differ from those of the ordinary cultivator of the valley, but the houses of the priests (Deodhais), who are in all matters more conservative than the rest of the tribe, are built on piles about 5 to 6 ft. from the ground, the dwelling of the ordinary cultivator being either set up on an earthen platform or flush with the ground. The Deodhai houses are divided into three compartments, namely, a sleeping room, a kitchen, and a durbar or dining-room. The spaces immediately below these three chambers are used for the loom, cowshed, and pig-sty respectively.

Food and drink.—Pigs and fowls abound in the Deodhai village. Ahoms who have not been baptized, sometimes even those who have, become the disciples of Vaishnavism, drink wine, eat pork and fowls, and drink rice beer and rice spirit, much to the scandal of the Assamese and Marcobans, who regard them with horror. The Ahoms cultivate rice in the same fashion, using the same primitive plough, as the other peasants of the valley, but, owing to their extremely lethargic habits, fail to reap anything like full benefits from the magnificently rich soil. A large quantity of grain is used annually by them in the manufacture of lau (rice beer), and they spend probably quite as much money in buying opium as in paying the government land revenue.

Exogamous groups.—The Ahoms are divided into a number of exogamous groups called phoids or khela, the principal being divided in number, hence the term stghorah (belonging to seven houses) which is nowadays applied to them. The composition of these seven principal divisions has varied from time to time, but they are said to have originated from the seven sons of the Royal Family, the Baroughahon, Bargohahon, Chiring, Deodhai, Mohan, and Bailong phoids. The whole of these exogamous groups are divided, from north to south, into two main divisions, called Gohains and Garos, and from north to south are said to be consecutively inferior phoids, such as the Eaodhons, who were the public executioners in the old days, as well as Liakhans, Ghrafals and others, with whom Ahoms of the upper classes will not intermarry.

For a description of the Ahom system of government, State and social organization, and particularly the phoi system, the reader is referred to Professor J. P. Gait’s History of Assam.

Marriage.—Ahoms who have become Hindus observe a modified Hindu marriage ceremony, but the real Ahom rite is the saklang. The ritual is contained in a holy book called the saklang pathi (unfortunately long lost). The Hindu ceremony is conducted with some secrecy, and as it is said to be forbidden to divulge its details to anyone but an Ahom, the writer had considerable difficulty in finding out what actually occurs on the occasion; but two reliable authorities, Srijata Kanakweswar Borpatra Gohain and Radha Kanta Sandikai, E.A.C., were good enough to give him the following description. The bridegroom sits in the courtyard; the bride is brought in, and she walks seven times round the bridegroom. She then sits down by his side. After this both rise and proceed to a room screened off from the guests. Here one end of a cloth is tied round the neck of the bride, the other end being tied round the groom’s waist. They walk to a corner, where nine vessels full of water have been placed on plan- tain leaves, the Chirling Phukan (or master of the ceremonial) rolls round the bride and groom’s feet, then three cups containing milk, honey and ghee, and rice frumenty, are produced, which the bride and bridegroom have to smell. Some uncooked rice is then brought in a basket, into which, after the bride and bridegroom have exchanged knives, rings are plunged by bride and bridegroom respectively, unknown to one another, it being the intention that each should discover the other’s ring and wear it on the finger. The exchange of the knives and the rings is the binding part of the ceremony. Bride and bridegroom are then taken outside and do seva (homage) to the bride’s parents and to the people assembled, and the marriage is complete.

Ahoms used to be polygamous, but one wife is said to be more correct now. Ahom girls are not married till they reach a marriage age—sometimes much later. The marriage expenses seem to be quite out of proportion to the means of the people; for instance, a Deodhai marriage in Sibsagar was reported to the writer to have cost more than 250 (bridegroom’s expenses).

Death.—Ahoms usually bury their dead; formerly they invariably did so, but now those who have accepted the Hindu religion resort to cremation. The following is a brief description of the old Ahom rites. The corpse of the poor are buried in the ground without coffins. Those of the rich are reverently laid in boxes; a water-pot, cup, dâ (stick), phopi (or large hat), and a pirâ (wooden stool) are put inside the box with the corpse. These articles are intended for the use of the deceased’s spirit in the next world. The coffin is then lowered into the grave, which is filled in, a large earthen jarumu (maidoum) being thrown up over it. The Ahom kings were buried in tumuli in the Sibsagar district; their funeral obsequies being of a much more elaborate nature. A baranj (Ahom chronicle) describes how at the funeral of Raja Gaddihar Singh, who died in A.D. 1699,* a number of elephants and candidates of the deceased’s attendants, were interfered with the corpse, together with many articles of food and rainment, and ornaments. It is stated that sometimes horses and elephants were interfered alive with a dead king.

Religion.—As the Ahoms are now almost entirely Hinduized, and there are very few of the old * Gait, History of Assam, p. 153.
Deodhais (the only persons who possess any knowledge of the ancient ritual) who remember the ancient religious customs, it is well-nigh impossible to give an accurate and connected account of the Ahom religion.

The writer has been unable to trace Buddhist influences. Possibly Buddhism had not penetrated so far as the Upper Mekong before the Ahoms left the Brahmaputra, their present site; or Buddhism had become so inextricably mixed with the worship of the gods of earth and sky as to become indiscernible. Apart from the god Chum-seng or Chung Deo, whose worship was carried on by the Ahom king, assisted by the Chiring Phukan, as will afterwards be described, the Ahoms possessed various gods, amongst whom the following seem to have been the most important: Along or Phu-Ra-Ta-Ra (God the creator), Lengdong (God of heaven, the Hindu Indra), Kaokhong (God of water, the old Vedic deity Varuna), Lengbin and Lengdin (God and goddess of the earth), and Phai (God of fire, Hindu Agni). Chumseng, who was called also the Rain God, was worshipped more as a fetich—something supernatural, possessing the power to do good to the king and his people. Chumseng was perhaps an ammonite, something of the nature of the Hindu sādhrum, or even a precious stone (which the etymology of the name, i.e., chum = 'precious' and seng = 'stone,' would certainly suggest). The stone or image, whatever it was, could not have been large, as at the coronation ceremony it was hung round the king's neck.

The worship was conducted with secrecy, none but the king being allowed to view Chumseng. The king could see him only twice a year. The mysticism attached to the Chumseng worship accounts for the doubt as to what Chumseng actually is. Old people say that Chumseng lies concealed somewhere in Assam at the present day.

The Ahoms performed ceremonies called saufa and sampfa for the good of the crops and the State, the latter being on a grander scale than the former, and conducted by the king himself. A ceremony called sarkai, the object of which was the earning away of evil spirits from the country, was also performed, but so briefly of this ceremony that a man who had lost several wives by death was offered up as a sacrifice. The rikkhwan, or expiration ceremony (lit. rik = 'call,' and khwan = 'live'), was performed at the installation of a new king, in times of danger, or after a victory. The procedure was as follows. The king sat in full dress on a platform, and the priests and astrologers poured holy water over his head, whence it ran down his body through a hole in the platform on to the chief sailong or astrologer, who was standing below. The king then changed his clothes, giving those which he had been wearing and his ornaments to the chief sailong. Gait says that the same ceremony, on a smaller scale, was also frequently performed by the common people, and still is, on certain occasions, e.g. when a child is drowned. Much the same ceremony seems to have been celebrated in Manipur.

Priesthood.—The priests, as has already been stated, were called deodhais. Probably this name was applied to them after the conversion of the king of the Deodhais to Hinduism, for in the Ahom language the priests were called sāngmun. The Deodhais claim descent from Laokhi, who is said to have been the companion of the two princes Khulung and Khunlai when they descended from heaven to earth, and to have married a princess. In the dual capacity of priest and counsellor. Although in the old days of Ahom rule the Deodhais composed the king's Privy Council, they were afterwards restricted to the duties and powers mentioned, the latter being thought by the Ahoms a matter of very great importance. Tradition runs that the heavenly princess brought from above the kai-cham-mung, or heavenly fowls; hence the sanctity of these birds. The palace of the Deodhais near Luckwa (in Sibsagar district) once performed the divination ceremony for the writer's benefit. It was as follows. An altar of plan tain trees and bamboos was set up (sainta), and certain leaves and fruit, rice, sugar-cane, and liquor (lau) were brought, and a lamp. Three fowls and three fowls' eggs were placed upon the altar. The officiating priest sprinkled holy water on the spectators with a sprig of bilas singpha (the King flower). Prayers were then offered up to Jasingha (the god of learning), and the fowls' necks were wrung. The flesh was scraped off the fowls' legs until the latter were quite clean, and then search was made for any small holes that existed in the bones. When the holes were found, small splinters of bamboo were inserted in them; and the bones were held up, with the bamboo splinters sticking in them, and the officiating priest read out of some old book which the priest had ready at hand. This book contained diagrams of all sorts of combinations of positions of splinters stuck in fowls' legs, and each meant something, the meaning appearing in verses written in the form of a hymn, the character of which were duly drawn out by the Deodhais. The Ahom kings placed great faith in such omens, and the position of diviner was one of no small profit. Even now many Ahoms consult a soothsayer.

Coronation.—The Royal Coronation ceremony was celebrated with great pomp at Choraidoo hill in the Sibsagar district, the Sworyadvo* and his principal queen riding on elephants. On such occasions the sacred Chumseng was brought out from the Royal ara-cana and hung round the neck of the king, who was girt about with the sword hengdang (the Ahom 'excalibur'), three feathers of the sacred birds (kri-cham-mung) being placed in his turban. After planting two banyan trees on Choraidoo hill, the king returned and took his seat on a bamboo stage (kolong ghar), under which had been placed a specimen of every living creature, including a slither of human hair which was bathed with holy water, which fell upon the collection below. Then the king, taking the sacred sword, killed a man, a criminal being selected for the purpose.† A great feast was afterwards given to the people, all of whom assembled to do homage to the new king.

As Gait says, 'The Ahoms were endowed with the historical faculty in a very high degree; and their priests and leading families possessed barunja, or histories, which were periodically brought up to date. They were written on oblong strips of bark, and were very carefully preserved and handed down from father to son.'

A detailed description of the Ahom system of chronology will be found on p. 301 of Gait's History of Assam. It is interesting to find that it is of like character to that employed by the Chinese, Japanese, and other Mongols. This fact is another link in the chain of evidence in favour of China having been the cradle of the Ahom race.

* Lit. 'god of heaven,' a title given to the kings by their subjects.
† Lit. 'god of heaven,' a title given to the kings by their subjects.
‡ Dr. Cushing very clearly states this theory in his note on the Shane (Burma Census Report, 1901, pp. 201-204).
* Gait, History of Assam, p. 16.
* Gait, History of Assam, p. 4.
• Dr. Cushing very clearly states this theory in his note on the Shane (Burma Census Report, 1901, pp. 201-204).
• Gait, History of Assam (1902).
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without any goodness (Zât-Sparām, i. 17; Dâdâstân-i-Dûyî, xxxvii, 19; Soul Doctrine, i. 5; or, it is not a fallen angel, like his counterpart in Christianity.

As is standing epithet is ‘the demon of demons’ (Vendidad, xix. 1); and he is the destroyer of the world (Artâ-Vairâ Nâmât, ch. e.) and full of malice (Bâôdâkhân, i. 1–28), and as in constant struggle with the spirit of light (e.g. Yasht, x, 97, xiii, 13, xvii, 2, xix. 46, 96; Yasht, x. 15). He strives to persuade men to be hostile to Ormazd and win them over to his own side (Bâôdâkhân, i. 14; Zât-Sparâm, i. 8), and his greatest victory consists in inciting a human soul to rebel against Ormazd. His complete satisfaction is found in securing a human soul on his side (Dâdâstân-i-Khûrêh, xlvi. 4, 5). So mighty is he, moreover, that even the Yazatâs, or ‘Angels,’ did not succeed in overpowering him, and it was only Zarathushtra who confounded him (Yasht, xvii, 10, 20); yet he stands (at the resurrection, 157; 36–41).

From Ahriman proceeds all disorder, and he is the source of all disease and of death (Yasna, xxx. 5; Vendidad, xx. 3, xxii. 2, 29; Yasht, xix. 31; Dâdâstân-i-Dûyî, xxxvi. 13–14; Haurân, xxv. 3), and introduces impurities, diseases, and death. He killed Gâyômôrd, the primeval man, and Göôkârân, the primordial ox (Bâôdâkhân, iii. 17; Zât-Sparâm, iv. 3; Dâdâstân-i-Dûyî, xxxvii. 82); he introduced a physical and moral imperfection into creation; he created hosts of demons to accomplish his work of destruction in the kingdom of goodness (Bâôdâkhân, i. 10, 24, 27); he formed Ahi Dahaka for the destruction of the world of righteousness (Yasht, ix. 14, xvii. 34). Ahriman is the head of a rabid crew of demons, fiends, and arch-fiends, who are mentioned hundreds of times as dâwâis (Mod. Pers. dia, ‘demon’) and droyas in the Avesta and later literature, and conceived of as abiding in hell, in ‘endless darkness,’ ‘the worst life, the abode of Deceit and of the Worst Thought’ (Yasna, xxxi. 20, xxxii. 13; Vendidad, iii. 35).

The final defeat of Ahriman and his evil progeny is to be brought about by man’s own efforts, as in the Saiân, because Ahriman, being impotent and helpless, will bow down before the good spirits (Yasht, xix. 96), and his doom, according to the later books, is to be the utter annihilation (Dâdâstân-i-Dûyî, xxxvii. 114, 120), for the Zoroastrian religion postulates the ultimate triumph of good over evil and the final eradication of sin from the world (Dâdâstân-i-Dûyî, xxxvii. 120–125). At that time Ahriman will be driven from mankind (Dinkart, tr. Sanjana, p. 446), and, rushing to darkness and gloom in his impotence (Bâôdâkhân, xxx. 30), will be forced to seek refuge in the earth (Westergaard Fragments, iv. 3), where he will be imprisoned (Dinkart, tr. Sanjana, p. 151) or destroyed (Uarna Memorial Volume, 128–129).

Attempts have been made to trace resemblances between Ahriman and Ahi, the sky-serpent of ancient India, as well as with the Mara of Buddhism, but these are rare, few, and too remote to deserve much consideration. The nearest resemblance is that between Ahriman and Satan.

Owing to the emphasis which the Avesta and later books lay on the principle of evil as an active agent in the life of the world, Zoroastrianism is frequently spoken of as Dualism. The Paris, or modern followers of the faith, however, vigorously reject the application of the term to their religion, and their most advanced teachers deny attributing any personality to Ahriman except as a principle or force. Further discussion of this point, and the attitude in ancient as well as
modern times with regard to the subject, is reserved for the article on DUALISM. See also ORMAZD, ZOROASTRIANISM.

Like the YasTia its words are religious in character, one should be cautious in finding a historical interpretation. The one received, or perhaps granted without the most searching investigation at every step. They do indeed prove to be what at the first glance they seem to be; and they stand almost isolated in this respect, as being in their day among the most serious religioun and conviction and sentiment. But they imperatively demand all possible corroboration as to their value in regard to the vital consideration in question. Now the Ahunavir is one of their most important supports. Hence the high scientific value of its interpretation.

The facts relating to the Ahunavir, as also to the Gathas, certainly prove that the moral idea prevailed extensively in Iran as well as in India. For this is evident both psychologically and from the psychological experience; but it implies beyond all question a widely felt and practical religious influence of the moral idea upon the sentiments and lives of the populations amidst which this lore prevailed. Here we have a point of momentous consequence, which possibly explains also why Cyrus was so ready to further the religious as well as the political prosperity of the Jews, with all that this entailed in the religious promulgation and in the restoration of their sacred Temple with their established faith.

It is apparent from the translation given above that all ideas save the moral one are actually and instinctively excluded from the lines. Neither Aša, nor Vohuman, nor Śāhātrā is here used even in its high secondary sense as the name of one of the archangels themselves, each a personification of the supreme Ideas of Truth, Benevolence, and Lawful Order,—while the closing words refer to the first altruistic act of the moral instinct—the care of the afflicted; and, almost strange to say, there is not one word of any allusion to religion.

If we are correct in those lines 96 pli bearer the Ahunavir next after the Gathas in order of time, say about one hundred years later, then their exclusively moral point of view tends to prove the vital energy of the moral idea in the Gāthic hymns themselves, a matter of extreme scientific interest in view of the facts.

3. Later sanctity.—The Ahunavir, having acquired a singular sanctity for the reasons given, was freely used by the religious fancy of a somewhat later age. Like the 'sword of the Spirit,' it becomes a weapon in the hand of saints and angels. Zoroastra himself, in his later traditional rôle, and in his Temptation, repels Aŋpura Mainuyin with it, while Šraosha wields it as his smaitih, i.e. as his 'halbert.' It would, however, be precarious simply to assert that the above-noted characteristics are in the formula was the immediate cause of the somewhat excessive importance afterwards attributed to it. Its sacrosanct character, if one might so express it, was probably owing to its brevity plus its allusions to the Gathas and to the idea of some personal intellectual circumstance, and it was doubtless often used perfunctorily like the Pater Noster, if not indeed almost as a potent instrument of magic.

4. Relation of the Ahunavir to the Gathas.—The allusions to this formula which occur in the commentary upon it in Yasna xix.
have been widely exploited in critical and semi-critical studies upon the subject of the Philonian-Johannine Logos; and it certainly constitutes a secondary factor to be reckoned with in our decision as to the history of exegesis at the places indicated in each example. The Ahura Mazda being 'the word uttered before the heaven, the earth,' etc., do indeed recall the terms in the Prologue of St. John: 'In the beginning was the Word.' It has been supposed that their meaning is close to this 'Word' of St. John. Oppert, we believe, first suggested the connexion. But possible as such an initiative might be, the present writer does not regard it as at all probable, in view of the Greek Logos with which Philo was so familiar. Besides, there is no saying what the date of Yasna xix. may be; it may even have been Sasanian. Commentary of course appeared almost as soon as a text was issued; and our Pahlavi commentary texts, however late they received their present forms, as 'edited with all the manuscripts collated,' cannot fail to have preserved hints from the very earliest ages. The Pahlavi Logos has also been much covered up by over-grownths; and this Yasna xix. must certainly have predecessors. Philo may also have acquired some information as to Avestan doctrine from the semi-Persian books of the Bible, from the Zendavesta, or from the Talmud. So far as they were then current, and from the many related documents of which we have never known even the existence; for echoes of such religious doctrines must have reached both Jerusalem and Greek Egypt; but to suppose that Yasna xix. influenced this Philonian-Johannine Logos of the Prologue seems to us utterly out of the question, in view of the history of Philo's development. See art. Logos and Philo Judeus.


AHURA MAZDA.—See ORMAZD.

AINUS. [J. Batchelor].

1. The Ainu habitat. —The few Ainus now living —and at the present time there are less than 20,000 of them left—may be looked upon as the very last remnants of a great prehistoric race; and many, without doubt, once spread over an area extending from Siberia in the north down to the southernmost limits of old Japan. An indisputable proof of this lies in the fact that very many geographical names in Siberia and throughout the whole of the Japanese empire, Formosa excluded, are discovered to be of Ainu origin. Moreover, Japanese mythology, as contained in their book entitled Koigi, or Records of Ancient Matters, and Japanese history as found in their Nihonki, or Chronicles of Japan, both of which works date back to the 9th century.

2. The Ainu religion pre-historic. —There is no great difficulty in determining the descent, nature, and relationship of such religions as have arisen during historical times, such as, for example, Judaism, Mahamadanism, Christianity, Brahmanism, Budhism, Taoism, and others of less importance. But a vast majority of ancient religions, of which there are still to be found some living examples in Japan, among the ancient tribes and races, had their origin in pre-historic times, concerning which neither specific documents nor trustworthy traditions are to be had. The Ainu religion is one of these. Indeed, like indigenous Japanese Shintoism, it is a religion without any known historical beginning, and has no recognized founder.

3. The nativisg religion still unchanged. —That the Ainu religion is the same to-day in all essentials as it was in pre-historic times, may be inferred from the inherent genius of the language, as well as gathered by way of auxiliary from the customs of the people and their religious practices of rites and ceremonies. It is on record that in the year 1620 the Jesuit Father Hieronymus de Angelis paid a visit to the Island of Sakhalien (the whole of which was then reckoned part of the Japanese empire), from Nagasaki; and his description of the Ainus, written two years later, it is found that their manners and customs were the same then as those of their descendants now. Also, in June 1643, Capt. Barents, of the ship Carthusian saw them, and his report bears the same testimony as that of the Jesuit Father. The Matsumura Manuscripts, the Ezo Ison Monogatari, and other Japanese works also speak to the same effect. Ancient and modern lists of words, whether written in English or German, Japanese or Russian, and dating back hundreds of years (Batchelor, Dict., 5), show that the language of this race has not materially changed since they were collected.

The name of the famous mountain Fuji itself is not Japanese, as many have supposed it to be, but is of Ainu origin, like so many other places in its locality. It is a name which carries us back to pre-historic times, and plunges us at one right down into the very heart of Ainu religion. As written by the Japanese, who do so, it should be remembered, by means of Chinese hieroglyphics or phonetic figures, and without any regard to meaning, Fuji is generally made to mean 'Mountain of wealth,' 'Peersless,' 'Superior.' In aat means 'fire,' and is the name especially applied to this element when being worshipped. Fuji is, in truth, the name of the goddess of fire. However, we shall be speaking in pre-historic times this beautiful, peerless Fuji no yama was regarded by the Ainus as one of their natural gods, and was, as such, worshipped. Volcanoes are also frequently worshipped by this race at the present day. Furthermore, Fuji is a dormant volcano. To-day fire is worshipped upon the hearth in every Ainu hut (where the occupants are not Christian), and, when worshipped, always has the appellation Fuji or Umi, or Uni, according to dialect, applied to it. The common word for 'fire' in its ordinary use is Abe.

4. The Ainu religion originally monothestic. —The term for 'God' in many times Ainu religion, as now developed, is found to be extremely polytheistic, yet the very word in use for 'God,' being of the singular number, seems to indicate that in its beginning it was monothestic in nature. This word is Kmsui. This is a compound of three distinct roots, the chief of which is mts, whose meaning is 'over,' 'above,' 'top,' and so forth. It is like super and supra. It occurs in kmda, 'heaven,' and sky; and is also used in many words where the sense of super is to be conveyed. The fundamental meaning of mts is 'spreading;' 'repeating;' and kma, which is the oldest Japanese word for 'God,' means, in Ainu, 'covering.'

* Aston in his Shake, London, 1905, p. 7, gives practically the same derivation for the Japanese word for God, as for the Ainu. It is probably connected with kma, 'to cover,' and has the general meaning of 'above,' 'superior.'

A.D., bear unmistakable evidence to the fact of the Ainu being an aboriginal race of Japan.
‘creeping over.’ I is a particle which has the power of changing some parts of speech into nouns, as well as being a personal pronoun meaning ‘he,’ ‘she,’ or ‘it.’ Kamui means ‘that which’ or ‘he who covers’ or ‘overshadows.’ And so our thoughts are made to revert to the origins of the Aryans and to the Ten, ‘heaven,’ of the Chinese.

The term Kamui is of wide application, and may be used as a noun or adjective at will. But, however employed, it never loses its root meaning of chief in station, quality, or power.

Thus, when used as an adjective, it has the following shades of meaning: Kamui mupuri, ‘a great or high mountain;’ Kamui reru, ‘a mighty wing, or a sword-bearer;’ Kamui muru, ‘a pretty flower;’ Kamui chibiskip, ‘a large animal,’ and so forth. When used as a suffix, Kamui is always a noun, e.g. Nupuri Kamui, ‘the gods of the mountains;’ Chikuni Kamui, ‘the gods of trees.’ Also Ya-un-Kamui, ‘gods upon the land;’ Yeu-un-Kamui, ‘gods in the sea.’ It is not the mountain or tree or flower or land or sea that is called ‘God’ and worshipped, but the spirit or spirits supposed to dwell in these objects. Otherwise the term or the objects have to be changed; as, for example, Nupuri Kamui should be changed to Nupuri-un-Kamui, and Chikuni Kamui into Chikuni-un-Kamui.

5. The Supreme God distinguished.—After monotheism had given place to polytheism, it became necessary for the Ainu to distinguish between the Makigamo, or common deity, and any deity who covered it imperative to have some term by which to designate the Supreme God. Hence, when speaking of the ‘God of Gods,’ the Ainus gave Him the name also of Creator, or Possessor of heaven. All the rest are termed Yaniun Kamui or ‘common deities,’ also ‘near’ and ‘distant deities.’ Pass is an adjective, and points to rank and authority, its first meaning being ‘weighty,’ ‘tall,’ and ‘superior in rank,’ and so Pass Kamui, or Pass, may well be translated by the word ‘chief’ or ‘true God;’ or, as the Hebrews would have said, ‘God over all.’

Thus far, then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief. viz. (a) ‘I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of heaven, whom we call Pass Kamui, “The true God,” and whom we speak of as Keten kara Kamui, Mabirii kara Kamui, Kuma to kure Kamui;’ (b) ‘I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (Kamui), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.

6. Special names given to the Creator.—In asking for proof of the existence of a Creator, the Ainus point to the flash of lightning and call it the ‘God of lights,’ to the wind and to the thunder and say it is the sound of His voice. The Milky Way is called His river. Two specially favorite names sometimes heard applied to Him are Tawtu and Shinuta. The first of these, Tawtu, may be translated by ‘brave,’ ‘support,’ ‘pillar,’ ‘sustainer,’ ‘upholder.’ God is addressed by it often in prayer when the thought uppermost in the mind of the worshipper is that of God as the upholder and sustainer of all things. The second word, Shinuta, means ‘cradle.’ The Creator is so named because He is looked upon as the God in whose hands we rest. He is also called upon as such in the Ainus and their Folklore, London, 1901, p. 582 ff."

7. Evil spirits called Kamui.—Bearing the meaning it does, it is not surprising to find that the term Kamui is applied to evil spirits as well as good. Thus, in his angelic story, Nite Kamui, Nite means ‘stiff,’ ‘oppressive,’ ‘heavy’ as dough. Evil spirits are thus naturally looked upon as the oppressors and enemies of mankind. Indeed, as the Ainus quaintly put it, ‘they are very difficult to get along with.’ They are extremely numerous and quite ubiquitous. And they even are expressly

"See Batchelor, Dict. of ii. p. 50, e.v. ‘Kamui.’"
it down with his tail. After a very long time of hovering, trumpeting, and tail-wagging, dry places began to appear, and the waters gradually became the ocean. And so the worlds were in this manner created, and the Ainu people in the world of water, and caused their gods to live there. Therefore the Ainu call the earth by the name Mutihiri, i.e. ‘spring from which the wataris in great abundance flow.’

10. Ananimism the root of Ainu polytheistic notions.—It was stated in § 4 that there are grounds for concluding the Ainu religion to have been monotheistic in nature at the commencement, and to have gradually developed into the polytheistic form as the race has become more advanced. This evolution has become very apparent when it is taken into consideration that the one great principle underlying Ainu theological notions in all their parts may be summed up in the one word, Animism—not animism as formerly employed in biology simply to denote the theory, of which Stahl is the chief exponent, that the soul (animus) is the vital principle, and the cause both of the normal phenomena of life and also of the abnormal phenomena of disease. It is this and very much more. Animism is here used in the wide sense given it by E. B. Tylor (Princ. Cult. ets. xi.-xvii.), as including the whole doctrine of souls and other spiritual agencies, whether they be conceived of as being good, bad, or indifferent in nature and action. According to universal Ainu ideas, not only are men and women, beasts, birds, fishes, and fowls, trees and plants, rivers and springs, rocks and rocks, sun, moon, water, all other objects as well. Indeed, animism, as found to be developed among this people, is as uniform and comprehensive as the great τῶν ἐγγένετο of the pantheistic creed, for it holds all nature in its embrace; yet so much in form is it, that it also has a distinct individual root and class of spirits to every order of phenomena. Accordingly, almost every conceivable object, whether visible or invisible, animate or inanimate, is endowed with a distinct personal, intelligent, and never-ending life. It is this conscious entity which works in and through it, that governs it and keeps it in its normal condition. Hence the bubbling spring and rippling rivulet, the rushing torrent, the flying clouds, whistling winds, pouring rain, roering storm, and restless ocean,—all such things, together with animal and vegetable life, have their governing spirits within them, which, as a rule, must be treated with due respect by all men. This philosophy also asserts as one of its dogmas that every such objects as rocks and stones, lumps of clay, and grains of sand and dust, all have their separate and independent existence, and, among men, as clothing such as clothing and weapons, farming and fishing implements, eating and drinking utensils, and even entire hats, are supposed to have separate governing spirits of their own, which will live in the other world. This is not pantheism proper, for there is no trace of such a thing being thought of as one life naturally and of course swallowing up another; spiritual immortality is with them a personal immortality, and Nirvana is quite unknown in their midst.

It is part of the animistic creed to look upon spirit-entities as having various degrees of intellect and higher and lower qualities of moral nature. And the more intelligent the more official to mankind any supposed spirit is thought to be, the higher is his station as a deity; while the less beneficent such an entity is conceived to be, the lower is his rank, and, in the Ainu in particular, and the more practical harm he does or is thought to be capable of doing, the greater demon he is considered to be. Thus, as beneficent objects are supposed to be, its intellent entities, springs of cool drinking water and sulphur baths are held in especial esteem; while, inasmuch as storms and diseases do damage and work death and destruction, they are looked upon as containing demons, some of a higher and some of a lower degree of moral nature and power.

11. All things supposed to be of dual parts.—According to Ainu statements, the people imagine all things to have two parts: the one inner, invisible, and eternal in nature, and the other (corresponding to it) an outer, visible, and substantial, though not necessarily material, form—a form by which it reveals itself, through which it acts, and by which it makes itself felt. These two naturally get together, though quite separated for a while at times (as in dreams, for example, when the soul is supposed to leave the body for a time), owing to special causes or for particular purposes. But the outer condition is for them to act together, the inner essence through the outer form. Further, the inner spirit may, if necessary to carry out some extraordinary purpose, even assume the outer form of an object not belonging to its class, and make itself seen and heard through it. In this we discover the basis for the thought of demoniacal or other possession.

12. Annu ideas about anthropomorphism.—Nattall, in his Standard Dictionary, defines anthropomorphism as being the ascribing (a) of a human form to deity, (b) of human qualities and affections to deities, and (c) of human faculties to the lower animals. This definition is too narrow for the Ainu. An Ainu would not think of putting it in that way. He would certainly change the order by making it clear that man is the recipient and God the giver. He does not say, for example, that the deities are anthropomorphic, but that man is anthropomorphic in so far as his higher nature is concerned, and demon-like in everything that is evil about him. To all spirit-powers superior to man, whether in good or evil, there are no more beautiful and the most hideous attributes of mankind. But it must be supposed that because the people think of an object as being endowed with a personal, conscious life which can think and will and act for good or ill as it pleases, it is therefore in every instance anthropomorphic in structure. The inward and outer forms differ, and both will, it is thought, differ for ever. The outward form will always remain the same, whatever may be the inner, or spirit, form. It will be the same with all animals and trees, or with a blade of grass or a stone. As they are here, so will they be for ever in the next world. There is to be no change in either form, and no extinction of one or other. The one form that can take place will be in the qualities of good and evil, for then evil will become more evil and goodness better.

13. The word for ‘spirit’ defined.—In discussing Ainu religion, it is always necessary to keep in mind the meaning of the word in use for ‘spirit’ or ‘soul.’ The term is peculiarly interesting, and deserves careful consideration. Its root has nothing whatever to do with such expressions as ἀνεσφόντιον, ἐναέφόντιον, that are used in the New Testament to express the meaning of the word. It is a root that has been used in the Japanese language in connexion with everything from gods and devils, elves, fairies, gnomes, goblins, and all spirits, of whatever race or order they be, are looked at from the side of intelligence rather than that of life (i.e. vitality).

14. The sun a nature-god.—The Ainu religion, then, being thus anthropistic (see § 10) and anthropomorphic (see § 12) in principle, and each spirit agency being necessarily conceived of as endowed
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with mind or understanding (§ 13), the process of religious development becomes natural and easy, and nature-gods may be created both ad ilium et ad infinitum. The runs above us, for example, is seen to move; there is nothing haphazard about him; he rises and sets with the utmost regularity, and shines with surpassing splendour and with the eviitmnous purpose of dispensing his welcome light and genial heat to the world. There is, therefore, it is thought, a living light-giving spirit (ramdnt) within the body or num, i.e. ‘half,’ of the sun, by whose influence he shines and by whose power he moves. He is one, indeed, who reminds us much of the Egyptian 3a, for he too was supposed to be directed by a divine agency and personal will. In his own sphere among the lesser lights of heaven this stupendous and mysterious orb is chief of kind, and in the region of the east, whence he rises, is held sacred.

Inferior to the Creator (see § 5) yet superior to the sun in power is another spirit, malignant in nature, and given the name Vikal. It is he who brings, and be the cause of solar eclipses, and he is thought to be the very incarnation of diseases and other bodily evils. When the sun is eclipsed, this orb is supposed to be dying. That is to say, his intelligent life—i.e. his heart—comes to a standstill from the other visible substance and leaving the num black, cold, and dead. Yet he is never allowed quite to die, for a good superior spirit, who is either the Creator himself or His deputy, always, out of a kindly regard for mankind, graciously brings him back to his normal condition.μ

15. The moon.—The moon, who is said to be the wife of the sun, is not worshipped. There is a legend about her which runs as follows: The sun and moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule the heavens and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work in the daytime only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen travelling across the heavens in company. The divine sun is the larger of the two, has the brightest and best clothing to wear, and shines the most clearly. The moon is round like a cake of salt, is clothed in dark and dirty garments which it has worn one over the other. Now, the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case, it is because she has gone to visit her husband.

16. Dualism.—In mentioning the supposed cause of solar eclipses (see § 14) we were brought face to face with the fact that dualistic ideas are rampant in the Ainu religion. Indeed, there are as much in evidence there as they are in the Avesta, where the struggle between Armzd and Ahriman is so clearly depicted; or as they are in the Rig Veda, where Indra and Vrtra form so striking a contrast. The basis of dualistic ideas may be found (in so far as the Ainu are concerned) in their conception of spirit as defined in § 13, and of anthropomorphism as explained in § 12, taken in connexion with the antitheses of nattare, and the Ainu see so many contrary things ever present both within and outside of themselves, fighting, as they suppose, so much and so often against one another. Thus, light against darkness, day and weather to fine; rejoicing may be with us to-day, but to-morrow men must weep; this morning a child is born, and in the evening it dies; disease follows health, and good is succeeded by evil. Why, the Ainu asks, in this so? The explanation is this: he who is the origin of light and life, of health and all good, is Himself the good true God (Pas Kamumi, see § 5); while the source of disease, death, and all harm and misery, the evil and all evil, is naturally thought to be the Nittan Kamumi, and all his agents the demons (see § 7).

* The Samoyedes believe in a supreme God of heaven called by the Tibetan name, himself the good true God (Pass Kamumi, see § 5); while the source of disease, death, and all harm and misery, the evil and all evil, is naturally thought to be the Nittan Kamumi, and all his agents the demons (see § 7).


—§s and (§ 8) are a kind of eclipse of the sun. The Ainus method of curing it, see TAJI, vol. vi. part i. 1857.

No clearer illustration of the doctrine of dualism can be found than that exhibited by the Ainu notions of the evil or superior spirits of the sea. The chief of these are two in number, named Me-aka and Shi-aka. They are exactly the opposite of each other in character, and together all the spirits of the sea are called Rup-wa-kamumi, i.e. ‘deities in the sea.’ Shi-aka, i.e. ‘wild,’ ‘rough,’ ‘strong’ or ‘powerful,’ is continually pursuing his brother Me-aka, i.e. ‘Uncle of peace,’ or ‘calm.’ Me-aka is good, and is beloved and worshipped; while Shi-aka is dreaded and disliked, and when he is not thankfully worshipped, he is often propitiated by means of small offerings and sacrifices. Shi-aka is always the cause of all harm done by and upon the sea, while his brother rules the calm. Another good illustration of this subject is afforded by the Ainu gift of the devil’s attempt to swallow the sun. (See AP 69).

17. Fire-worship.—It has already been pointed out in § 14 that the greatest visible nature deity of the heights is the sun. Of like nature is the chief deity of the terrestrial globe, fire. The personal essence of fire, that is to say, its supposed spirit, when upon the hearth, is said to be of the feminine gender, and, besides being called Fuji, Unji, or Huchi as the case may be (see § 3), is also named Iremu-Kamumi, i.e. ‘the divine being who is worst,’ and Iremu-Huchi, i.e. ‘the ancestress who rears us’—Fuji or Huchi meaning ‘grandmother’ or ‘ancestress,’ and Iremu ‘to sustain’ or ‘to bring up.’ So the chief in her heart is sometimes spoken of as a disease-destroying and body-purifying spirit. As she is of so great importance, and holds so high a position, it is not surprising to find that fire is in comparison most often worshipped. Indeed, so high is she supposed to be, that she is sometimes spoken of as the ‘Governess of the world.’ With respect to her, there are several tabu things which go to show how she is revered. Thus, for example, a burning log must not be struck with anything; the ashes must not be knocked out of a pipe into it; nothing must be taken out of it with a knife; a pair of scissors must not be placed near it; nail parings, saliva, and refuse of any kind must not be suffered to fall into it. That this goddess is looked upon as superintending matters connected with the house in which she dwells and is burning, may be gathered from such a prayer as the following: ‘O thou divine goddess of fire, have mercy upon us and take care of this house.’ And that she is thought to attend to the wants of the family is proved by the following address and prayer made to her at the time of a marriage: ‘O thou goddess of fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness, and watch over them till they grow old and grey. And that she is feared is proved by the fact that she is supposed to be the chief witness for or against a person in the day of judgment (see § 40). When that takes place, it is said that she will present the great judge with all a perfect picture of every word spoken and action done by each individual being, and from her there can be no appeal. But not only are prayers said to the goddess of fire, offerings also are sent to her by means of fetishes, and libations and sacrifices are poured out to her acceptance. Whenever beer is brewed, which is mostly done at the end of the millet harvest, and immediately after the sowing time, the Ainu always make a kind of inuma or fetish out of wood, which they call inuma-
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shiku-inao, i.e., 'refining-club fetish.' This instrument is used as a messenger to the spirit of fire, and is sent to light the fires of the hearth. When these have been put on the 'seat,' drops of beer are offered to the various deities, and the fire is worshipped as follows: 'O divine grandmother, we drink to thee; we offer thee in sacrifice. Bless this fire; let it keep us from all harm.' After this, prayer is offered to the spirit of the fetish itself thus: 'O refining-club fetish, take the lees now placed upon thee to the goddess of fire, and thank her on our behalf for all the blessings she has bestowed upon us. Tell her of our estate and welfare, and solicit her continual help and favour.' After having thus offered and addressed, the fetishes are sometimes reverently burnt upon the hearth while prayer is being said, and so, in a way, the manes are sent to the spirit world. Sometimes, however, they are not burnt, but set up by the doorway as offerings to the dead, who are supposed to be in the recess of a fire, that is to say, 'the household inao' mentioned in § 24, is also associated with his consort in the prayers said on such occasions.

18. Various nature-deities.—Before treating of the subject now incidentally mentioned, viz., fetishism, it will be well to mention some other nature-deities. After the goddess of fire, the chief of these seems to be one called Toi-kuru-pani-kuru, or 'He who rises from the surface of the earth.' He is said to have had a wife who is called Toi-kuru-pani-mat, or 'She who rises from the surface of the earth.' These, it may be said, represent that class of deities whose province it is to attend to the well-being of vegetation. They are said to be of a good nature and disposition, and are consequently worshipped. This couple seem to represent the male and female principles of nature. The natural law by which rain descends and clears away is represented by one named Pe-konchi-koro-guru, or 'He who wears the water-cap.' The Ainu say that this deity appears as a great rain-cloud. He is considered good, and ought therefore to be worshipped. It is also a legend concerning him which runs as follows: 'Once upon a time the Ainus were at war. The enemy had pressed them hard, and had set fire to their houses. Upon this, the people called upon their deities and said they could not think of delivering themselves. Soon a large cloud arose from the mountains, and, floating directly to the burning village, rained heavily upon it and extinguished the flames. They then learned for the first time that this cloud was a god. He had been worshipped ever since this event, and the name 'He who wears the water-cap' was then given him.' Another class is represented by one called Ikoro-koro-guru, or 'He who possesses great treasure.' Another name given him is Nupuri-koro-komu, or 'The divine possessor of the mountains.' He has yet a third name by which he is known, and that is Samru-poro-komu, or 'The diviner who has the large footprints.' This deity is the representative of such animals as are worshipped. When he makes himself visible, he is said to come always in the bodily form of a bear, and it is supposed to be his business to be in attendance on all wants and general welfare of the forests and mountains.

19. The spirits of the air.—Like the gods of the earth, the deities of the air are found to be very numerous. They are always associated with the flames of refining. It will be seen in the illustration here given that a hollow place is left at the top of the fetish. This is called the 'seat' or 'nest,' and is supposed to be the home of the heaven. When these have been put on the 'seat,' drops of beer are offered to the various deities, and the fire is worshipped as follows: 'O divine grandmother, we drink to thee; we offer thee in sacrifice. Bless this fire; let it keep us from all harm.' After this, prayer is offered to the spirit of the fetish itself thus: 'O refining-club fetish, take the lees now placed upon thee to the goddess of fire, and thank her on our behalf for all the blessings she has bestowed upon us. Tell her of our estate and welfare, and solicit her continual help and favour.' After having thus offered and addressed, the fetishes are sometimes reverently burnt upon the hearth while prayer is being said, and so, in a way, the manes are sent to the spirit world. Sometimes, however, they are not burnt, but set up by the doorway as offerings to the dead, who are supposed to be in the recess of a fire, that is to say, 'the household inao' mentioned in § 24, is also associated with his consort in the prayers said on such occasions.

20. The demons of land and air.—In all things the Ainus are firm believers in an almost co-ordinated array of hostile deities who manifest their malignant nature by creating disease, death, and every kind of evil. Speaking of these matters, an Ainu once said to the present writer: 'As the demons of the air are so near this earth, it is possible for them to pay us frequent visits, and even to dwell among us. This accounts for so much that is evil in the world.' Reformers who at this time thought that there were 'A great number of them.' The genii who work evil to men are part of these; and though dwelling in the forests and mountains, they have their real home in the air around us. They are the preventives of the peace of the 'Whirlwinds also, however small they may be, are looked upon as embodiments of evil spirits.

One of the chief demons of the earth is called Niatu-nara-buro, or 'Aunt of swamps or marshes.' And she, as her name implies, wears a water-cap, and, it is said, has often come to men in fens, moors, and other damp places. Very many of the evilly disposed demons, ghosts, and ghouls are thought to be her offspring, and those which owe their origin to her go by the name of Toi-kuru-pzini-shi, or 'The demon whose name was given to me by the demon of the swamps.' The following legend gives a fair idea as to what the people consider them to be like:

All ghosts are closely related to the demon of swamps. They are very large and have extraordinarily big heads, while their hair is always rough. When seen, it is nearly always bound to be standing up. However, when seen after dark, and are but dimly seen, one cannot tell exactly what they are like. When they reveal themselves, it is only in order to bewitch the eye, and so make their frightful appearance. They are considered the most dreadful creatures, and, as they are true demons, are much to be feared. They can sit down in the middle of the earth, and made finished making the world, He threw His mattsaw away among the mountains, and left them there to rot. But as they became decayed, they changed themselves into some other form. They should be carefully avoided, for if a person catches but a glimpse of one, possession immediately follows, even though the demons themselves should not see the person who has observed them. These ghosts walk only at night; it is, therefore, best for all people not to go out of doors after dark. Such, indeed, is the command of the ancients. Now, if a person should have the misfortune to meet one of these creatures, he should hasten to say the following words: 'O you demon, I have been desiring to see and speak with you for a very long time, and now at last we have fortunately met. What I wanted to tell you is this. At the other end of the world there is a certain demon called Maski-shishu-man, who has been most grievously backbiting you. He says: 'There is a demon inhabiting the marshes who is unceasingly proud. She had better be careful, for if ever I come across her path, I will give her such a sound whipping that she will never forget it.' Now, therefore, hasten away, for if he catches you, you will be imprisoned, and it will go hard with you, for he is a mighty one.' If one addresses the demon in this way, she will believe it and set out at once, filled with wrath, to take vengeance. These words are spoken to deceive the demon, and so frustrate her evil designs; and, unless they are said, the power of the spirit of the air will immediately fall down and die. So say the ancients. This legend, when stripped of all verbiage, and condensed in compact form, was related to the writer by an Ainu thought, shows the demon of the swamps to be merely malaria and ague personified.

After the evil principle which is supposed to reside in marshes, the chief of the demons appears to be one called Kina-shut-un-buro, or 'The person dwelling among the grass roots.' The demons which follow are very difficult to define,
and are very numerous. *Toi-pok-un-chiri,* i.e. 'The underground bird,' is especially called upon for help by hunters in times of danger; but whom he represents, no one appears to know. Akin to *Toi-pok-un-chiri* is the *Toi-kunrari-mat,* which is associated with his wife *Toi-kunrari-mat.* These names mean *'He (or She) close upon the surface of the earth.'* These two are looked upon as the friends of hunters, and are called upon in times of danger. *Chiwash-ekot-mat,* who stands first in order, is said to be the demon who causes stones to roll down the cliffs and mountain sides. These are but classes of demons, for such creatures are very numerous indeed. They inhabit all kinds of places, such as the tops and bottoms of mountains, the flat surfaces of rocks, all kinds of flora, stony places, and localities where dust or sand prevails. The winds also have their demons, good and bad, and so have rain, mist, snow, hail, sleet, frost, ice, etc. (see A.F., ch. 51).

21. Gods and demons of the sea and rivers.—All the larger kinds of fishes and sea animals have divine honors paid to them, in the shape of totems, animal deities, sea-lions, sword-fish, salmon, trout, sea-tortoises, and so forth. These are all worshipped. So far as one can learn, the principal deities of the sea are as follows:—*Rep-un-riri-bota* (the god of the sea), and *Winun-nun-nun,* who receives the offerings. Whenever he allows himself to be seen, it is said to be in the form of a whale. He is looked upon as the head of all sea-deities, and has many servants, of whom the tortoises and the albatrosses are his favorites. Prayers are said to this god quite frequently, and the two servants just mentioned are said to act as go-betweens. Messages are conveyed through them and offerings of fishes and beer are sent by them to him. The heads of these creatures are often to be seen kept as charms, and worshipped by the fishermen. The deity who is supposed to be next in order is called *Kai-pe-chupka-un-kuru,* i.e. 'The person who resides in the eastern surf.' As the name implies, he is said to have his home somewhere near the shore towards the east. We are informed that in bodily form he is like a large fish of some kind; but what kind of fish he is, is not now known. He is supposed to be very good, and is therefore often worshipped, and given presents of fetishes and beer. The spirits next in order are the *Shi-acha* and *Mo-acha* mentioned in § 18.

22. The demons of diseases.—Although, as was shown in § 20, many demons are supposed to have their origin and homes in marshes, yet the Ainus believe that demons of disease come from the sea, as the following lore shows:—

*Various diseases from time to time attack the body. Such, for example, areague, fever, heavy colds, stomach-ache, and consumption.* When these complaints arise, the men should meet together and go to the villages up and down the rivers, and bring back to the house as much tobacco, oolun-cabbage, and cow-parsnip. These should all be brought to an appointed place, where the men should come together for prayer, they should carry them to the seashore, and, having made fetishes, reverently place them by their side. When this has been done, they should pray, saying, 'O ye demons of sea harbours, have mercy upon us! O ye demons of disease, ye are fearful beings; we have, therefore, with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon those of your kind who have afflicted us, and on our behalf extirpate them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for you to eat, and the fetishes are paid as fines. O ye demons who watch over the harbours, cause all disease to be taken away from our village.'

23. Fetishism.—The specific doctrines of Ainu religion bear no relation to the nature of their supposed superior spirits being such as that now stated (see especially §§ 10-13, 16, 17), the way to fetishism is short, direct, and logical. But fetishism in its term with its difficulties, and the confusion of thought, be defined before going further. This name is a Portuguese term derived from *fetisgos,* and has long been in use in Portugal to designate the relics of saints, and other objects of worship that by the Roman Catholics. It was applied by Portuguese merchants to objects of many varieties to which the natives of the West Coast of Africa paid religious honour.*
Ronquetti's Portuguese Dictionary *félicios* is explained by the French equivalent *sortilege, malédicte, enchantement, harrane*. The term *Félichisme*, as the name of the corresponding religion, was first employed by President de Brosses in his *Du culte des Dieux Féliches* (1790). Among the Ainus a fetish is looked upon as a spirit, and is said to be 'born' by a person by which one spirit (romat, see § 15) is caused to act upon another for good or ill. It may be, and often is, by way of courtesy called a *Kornut* ("deity"), but it is only a deity of a lower order, and slightly used as a go-between. Thus, for example, should a man desire to worship a good river deity or to propitiate an evil one, or should he wish to harm another person or have him blessed, he would make some fetishes out of sticks of wood or other substance and send them with messages to the gods or demons. This is the use of fetishes among the Ainus. They may, therefore, well be called media, for they are just as much media as persons who take verbal messages from one to another. The term by which the principal fetishes are known in Ainu quite agrees with this definition. It is *ina*, i.e. 'message-bearer.' Its roots are *ina* ('message,' 'request'), and it appears to lie at the root of the word for prayer, which is *inono* in Ainu and *inori* in Japanese. It is curious to remark that in ancient Japanese *inori* meant 'to carve.' As the word conveys this meaning, we are not at all surprised,—may, we should rather expect to find Ainu fetishes used for both good and evil purposes, and sent to gods and demons alike.

24. Fetishism in Ancestor-worship.—One of the most important and relatively highest fetishes the Ainus possess—and every family must have this one—is called *Chisi ororo ino* ('the fetish which possesses the house'), also called *Chisi orongike chishi* ('ancestor, keeper of the house'). It is the province of the spirit of this fetish to assist the goddess of the fire in looking after the general well-being of the family. His special abiding-place is in the sacred north-east corner of the hut, at the back of the family hearth. He is not only worshipped where he stands, but is also sometimes brought out from his abiding-place and stuck in a corner of the hearth, where prayers are given and incantations addressed to him. This is done of fire, which in its turn is called the 'ancestress,' i.e. *fuji* or *huchi*. The way this fetish is made is as follows: A piece of hard wood, such as lisc, say an inch or two in diameter, is taken. This is to form the stem, and is usually about two feet in length. One part is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom to represent the front. Near the top a gash is cut across in imitation of a mouth, and a little below this the so-called heart is carefully bound in. This heart, when first given to it, consists of a warm black cinder freshly taken from the hearth and firmly tied with a string made of twisted willow shavings to the stem, which is called the *medora*, i.e. 'body.' After the heart has been bound in, a number of willow shavings are hung all round so that the stem with its mouth and heart is quite hidden from view. After it has been respectfully made, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside, and the following dediatory prayer is devoutly said to it: 'O fetish, you are henceforth to reside in this house under the goddess of fire; you are her husband, and your place will be in the divinest sort; I hereon beseech you to help her to watch over us, and do you bless us.'

All this reminds us forcibly of the *Lores* and *Penates* of the ancient Romans, the one great difference being that the 'fire' and 'household' gods of the Ainus are more closely linked with the names. At the present day the Ainus do not seem to look upon this as ancestor-worship; they do not, indeed, know what it is. But the names given them go to show that in its origin it was such.

A curious thing about the fetish is the fact that it is thought to be connected in some psychological way with the present living head of the family in which it has been dedicated. The following piece of lore explains this:

'The chief fetish should be made, in so far as its stem is concerned, of lisc, because this is kind of wood and does not quickly decay, even if stuck in the damp ground out of doors. It is not considered wise to use any other wood than lisc for this purpose, for in old times a certain man made one of *cer Sidphilm*, the end of which rested after a short time, so that it fell over. Not many months after, the owner himself became weak and died. This was owing to the influence of the fetish having been withdrawn. For this reason it is now known that the stem should be made of lisc only, that being the most durable wood of all. However, should a person happen to be in a place where he cannot obtain lisc, he may use either willow or *Saridphilm*, but these must not be kept long for fear they should rot away. When they become a little old, they should either be cast out away into the forest or reverently burnt upon the hearth before they have a chance of decaying. Others should then be made in their place.'

THE STEM.

THE HOUSEHOLD FETISH.

25. Ancestor-worship in general.—Prayers to the dead form a fairly strong feature in Ainu religion. The necessity for them is taught the people thus: 'A person cultivates a spirit of selfishness, and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors. The elders of the people should warn him, saying, "Foolish and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death." If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead.' Another short counsel runs thus: 'Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives must surely go to his grave and there worship and offer libations. The dead observe all deeds, good and bad. Those who do what is right are blessed, and those who do what is evil are cursed by them.'

Women are not allowed to take part in religious exercises in so far as the deities are concerned, but they are commanded to make offerings to their deceased husbands and ancestors. The words they are usually taught to say on such occasions are as follows: 'O ye honorable ancestors, I am sent to present this beer and food to you.' On being asked why this ceremony should take place, an Ainu gave this piece of lore:

'The divine lady said, 'If the people do good while upon the earth and not evil, though they die young they go to heaven. When there, they have good hunting.' It is good for people on this earth to offer those who have gone before us such choice food, beer and, less. Not to do so shows lack of filial respect. Those who have departed will, upon careful thought of those in interest in those behind them. They should, therefore, be reverenced; unless respect is paid to them, they will come to this earth again and bring misfortune. Also death is not the end of the world, for your ancestors. This will please them, and they will send you good health and prosperity.'

The ceremony of ancestor-worship is called *shimurappa*, i.e. 'libation-dropping,' and takes place outside the huts by the east-end window and a little towards the west. Fetishes and beer are offered, and a prayer such as this said: 'O ye ancestors now dwelling in the world above, we offer you beer and less; receive them and rejoice.'
Your grandchildren have met together specially to offer these things. Rejoice. Watch over us, and keep us from sickness. Give us a long life so that we may continue to offer such gifts.

25. Private or tutelary fetish. — The fetish mentioned in § 24 was shown to belong to the family as a whole, but there is another very important one which is quite personal. It is always made of willow. Why it is regarded as of so high importance the following legend will show: "When God made man, He formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his spine of a stick of willow." And so, the backbone being regarded as the principal part of the human body, it is looked upon as the seat of life. It is said that no warrior of old could be killed unless his spine was injured.

When a child has been born, some very near blood relative of the male sex gets a nice clean stick of willow and shapes it into a fetish. When it is made, he proceeds to worship it, after which he reverently carries it to the bedside, and there sets it up as the tutelary deity of the child. The accompanying illustrations show what it is like. That marked (1) is the willow stick itself, and is called the ōkoto, i.e. 'club'; that marked (2) is the club with the willow shavings attached, which are called inao-kike, i.e. 'fetish shavings'; the bundle of reeds marked (3) is called kaua n-set, 'the divine seat' or 'throne.' The end is stuck into this so as to keep it dry, and thus prevent it from rotting. That this fetish may be rightly called the angel of the child's growth the following folklore makes clear:

"As the backbone of man is made of willow wood, the men should hasten to make ōkoto of this tree as soon as a child has been born. After it has been properly whittled, it should be addressed thus: "As thou, O fetish, art divine, we worship before thee. When God formed man in the beginning, He made his spine out of a piece of willow wood. We therefore call upon thee, O willow fetish, to watch over this child while he is growing up. Guard him and give him strength, together with long life." After this prayer has been said, the fetish should be reverently stuck in its "seat" and placed by the child's side. When the child has grown up, he should frequently procure beer and worship this, his guardian angel. As might be expected, this fetish is particularly worshipped in time of sickness by the individual for whom it was made. The following is a prayer taught some children for their use on such an occasion: 'O thou willow god, as thou art my spine and backbone, do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body is weak; pray help me soon.' If this prayer is said devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady.

So, too, when older people fall sick, willow fetishes are made by the old men and worshipped, after which some of them are sent to the Creator and other superior deities with messages. And, when all is done, they are taken outside to the sacred place at the eastern end of the hut. Here they are carefully stuck in the ground, and libations of beer offered them. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the Ainu formerly used to reverence the willow almost as much as the Papuans did the xaringen tree; who, as we are told, had such an affection for it that the wilder tribes of Ceram used to lodge, and almost live, among its branches (Barl, Pupuana, 116, 100).

27. Demon-worship. — The worship of demons is one of fear among this people, and is as a rule performed by way of propitiation. This becomes very clear when a certain kind of fetish called nite-hash-inai, i.e. 'evil fetish' or 'evil bush fetish,' is made and used. The purpose of it may be gathered from the prayer which follows. This kind of fetish is used especially in times of sickness, for on such occasions an afflicted person is supposed to be possessed by a demon of disease. It is called an evil fetish, not because it is itself regarded as being of an evil nature, but rather because the occasion on which it is used is a bad one. It is sent to the wicked demon of disease; this is why it is called evil. When it is made, a kind of stew called nite-hana, i.e. 'evil stew,' is prepared and offered with it. This consists of bones of fish, some vegetables, and the remnants of any kind of food, mixed together and well boiled. When all has been prepared, the fetish is stuck in the ground upon the hearth, and the stew, which has by no means an inviting smell, is placed before it. Then a so-called prayer is said as follows: 'O evil fetish, take this evil food, together with the disease of this sick person, and also the demon who has possessed him, and go with them to hell. When you arrive there, please make it so that the demon will not return to this earth again.'
haste and heal this sick person.' The man who
olicitates at this ceremony then returns to the hut,
where he again exorcizes the demon by brushing
the patient down with the tokua mentioned above.
Fetishes of the following shape are also some-
times used for this purpose. The present writer
has several times seen them set up in the huts of
sick people, and very earnestly worshipped. After
has the ceremony ended, the spirit of the fetish
is supposed to wander about in the earth and visit
the various demons of evil on behalf of the sick man,
and, after having found them, is said to consult with them as to what is
best to be done for the patient.
28. Special fetishes for epidemic
disease.—In the event of any village
being attacked by an epidemic disease,
but more especially if the disease be
of a severe and dangerous nature, as,
for example, smallpox, the Ainus of
the villages immediately surrounding
the infected one get sticks of chlor or
cadrastis, about four feet in length,
and make them into fetishes or charms.
These instruments are called chikappo-
chiko-messu, i.e. 'little carved birds,' by
some, and vai-shuku-inao, i.e.
'thick club fetish,' by others. They
are also named koten-kikkuru-inao,
i.e. 'fetishes for village defence.' As 'club fetish,'
soon as set up they are devoutly wor-
shipped, when the people call upon them to drive
the dread disease away. They are supposed to
represent the eagle-owl, which is thought to have
power over this particular evil. The silt in
the top of the fetish given in the illustration is
said to represent the mouth, and the shavings left
on the sides are intended for feathers. Food is
sometimes placed in the month as an offering to
the demons to whom the fetish is sent. That
which the writer has seen consisted in one case of
putrified fish mixed with brimstone, and in another
of cynanchum Convallatum. It is said that the

Ainus

or oak—indeed, of almost any wood which happens
to be nearest to hand. When being set up, a good
representative prayer said to them runs thus: 'O
yo gods who govern the waters, O water deities,
we are now about to go fishing. Please accept
these fetishes and watch over us. Grant that we
may catch many fish to-day.'
30. Religious charms.—In so far as their purpose
is concerned, the dividing line between the fetishes
mentioned in the preceding sections and the various
kinds of charms in use among this people is not very
clearly defined, so that it is often most difficult to
distinguish between them; that is to say, he would
be a bold person who should venture to put his
finger first on one and say, 'This is a fetish,' and
then on another and say, 'This is a charm'; for
either may be both, and both either, according to
the time and purpose for which they are made.
The charms are very numerous, and are used for
many purposes. Among other objects, rocks in al
and also stones of various shapes and sizes may
be found employed both for purposes of personal
protection against evil, and as a means for work-
ing harm to others (AF, 306); the skins, bones,
feathers, and beaks of birds are sometimes kept
as love-charms (75, 76); snake skin is thought to be
a special talisman, energetic, if properly treated,
in working good in the storehouses and garden
seeds (209); birds' eggs and nests are special cereal
charms, while the heads of some kinds of birds are
kept and used for driving away disease (219); the
heart of the 'dipper' is a charm supposed to bestow
elegance and quick sight (336); bears' eyes swal-
lowed whole are said to produce long and clear
sight in hunters. The skulls of bears, foxes, bats,
falcons, owls, and the fore-feet of lures are all
also worshipped at times and used as charms
(AF, ch. 34). The horns of deer, and the stones
sometimes found in the bladders of animals, are
also thought much of as charms supposed to bring
good luck to the happy finder and possessor (401).
31. Magic.—Following close upon the subject of
fetishes and charms, and very nearly related to
these objects in principle and nature, comes magic,
sometimes called sympathetic magic. This has
been defined by Zimmermann as 'the attempt on
man's part to influence, persuade, or compel
spiritual beings to comply with certain requests'
(Spirit; § 12, and that all things are
supposed to have spirit in them, and remembering
the definition of Kamui (God) and the various
objects to which this term is applied (§ 4), and not
forgetting the fact that the Ainus do not so much
worship the visible objects to which their prayers
are addressed, as pray to the spirits, good and
evil, supposed to animate them, we find this
definition very apt in so far as this people is concerned. The Ainu terms for magic are iehakara, i.e. ‘a shutting up,’ or ‘enclosing in a fence,’ and irishikina, i.e. ‘binding up tightly,’ and it usually implies the binding together with a cord of two objects, a person and some selected fetish supposed to be evil. The following are some common methods in vogue among the Ainus of practising this form of magic. They make a muddy decoction of mugwort or straw, then cursed and either buried head downwards in a hole in the ground or placed under the trunk of a fallen and rotting tree. This kind of effigy is called inako, i.e. ‘the image.’ When it is buried, the devil should be called upon to lay hold of the soul (ramat) of the person it is supposed to represent and take it to hell. By this act it is supposed that the person will sicken so that his body will gradually die as the image decomposes (AF, chs. 30, 31). Sometimes the effigy is found to be not buried but fastened to a tree with nails or wooden pegs driven into its head and other parts of the body. Again, another piece of magic is to take a guelder-rose and ask it to depart at once with the soul to the region inhabited by the demons. Sometimes a little boat is made of rotten wood, and the effigy of the soul is supposed to be in it and laid on an image supposed to be a demon. When made, the demon is worshipped and asked to row the soul of the cursed one to hell. Sometimes, again, the head-dress of a person is taken, wrapped up in a bag in the shape of a corpse proper to be buried, and placed in a hole in the ground to rot. It is supposed that as this decomposes, the enemy to whom it belonged will sicken and die. The demons of some kinds of trees are also at times asked to curse enemies by seizing their souls and turning them into devils.

But magic, as one would naturally expect, may also be used for good purposes. Thus, for example, upon returning one very cold night from a journey with the Ainu head of a family, we found some convolulus roots set up in a warm place before the fire upon the hearth. Upon making inquiries as to the meaning of this, we were informed that it was intended as a charm to prevent our feet from being frozen during the journey. Of the frequent use of trees in magic, a full account may be found in AF, ch. 30; cf. also pp. 315, 326.

32. Bewitching, divination, and exorcism.—That bewitching people, exorcising demons, and finding out things by divination are integral parts of Ainu religious superstitions cannot be doubted. A case of bewitching, by cutting holes in the garments of another person with a pair of scissors, which came under the writer’s own observation, will be found in AF, p. 541 ff. Similarly a case of divination, by means of a fox’s skull, is recorded (ib. pp. 320, 379 ff.). A case of exorcism by means of a tree, together with cutting clothes and beating with mugwort, will be found described on p. 315 of AF; while an account of a curious method of exorcizing the demon in madness, by cutting their bodies with a sharp stone, shell, knife, or razor, and then thoroughly dippings them in a river, will be found set forth on p. 512. Cats are supposed to bewitch people in some instances (294, 507); dogs in some (507); and birds, such as the cuckoo, woodpecker, night-hawk, goat-sucker, and owl, in others (409); while such animals as hares (315), squirrels (500), otters (312), and various kinds of fish (500) are also supposed to be bewitched. There is no reason to suppose that there is any living creature in the earth which cannot bewitch, it should desire it to do so.

33. Tree-worship.—The Ainus suppose only that every tree has its own personal spirit (ramat), but that the roots also, the stem, bark, wood, heart, forks, knots, buds, leaves, twigs, crown, and every other part as well, are themselves each peopled with innumerable spirits, some of a good, and others of an evil, disposition. Thus the willow is regarded as a deity, and as such worshipped, has already been shown in § 25. Other kinds of trees also, such as the acridaria and grape vines, which are made offerings to in Paradise (156–158), dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle—wool, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, magnolia, yew, ash, azalea, cedrilliphium, chestnut and mulberry, and others, are all worshipped on occasion (580). Some of these, as has already been shown in §§ 31, 32, are also used in curing people and for the purpose of witchcraft, being at such times entreated to bring misfortune to one’s enemies. For this purpose the guelder-rose, alder, poplar, elm, birch, hydrangea, and walnut are particularly employed (381, 332, 281). There are, however, other purposes, and those good religious ones, to which the Ainus put the guelder-rose and the other trees. The bears applied to this cult is Ki-o-chipsakuma, i.e. ‘the doctrine of the mountains,’ and this particular part of it is named Chikuni-akashirikuru orusake, i.e. ‘with heads of stone’; regarding this the Ainus say: ‘When those Ainus who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the massa’ or altar, go and select a suitable tree and worship its spirit, saying: ‘O thou great possessor of the soil, we are about to go and kill animals, pray help us; O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper us.’ After this they have done, they set out fully expecting to come across various game animals. The tree-worship in its baldist form (cf. also § 26), and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree genii, for the time being, as their tutelary deities and guardians. In times of sickness, also, trees are worshipped. On such occasions the tree genii are called upon under various names, as, for instance, Topochi, ‘the wise one,’ and Shirampa, ‘the one upon the earth.’ Or, in case of an attack from a bear or wolf, they are worshipped under the name Naskrange guru, ‘the person of the standing tree,’ and Kisara-range shinsurupa Kanumi, ‘the precious demon of the rough bark’ (AF, ch. 33).

34. Cereal-worship.—Like trees and other vegetable life, cereals also are supposed to contain living spirits (ramat), some of which are thought to be of the masculine and others of the feminine gender (AF 294), and the worship of them often takes place. Never are the garden sown with seed without prayer being first made to the Creator (see § 5), then to the sun, and lastly to the very seed itself. Many years ago, Cicero asked, in his de Natura Deorum, whether any one was mad enough to believe that the food we eat is actually a god. The Ainus would answer, ‘Yes,’ and ‘What else, indeed, can it be?’ The prayer used at the ceremony of eating new millet at the harvest thanksgiving is very interesting, in that it allows clearly that it is the spirit of the food partaken of that is worshipped, and not God, the Giver of all good gifts. The prayer runs thus:

‘O thou cereal-deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy favour will be sweet. Thou art good. The good gods will give thee a happy harvest, and rejoice greatly. O thou God! O thou divine cereal! do thou nourish the people.’ The person who officiates then continues, ‘I now partake of the cereal, and worship it. After having thus prayed, the person present take a cake and eat it among themselves at this time in the spirit of common food. Commenting on this, Aston says (Shinto, p. 100): ‘Gratitude in the first place to, and then for, our daily bread, is an important factor in the early growth of religion. Without it

See illustration under § 27.
AINUS

we should have had no Roman Ceres, no Mexican Maize-god
Cushiel, and so Ukejomi!(cf. also p. 277, Nishida.)

But eating the god is by no means limited to cereals among the Ainus, for the bear sacrifice
contains of quite the same nature, to which subject
we shall now proceed.

35. The bear festival. — Although animals of
willingly had and birds also (see A., chs. 36—
39), even down to a tiny sparrow, are at times
first worshipped and then killed in sacrifice, it is
when considering this phase of the subject) to the
knowledge of the fact that no as much higher
expression of Ainu religion. The general name
given for 'sacrifice' is iyemande, which means 'to
send away,' so we must expect that when a living
object is sacrificed, the spirit is supposed to be
'sent' somewhere, and for some purpose. And
here it may be well to ask, To whom is the bear
sent, and why? To this question it must be
replied in the first place that, so far as can
be ascertained, there is now (whatever there may have
been in olden times) no idea of substitution under-
laying the practice; nor, secondly, is it peculiar,
for the people know nothing of the 'shedding of blood
for the remission of sins.' All thoughts, therefore,
corresponding with the old Jewish no sacrifice
must be left out of the question when considering
Ainu ideas concerning it. The very essence of
Ainu religion consists in communion with the
greater powers, and the people imagine that the
most complete communion they can possibly hold
with some of their gods—animals and birds, to
wit—is by a visible and carnal partaking of
their very flesh and substance in sacrifice. At
the time of offering, the living victim is said to
be sent to his ancestors in another place. Still,
at the same time, the bear festival is a kind of mutual
feast—a feast of friendship and kinship—in which
Bruin himself also participates. Indeed, the bear
is offered to himself and his worshippers in
common, and they are supposed to have a good
happy time of communion together. But as this
is a very difficult and, in some ways, a very im-
portant subject, it has been thought best to give
a simple description of the festival as now practised,
and let it speak for itself.

That the Ainu rear bear cubs in cages and often
pay them divine honours is a well-known fact.
The present writer once visited a place where as
many as ten cubs were caged. After they have
come to the age of two, or rarely three, years, and
it has been decided that a sacrifice is to take place,
the owner sends out an invitation to the people,
which runs thus: 'I, so and so, am about to
sacrifice the dear little divine thing from among
the mountains. My friends and masters, come
to the feast; we will then unite in the great
pleasure of iyemande, ' sending the god away.'
Come.' This is certain to be heartily responded
to. When the guests have all arrived, the men
make many fetishes (iniao), stick them in the
hearth, and perform worship. When this has been
properly done, most of the iniao are reverently
taken up and carried by the men to the nusa
place outside the hut and there stuck up. Next, two
long, thickish poles are carefully laid at their
base. The men now come reverently out of the
hut, ornamented with their crowns, and solemnly
approach the cage containing the bear. The
women and children follow singing, dancing, and
clapping their hands, for all are in anticipation of
having a jolly time. In some cases, after their
appointed place, all sit in a circle, the old men in
front and the women and children behind. After
all this has been arranged, an Ainu is chosen, who,
having approached the bear, sits down before it

*The same principle holds good with regard to cereals; see
§ 35.

and tells it that they are about to send it forth to
its ancestors. He prays pardon for what they are
about to do, hopes it will not be angry, tells it
what an honour is about to be conferred upon it,
and comforts it with the consolation that a large
number of iniao and plenty of wine, cakes, and
other good cheer will be sent along with it. He
also informs it that if it be a good and proper bear,
it will appear again later to be treated in like
manner. The last address we heard of ran thus:
'O thou divine one, thou wast sent into the world
for our festival that we may sacrifice to you. We
worship thee; pray hear our prayer. We have
nourished thee and brought thee up with a deal of
pains and trouble, all because we love thee so.
Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send
thee to thy father and mother. When thou comest
to them, please speak well of us and tell them how
kind we have been; please come to us again, and
we will once more sacrifice thee.' After such a
prayer the bear is taken out of its cage with ropes
and made to walk about in the circle formed by
the people. Here it is shot at for some time with
blunt arrows called hepeornei, i.e. 'sub-arrows,' and
so teased till it becomes quite furious. After
this the poor animal is securely tied to a stake for

the last scene before its death. This stake, which
is ornamented at the top with tufts of arundinaria,
is called tuh-kam-i, i.e. 'tree with rope affixed.'
After it has been further worried, a young Ainu
previously selected suddenly rushes forward and
seizes the brute by the ears and fur of the face,
while at the same time a second man rushes behind
and lays hold of its hind quarters. Next a third
man runs forward with a stick, about two feet
in length and two inches in diameter, which he
thrusts between the jaws of the cub. Next two
other men come and catch hold of the two hind
legs while others seize the forefoot. When all
this has been done, the two long poles which were
laid by the nusa, and which are called ok-nawabon-i,
i.e. 'poles for the strangling' are brought forward.
One of these is placed under the brute's throat,
and the other upon the nape of its neck. A good
shot with the bow now comes forward and shoots
an arrow into the beast's heart, and so ends its
short life. In some cases, after theirappointed
place before its head is placed between the poles.
But this seems to be the case only when the animal
is dangerous. Care has to be taken so to strike
the bear that no blood is allowed to fall upon the
earth. Should any be spilled, it must be quickly
wiped up with some of the sacred willow shavings.
Why the shedding of blood should be thus tabued no one seems to know.* In some instances, however, the men (particularly those who are hunters) catch the blood in their cups and drink it while reeking warm. This is said to be done with the object of thereby obtaining the courage and other virtues possessed by the victim. On one or two occasions some of the blood taken at a feast has been sent, sprinkled on paper, to sick Ainus staying in our house! It has been smelled and licked with great eagerness, the recipient expecting to receive great bodily and spiritual good from it. Indeed, even the writer himself has, to his great astonishment, had some reserved and sent him.

As soon as dead, the victim is skinned and its head cut off, the skin, however, being left attached to the head. This is taken to the east window and placed upon a mat called inao-so, and ornamented with shavings, ear-rings, beads, and other things. On one occasion the present writer even saw a Japanese mirror placed before it, and some old sword hilts and guards! After all this has been performed, a piece of the animal's flesh is cut off and placed under its own snout. This is called Not-pok-onow, i.e. 'that under the jaw.' Then a piece of dried fish called Sat-chep-shiko, i.e. 'the bundle of dried fish,' and a moustache lifter, with some millet dumplings, some strong drink, beast's snout, and he is then said to be partaking of the marapyo-itangi, 'the cup of the feast,' and ipumi-itangi, 'the cup of offering.' After a little time has elapsed, the man who presides at the feast says: 'The little guest has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us raise a cup.' He then takes the cup, salutes it, and divides the contents—to every guest a very small portion—for it seems to be absolutely essential that each person should take a little. Other parts of the beast are stewed and eaten, while the entrails are cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw. This, like the drinking of the blood, is said to be for the purpose of obtaining the prowess and other virtues of the beast. For the same reason also some of the men besmear themselves and their clothes with blood. This latter custom is called yai-isho-nushi, i.e. 'beemauranting oneself with good sport.'

The head of the brute is at length detached from the skin and taken to the mussa heap, where it is set up upon a pole called Ke-omande-ni, i.e. 'the pole for sending away.' All the skulls of animals set up along with that of the betel nut—when there are many of them, are called Akoshirak-w Kamui, i.e. 'Divine preservers,' and are at times worshipped. The feast lasts several days as a rule; indeed, it is not quite common for the whole of the cub has been devoured and all the strong drink swallowed.

35. Totemism. — The word 'totem' is said to be derived from the Ojibwa (Chippewa) word totem (see EBr, art. 'Totemism'). 'As distinguished from a fetish, the totem is never an isolated individual, but always a class of objects, generally a species of animals or plants, more rarely a class of inanimate natural objects, very rarely a class of artificial objects.' Judging from the very few survivals of totemism still in existence among this people, and from their language, one is led to the conclusion that this cult never attained the proportions among them that it did among Africans, or South Australians, or the North American Indians. The Ainus, however, have some totems, and these are very seldom heard to speak of themselves or others as belonging to a bear, a wolf, a turtle, a snake, a hawk, or an eagle clan, and never of any vegetable clan. Still, there are some grounds for believing that their belief was, in the distant past, somewhat tinged with the totemistic superstition. But it was a totemism which differed from that of the Indians and many others, inasmuch as the Ainus in some instances think it a praiseworthy act to kill and eat their totem if it be an animal (see §33), and cook and eat it if it be a cereal (see §34; and cf. Af p. 206). According to the general ideas of totemism as preserved elsewhere, the totem was not to be so to be. For among the Indians it was thought that, the connexion between the man and his totem being mutually beneficial, the totem protecting the man and the man respecting the totem, it should not be killed if it was an animal, or cut if it was a plant. But the Ainus consider it a very great mutual benefit to kill and eat their totem where possible. Indeed, by feeding upon it they imagine they can get the closest communion with it,—their totem and their god,—sometimes, for example, the bear.

The clearest instance of a genuine belief in totemistic descent the present writer has ever come across among the Ainus was that of a young man who held that his forbears were, one or

* The same tabu is found in other religious systems, and seems based on the belief that the ground is rendered tabu by the sacred blood falling upon it (Gevora, Introduction to the History of Religion, pp. 72-74; Frazer, G.E. L. 178 ff.).
both, descended from an eagle. (The account of this will be found on p. 10 of A.F.). Just as the bear may very possibly have represented the national totem of the Ainus, so the present illustration may be an example showing the eagle to have been the totem of a family. An example of the individual totem is found in the willow tree, with which it is shown the Ainus consider themselves to be very closely connected (A.F. 365). The vines, grape and acanthus, used for ear-rings (150), also seem to have been looked upon as totems; while the images of foxes, wolves, birds, and fish sometimes found carved on the moustache lifters used by the men when drinking, and upon the crowns worn by them at their feasts (153-154), may point to clan totemism.

37. Ophalotry.—Although snake-worship is still practised to some extent among the Ainus, there is no sufficient evidence to go upon to justify us in saying that this cult ever attained such elaborate proportions of worship as that among the Danughve in the serpent's house at Daaloney,* or among the Indians, or even among the ancient Japanese.† Nevertheless, that which is now seen is probably the last remnant of what was once a somewhat complete system.

According to Ainu ideas, the first snake that ever was, belonging not to this earth but came down from heaven, though others of the ophidian tribe had their origin elsewhere. In this we are reminded of St. John in Rev. 12; and also of Zoroastrian mythology, in which Ahiraman descended earthwards in the form of a serpent.‡ But among the Ainus the original serpent is supposed to have been a great creature, and in this respect differs from that of both St. John and the Persians (A.F., ch. 32).

Indioa Kumi, or Image of Snake Used for Worship.

Serpents are worshipped most frequently at the time of childbirth, but especially when there is any difficulty in the matter. On such occasions the image of a snake, which is called Inoku Komui, i.e. ‘the divine image,’ is made out of sedge (Carex rhynchosphytum), worshipped, and then suddenly placed upon the shoulders of the patient. The reason given for this is said to be that, according to Ainu belief, all such difficulties are brought about by the king of the evil offspring of serpents himself; and they say that rather than propitiate the evil one, they should go directly to the chief serpent and ask him to keep his wicked subordinates in check and remove the evil they have done.

In cases of ague also snake-worship has taken place, as well as in instances of snake-bite. These reptiles are also sometimes worshipped as a means for curing people, being asked to bite one's enemies. The prayer said to them on such an occasion is as follows:—

`O snake, I have a word to say to you; pray listen. I have an enemy 50-and-twice seven. How long will he live? If you ever hear him coming along this road, please bite him, press him, poison him, and kill him. I will then make into oak of walnut wood, and also offer you many libations. Pay attention to what I say.'

* Bouyer, Edizioni of the African, p. 46.
- Hardwick, Christ and other Masters, p. 553.

Snake possession is called okokoko-parari, i.e. 'snake punishments,' and the women especially are very much afraid of it. There is no particular manner in which it shows itself, for almost any disease may, so they think, be owing to possession by one or more of these reptiles.

Ophalotry also appears to have left traces behind. The writer of this article once knew of a woman who professed to foretell future events by means of the image of a snake; the key to the house was 'stowed away in a box near by. She called it her guardian angel, and used to pray to it frequently. By its inspiration she professed to be able to tell the reasons for any strange cases she was afflicted with, and to discover the proper remedies for them. But, so far as we are aware, no one is concerned with, or heard of any Ainu, man or woman, who professed to predict future events by means of a genuine serpent, dead or alive, whether by its manner of eating or by its coils.

38. Tabu.—Besides the various small matters forbidden in relation to one's attitude towards fire (see § 17), the Ainus have other tabus of a religious and semi-religious nature which should be mentioned. Thus the blood of a bear must not be split at a bear-feast (see § 35); a woman must not pronounce the name of her husband lest she thereby cause him harm in some way (A.F. 273); the cry of certain birds, as, for instance, the cackoo, wood-pecker, night-hawk, goat-sucker, and owl, should not be imitated for fear of being bewitched by them (409, 427); at childbirth also cowado is practised, during part of which time the father of the child is forbidden to eat and drink except very sparingly; nor must he worship the gods, hunt, fish, or work till after the purification of the wife, which takes place on the seventh day after parturition (255-257).

39. The future life.—There is no idea more firmly fixed in the Ainu mind than the notion that the spirit is appointed to live for ever in another world—a world which, for the good, is the counterpart of this, only much better, and free from pain, and, for the evil, is dark, wet, cold, and dreary. The very word in use for the spirit (ranan) demands that such a place as heaven should exist, for a living being can neither, it is thought, lose his life nor get rid of his own personal property for ever (see § 13). But the spirit is there supposed to be clothed with a spiritualized body resembling the present, and to exist under like conditions to those of the present life. In this world spirit is the will which will live for ever. By the next world the spirit of a man is supposed to descend into the bowels of the earth (polka moshiri, "the lower world") when it leaves the body, though sometimes it may do so;* and, to hear the people talk, one might be tempted to believe that the Ainus think heaven itself to be in Hades. But, according to their expressed cosmological ideas, they really suppose there are six (A.F. 69) heavens above and six hells (kusa) below us, and that the best place is in heaven above and the worst in Gehenna below. Rasi oman, 'a going to the lower place,' is not the only term for death. There are others, such as 'to pierce the skies;' 'to make a clearing;' 'to have space to comprehend;' 'to sleep the other sleep,' and so on.

When a person is about to be buried, whether it be a man, woman, or child, the spirit is still spoken to as if it were present in the corpse, and is supposed to partake of the burial feast and to mingle with the

* Stories of supposed journeys to Hades may be seen recorded both in A.F. (570, 573) and in 'The Language, Mythology, and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan' in the Transactions of the Ainu studies, 'Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan, No. 1.
AIR and GODS OF THE AIR

The mourners. Many of the possessings belonging to the deceased, such as bows and arrows, clothing, means for obtaining fire, pipes, tobacco boxes, knives, cups, ornaments, and so forth, are killed (i) by the relatives, and sent to the other world for future use (AF 554-566). Huts too, which, as has already been pointed out, are supposed to be living creatures (117-132), are sent off to the other world by being burned; they are to carry the use of those who occupied them in this life.

40. The future judgment.—After death the Ainu assuredly look for judgment. All must appear, then, and be judged by God; the dead are in the presence of God when they are judged. But the judgment is said to be that of the other-self and the moral, while in the future world, that of the other-world, and not at all in the present world. 

THE other-self and inmioral while the dead are in the presence of God when they are judged. But the judgment is said to be that of the other-self and the moral, while in the future world, that of the other-world, and not at all in the present world.

LITERATURE.—No books have been specially devoted to Ainu religion, though notices of the subject occur in almost all works which touch upon the Ainus. In the year 1858, A. H. Savage Landor published his Alone with the hairy Ainu. This book contains very full notices on the matter, and, were all his remarks true to fact, it would be of the utmost importance. In ch. xxviii. Landor says that the Ainu recognize nothing as "sacred" and not as "profane." . . . The Ainu worship nothing . . . The Ainu have no religion . . . There is a sort of a vague "right" in the Ainu, as to what is not moral, for something new is given to them, and much more to the same effect. On p. 322, again, he says: The Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain has been in thoughts. Thus, what is the matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by "worship." But the Ainu language is by no means so deficient in words as Landor imagined. Dobrovoljsky gives as many as 10,000 words and phrases in his Ainu-Furushon Shonen (Kanaz, 1872), while nearly 14,000 words are included in pitchetker's Ainu-Eng.-Jap. Dictionary (Tokio, 1905). Landor's idea of the Ainu as a non-religious people will not bear looking into.

A much less pretensions, but far more reliable, work on the subject of the Ainu, is that by J. Batchelor. In 1907, he edited and entitled Life with the Trans-Siberian Savages. This is a pleasantly written little book of 200 pages, and treats mostly of the different beliefs. The account he gives is very reliable for the statements of the Ainus and Urantus, which have been copied by Mr. Howard to be correct in his description and generally reliable in his definitions. Indeed, so much alike did he find the statement of religion and religious practices, that he was, by reading the present writer's work, The Ainu of Japan, and perceiving the difference in the wording of what he saw and heard on that island (Howard, p. 17),

Miss Bird, also in her very pleasantly written Unbeaten Tracks (Miss Bird, sketched, Letter 27, pp. 273, 277), speaks of Ainu religion. She says, There is nothing more vague and obtuse of cohesion than Ainu religious notions. They have no definite ideas concerning a future state, and the subject is evidently not a pleasing one to them. . . . such notions as they have are few and confused. All this is not quite correct; and it would be unreasonable to suppose that Miss Bird could— even had she claimed to do so—it the short three weeks she was actually with the Ainu, have explored every dark nook and corner in the mind of the people. She laboured under the greatest disadvantage, as she had all her information on second hand through a Japanese interpreter; and if there is any one thing the Ainus are naturally reticent and secretive about strangers, it is their religion.

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Here it is proposed to deal only with those invisible beings who are supposed to hover between heaven and earth,—that is, whose proper abode is the circumambient atmosphere. They are called Air-gods rather than the better-known English spirits, they being the real true celestial deities who dwell aloft in the ethereal regions, either in or above the blue vault of heaven, and have no direct contact with the earth and its enveloping waters. But the more is the less stable the elements, over fluctuating to and fro, with upward and downward contacts, and restlessly filling all the intermediate spaces, so that the world itself was by our imaginative forefathers called the middleaged—terra mediana—the middle-ground, the neither world, nor the other world.

Hence there are necessarily continuous overlapping and interminglings everywhere, and it often becomes difficult or impossible to draw a clear line between the aerial and celestial deities on the one hand, and the terrestrial and earth, and even the underground gods on the other. How true this may be seen in the protein forms attributed by the ancients to the Olympian Jove himself. As high Zeus, the father of gods, he also filled many other functions, as shown by such epithets as Χρῆσις, Όμορφος, Θάλασσας (Earth-, Rain-, Sea-god), while Homer speaks even of the Ἑλικοῦνθοι, the 'Underground Zeus' (H. ix. 157). So also his consort, the earth-goddess Dionysus, whose 'variations show how readily sky-goddess, sea-goddess, and earth-goddess might pass from one province into another' (A. B. Cook, CCE, April 1903, p. 187), and his subject is dealt with fully.

Of the aerial beings proper, such as those spirits dismissed by Prospero "into air, into thin air," or those others who on the beach margent of the sea . . . dance their ringlets to the whistling wind, or those again who hover there in the boundless air, the genesis appears to be twofold, as partly suggested in Heinshüter's oft misquoted epiphal (in his Lucian):

His due som homines: monæ, caæ, spiritus, umbra . . .
Quatuor has partes tota loca suscipient.
Terra terga carnem, tanum cinnamolat umbra, \(\text{Orca eburnae, suas vellit spiritus,} \)

First come the monæ, a euphemistic expression meaning the 'Good Ones,' like the Greek εὐγενεῖς, the 'Well-disposed,' and the Irish Dáine Mótha, 'Good People,' i.e. the mischievous fairies who would resent being spoken of disrespectfully. These monæ, originally the ghosts of the dead, and worshipped by the greater part of mankind as a sort of protective spirit, have, as we have seen, been wafted aloft as the 'other-self' (spiritus), and fill the aerial spaces with good and evil genii. (For these distinctions between the personal soul and the other associated entities, see art. ETHIOLOGY, § 4.)

Here it should be noted that the umbra—the human shadow—was originally regarded as a distinct being, and the belief in its survival even after the body and the personal consciousness have been extinguished, is, in saying, 'No man can escape from his shadow.' So also Lucian: They (the shadows), when we die, become accusers and witnesses against us, and convicts of crimes perpetrated during life, and they have the reputation of being exceedingly trustworthy, since they are always associated with and never separated from our bodies (Menippus, or the Oracle of the Dead in H. Williams' Lucian, p. 1).

Naturally these arbiters of human destinies eventually received divine honours, although it was found impossible to assign any fixed abodes either to them or to the other spirits of the air belonging to the first category, these being embodied representing departed souls and their concomitants. They are, however, very numerous, and the Talmudists, who have taken the trouble of counting them, find that the dead ones (only about 7,406,000) are vastly outnumbered by the god, who are roughly estimated at 1 quadrillion, 64 trillions, and 340 billions.

If so numerous, the aerial gods belonging to the second category, i.e. those derived directly from the air itself, may be regarded as by far the more important of the two classes. These may, by contra-distinction, be called the Wind-gods in a pre-eminent sense, and among them must be included the winds themselves. Thus the very
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first of the six groups mentioned by Ephraimides are the winds: 'Ο μέσον ἐνιαύξησις τούτος θεὸς εἶναι Μέγας Πνεύμονας, p. 161 (Pollux, Floril. xxi. 29), and the delineation of the four quarters whence blew the chief winds formed the very basis of the religious systems of many primitive peoples.

This especially the case in the New World, where he Virginian Algonquians had only five gods, and of these four were the 'Four Winds which keep the four corners of the earth' (see art. AMERICA). Condiminuous souls lived for the four deities of the cardinal points, the fundamental idea being that they are the props of the universe, controllers of the seasons and the weather, and senders of rain and sunshine, on whom, in fact, all good and evil things depended. Hence in Hiawentha (xiv):

Mitche Manito the Mighty, Be the Master of Life, was painted 
As an egg, with points projecting, 
To the four winds of the heavens; 

and to him is appealed:

Mitche Manito the Mighty, 
Be the dreadful Spirit of Evil, etc.

Ratzel, a leading authority on these questions, remarks concerning the place held by the winds among the precursors of creation, based upon the association between breath (or soul) and wind, the pervading sanctity of the number four in the quarters of the heaven, and generally the elements of astronomy and meteorology are alike conspicuous. The Winnebagoes [a Siouan people] say that the Great Spirit created four men and one woman, and that the former created the four winds, the latter everywhere they are among the beneficent creative spirits, and often they precede in time even sun, moon, and stars. As to the sun, so also to the four quarters of the world, tobacco is offered from the sacred pipe. The winds, as messengers of the sun, who bring rain, growth, and refreshment, have their share of veneration next after the moon. We further meet with four servants of the Mexican Air- and Sun-god (Quetzalcoatl), four supporters of the earth, who survived the deluge, four corners of the world— whence the Sioux get their pipe of council, four brothers who produced the floor [read vault, sky] as in the Arawak legend, and so forth. Hence developed the universal notion of the sanctity of four and its multiples, and hence the cross on American monuments (Hist. of Mankind, i, p. 146).

In their creation legend the Hare Amerinds, members of the Race of the Hare, who in their mythological brothers— the Father—dwell overhead, and the Mother underneath, while the Sun moves up and down in mid-air between them, and thus becomes an aërial god. One day, during his wanderings in the heavens, he noticed the earth, a mere island lost in boundless space, and thereupon cried out: 'O my father on high, kind thy heavenly fire for my brothers on that little island who have long been unhappy. Look on them, father, and take pity on them. Then the sun became the day-star, and gladdened the sight of mortals. Amongst other Amerinds the encompassing air is peopled, not by pure spirits, but by disembodied souls, which flit about, for example, above the Chiloé Islands, while in French Guiana, the Ruyenne Caribs send the good to the haven of bliss and envelop the wicked in the clouds as in a kind of purgatory.

In the myths and traditions of the Hopi (Moqui) Puebloans, leading parts are played by the great cloud-god Cotokimunwa, who dwells in the firmament, and by the four quarters, which have their special deities and are inhabited by man, and the Wolf—for X., W., S., and E., with the corresponding colours, yellow, green or blue, red, and white for the several cloud-gods. Thus, in the myth of the Maiden and the Coyote, the Yellow Cloud Chief, the Blue Cloud Chief, the Red Cloud Chief, and the White Cloud Chief play their parts, to win the heroine of the story, but all without success (H. K. Voth, The Traditions of the Hopi, p. 157).

But it was in Mexico and Central America, where astronomical lore had made such marked progress, that these notions acquired their greatest expan-
sion and almost formed the very framework of the more advanced religious systems. Everywhere the tocalli (temples always erected on pyramids) faced the four cardinal points which supported the heavens; in the Aztec cosmology one of the four cataclysms was caused by the air; and Orozco y Berra identifies Quetzalcoatl himself with el dios de los vientos ('the god of the winds'), since he was often represented as moving through the air laden with a wind-bag which was always inflated with destructive gales, and he was born of the cloud-snake Mixcoatl, or at least of his consort Coatlicue—at the of the 'snake-robe.'

To Quetzalcoatl corresponds the Kukulcan of the Mayas, a universal deity of many functions, enthroned on the cloud of heaven and on the cross-shaped tree of the four points of the compass, also figured in the classic pictorial codices of Mexico, who was the messenger of the air, above rain, storm, and the death-bringing clouds from which the lightning falls. He is associated, too, with the four colours—yellow, red, white, and black—each corresponding to a quarter of the earth (see above), though in a different way, correspond to the cardinal points—yellow, air; red, fire; white, water; black, earth. 'Kukulcan,' writes Dr. P. Schellhas, 'is represented with all the four cardinal points' he appears as ruler of all the points of the compass; north, south, east, and west, as well as air, fire, water, and earth are subject to him (Deities of the Maya MSS., p. 17). Here we see the interminglings of diverse functions and provinces above referred to. It may be added that Kukulcan shares his many-sidedness with three other Maya gods, one unnamed who is connected with the symbolic colours of the cardinal points, a second the war-god, of frequent occurrence in the codices, and a third identified by Förstemann with a storm-deity, whose features are intended to symbolize the blast of the tempest. Thus each of the four winds would appear to have been originally defined, or precipitated over by natural winds whose functions and ethereal realms afterwards became confused.

Lastly, the Chichimihuado, one of the most esteemed Maya-Quiche nations of Guatemala, paid special homage to the four wind-gods, to whom even human sacrifices were offered. 'Sánchez y Leon states that the most usual sacrifice was a child. The heart was taken out, and the blood was sprinkled toward the four cardinal points, as an act of adoration to the Four Winds, cool being burned at the same time as an incense (Historia de Guatemala, quoted by Brinton in the Annals of the Cathohc Church, p. 45).

In Madagascar the Four Winds are, or were, fully recognized, and, as amongst the northern Amerinds, worshipped in their order next after the supreme deity. Little is now heard of them, and they are scarcely mentioned in the missionary records; but in Robert Drury's time (early in the 18th cent.) they were invoked in all solemn oaths, thus: 'I swear by the great God above, by the Four Gods of the Four Quarters of the World, by the Spirits of my Forefathers, that,' etc. (Journal, p. 103 of Oliver's ed.). And Drury tells us that at their meals the people 'take a bit of meat and throw it over their heads, saying: "There's a bit for the Spirit." Then they cut four more little bits, and throw to the lords of the four quarters of the earth' (ib. p. 280).
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It is, however, to be noted that this belief may have been introduced by the later (Hova) immigrants from Malaysia, where the worship of the wind has a similar origin. Other influences are also felt. In the island of Bali, east of Java, where alone Brahmanism and Buddhism still persist, the four have expanded, as later in Greece (Athenian democracy), to eight gods or demi-gods of the Rānyūna—Indra, Yama, Sūrya (for Nirritī), Chandira (for Ishāni), Amla, Kubera, Varuna, and Agni. Of these, however, only three—Indra, Yama, and Varuṇa—have become the principles of the forms of Siva, and since in Bali the worship of Siva has in a way absorbed that of all the other gods of the Hindu pantheon, the eight cardinal points themselves are now also attributed to corresponding forms of Siva.

Of the three specially mentioned, Indra has been raised to the heights of Olympus, just as Jupiter has become a chthonic and katachthonic god (see above). Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to regard Indra as the supreme object of adoration in the Vedic system, and he still remains a true rain and air god with his cortège of maruts and storm deities, since his heaven (Indruloka or Svarga) lies between the earth and the Viergottacht, or breath of Siva, where at last the souls repose and receive release from transmigration. In fact, Svarga still has earth contacts athwart the empyrean; its inhabitants are liable to become mortal again, and Indra is one of those divine devas who need the word śrutā (ambrosia) to keep them alive, yet may still be attacked and vanquished by demons, or by assoctes who acquire supernatural power by themselves.

In North Celebes the four wind-gods are held in honour, and play a great part in the local cosmogonies.

Lūminūt, mother of mankind, met the rock-born priestess Keceria, who ordered her to turn her face to the south. While she did this the priestess prayed, "O Cause of the East Wind, fertilize this woman." Lūminūt, however, perceived nothing. Then, on the command of the priestess, she hurried to the east, to the north, and finally to the west, and each time the priestess prayed that the deity of the wind would fertilize her. Her prayer was answered, and Lūminūt by the god of the west wind begat a son named Toar. When Toar grew up, Keceria took the axe, one of the psalms called aza and cut the stem of the same length gave one (tula) to Toar and one (aza) to Toar, and in the one are two of the same length. This is the mother and son, but if one is longer than the other come to me immediately st. Toar, the one must be cut from the stem, but if the two are the same length, let me know."

One day, however, but after a time Lūminūt and Toar met without knowing one another, and on measuring sticks they found that Lūminūt's was longer than Toar's, for the tula stick had sprouted out and grown. Thereupon they returned to Keceria, and when she had measured the sticks she said, 'You are not mother and son, therefore you must become man and wife. Be fruitful and populate the earth.' So Lūminūt and Toar begat many children, twice nine, three times seven, and once three. The three are the Pasajowan, of whom one was the priest at Warendukan to the air; from the other two the people of Minahassa (North Celebes) trace their descent. This legend of the origin of the earth and its people is full of interest to the student of cosmology. The observation of the occurrence of the sun by the god of the West Wind exhibits traces of the very common myth of the marriage of Heaven and Earth. Lūminūt is the earth goddess, the fruitful mother of all things; the West Wind is the one which brings the rain and fertilizes the earth (S. J. Hickson, North Celebes, p. 24).

In Celebes, besides the four wind-gods, there are numerous aërial beings, which are somewhat vaguely described as 'free wandering spiritual forms of various ranks, powers, and capabilities for good or evil, who are distinguishable from the spirits by which certain trees, rocks, waterfalls, and other objects are supposed to be animated, and, as the religion of the Minahassers was a different to the feudalism of the Japanese' (ib. p. 547), it may be conjectured that the wanderer-spirits believed to be disembodied souls of the dead rather than spirits derived directly from the air. This view is strengthened by the further statement that the spiritual world is inhabited by the souls of deceased chiefs, who live for ever 'in the form of wandering ghosts having no number of material forms or experiences. They believed in a series of ancestral ghosts of the rank of first-class gods, and in a crowd of lesser deities, protecting spirits and others. These the Minahassers called Empung, the generic name for the gods, but literally meaning a 'grandfather' (cf. the African Munkukunku, which has the same meaning), it is obvious that ancestor-worship prevailed over pure psycho- logical in Celebes, and the belief that spirits dwelt to a great extent in the ethereal regions. In fact, four heavenly villages were expressly set apart as their residence, and these villages—Kasooman, Kalawakan, Kasomkan, and Karon- doran—were so contiguous to the earth that formerly the empungs would often return and mingle with mortals, rich blessings ever following in their footsteps. In these celestial villages rice was grown, and it was from this source that the cereal now thriving in Minahassa was originally procured.

Now, the return of the departed spirits is dreaded, and at funerals the relatives blacken each others face with ash. There is another spirit called wuweuringan, and the object is to prevent any recognition by the ghosts who may be hovering about the graves or returning to their former abodes. Obviously for the same reason black peoples, such as the Australians and Andamans, often try to disguise themselves by dabbing their faces with white lands or patches, and white is the mourning colour in China. On this subject Hickson aptly remarks that 'whatever they may be intended to express in civilized communities, there can be little doubt that the customary suits of solemn black originated, not in grief or respect for the departed friend, but in the fear of his returning spirit. At the funeral the priest drives it away with a sword, and the maiden who sits upon the bier (in Minahassa) frightens it by the sound of bells. Then everything is done to confuse the spirit if it attempts to return to its accustomed haunts. The ghost is always supposed to come back to the house by the same route by which the corpse was taken away. We can see the reason, then, why the corpse is set down through a hole in the floor and carried away. It is a form of conveying the spiritual being to the grave. The spirit is so much more perplexed in finding its way back home by this circuitous route. Then, again, the nearest relatives do not attend the funeral, in order that the ghost, if it is hovering around, may not suspect that it is its own funeral that is taking place. Care must be taken, too, that if the spirit should return to the house, it should not recognize the inmates. The friends and relatives, therefore, disguise themselves by painting their faces black [the Minahassers are Indonesians of a light brown or cinnamon colour], by wearing black hats, leaving their hair loose and unkempt, and in other ways. It must not be supposed that black is the universal mourning colour. Among white and fair-skinned people it naturally is, because it affords them the most effectual disguise. Among the black-skinned Andamanese is the mourning colour. They paint themselves with stripes of white paint. The Spaniards at the time of the conquest of the Philippines found that many of the inhabitants used white as a mourning colour. Many of them say, 'That the spirits of Luzon", the Sinul islanders shun white to the present day for this purpose' (op. cit. p. 299).

Another curious survival—the almost universal custom of whistling for the wind—finds its explanation in the Minahassers' belief in the presence of the spirits of the living as well as of the dead may at times take refuge in the surrounding atmosphere.
is especially the case with sick people, whose ailments are supposed to be caused by their spirits leaving the body and fluttering about somewhere in the neighborhood. Then the waliain (priest or shaman) is sent for to diagnose the patient, who is often laid in a village yard from early morning until dusk to look for his soul. ‘They make a fire in a likely spot, and entice the spirit back by cooking rice and chicken, or by whistling and calling as they would for a dog, whilst the priest goes through the usual priestly and religious ceremony.

This goes on for some time; a rich patient who can afford many chickens has usually to wait a longer time for his spirit to return than a poor man. At last the waliain sees it! It shows itself clearly here or there by a movement in the grass or by some other sign. The waliain advances with the greatest caution, and catches it in a sarong (the broad Malay cloth worn as a wrap), just as a schoolboy catches a butterfly in his hat. They now turn homewards; a child leads the way, carrying a woka leaf (Livistonia) to prevent the priest and spirit from getting wet; the priest follows, carrying the spirit and the other priest armed with sago-sage and mumu [swords and sticks], which he swings backwards and forwards to keep away the spiteful sabits [demons of the air] who wish to recapture the patient’s spirit. When the specialist opens the chamber, the priest opens the sarong over the head of the patient, and says with great satisfaction and assurance, “Now is your soul returned.” This being done, the patient should get well again, but if he does not, it is a sign that his time has come, and his spirit can no longer be retained’ (ib. p. 295).

Thus we see that whistling for the wind, still practised by all seafaring peoples, from the Egyptians of the Ancient to the Malay sailors of to-day, originally meant whistling for the truant souls lurking in the wind. Innumerable other survivals, could they be traced to their source, would also be found to be deeply rooted in the superstitions beliefs of primitive man.

Nowhere can this be seen better than in China, where the aerial spaces still swarm with countless good and evil spirits, the belief in which has influenced the development of the whole body of Chinese architecture. The fundamental notion is that the good spirits move through the air in curved, the bad in straight, lines. Hence the former are welcomed, the latter baffled by the curved form of the roofs of their temples, gateways, and other conspicuous structures. For the same reason, no straight highways can be laid down, and partly on this ground great objections were for years raised against the development of railway enterprise. The danger of de-sacralizing the ancestral graves was also urged; but both difficulties were overcome when it was pointed out that the burial-places could be avoided by cleverly designed curves, and that these curves would at the same time serve to thwart the wicked and encourage the beneficent genii.

So also in Korea the air is infested by many malevolent beings, such as the small devil, the typhus devil, and the cholera devil. As after death some of these might again enter the corpse and revive it to kill the living, they are scared off by the vigorous beating of gongs, drums, pots and cans, which is kept up incessantly for three days and nights after the funeral. These demons always travel on the north wind, and the good spirits on the south wind. Hence the graves are usually situated on the sunny slopes of a hill, whither all good influences are waited on the balmy southern breeze. The family vaults of the better classes are also sheltered from the evil spirits by horseshoe-shaped mounds turned northwards, that is, towards the quarter whence come the demons riding on the icy arctic blasts. Here again we seem to divine why the horseshoe is still a lucky object even among the cultured peoples of the West, where it is nailed to the stable door to protect the farmyard from evil influences. The Oriental has no horseshoes; hence it was not the shoe itself, but its peculiar shape, that was regarded as propitious, because earthworks so constructed may have been thought favourable to the good and adverse to the evil genii.

That the demons of epidemics wander about in mid-air is a belief not confined to Korea, but pervading the religious thought of the whole Eastern world. To the Copts they were Harpies; cholera and smallpox are real devils who ‘hover through the fog and filthy air,’ and when some of the tribe visited Rangoon in 1835 they carried their dahats (knives) unshod to scare off the pestilent nat, and passed the day hiding under bushes to escape its notice. Some even ventured to pacify it by the sacrifice of a slave boy, but were talked over to substitute a few pariah dogs (Carey and Tuck, The Chin Hills, i. passim). So also in India, the belief in the same cholera and smallpox demons, who ‘are supposed to be always wandering about in mid-air’ (Conson Report for 1901), is almost universal amongst the Kolarian and Dravidian aborigines. For details the reader must be referred to art. Asia.

In Greece the four chief winds were known to Homer, who in the Iliad groups them in pairs (Kópote to Nótoς te, ii. 145; Boreas kai Zéfiros, ix. 5), and in the Od. (v. 295-296) mentions them consecutively. — Συν 3 Ἐκόπας το Νότος τ’ ἐπέκαη Ζέφιρος τ’ ἐποσκευάζοντα, καὶ μετ’ κείμα κυώνων.

Here all are personified poetically, but not yet deified, unless the ‘other-born’ Boreas is already to be taken as an air-god. Even their king Aéolus is still only the ‘prince of the winds,’ as in Od. x. 2:

Αἰολός ἤν στασίδα φίλος ἀδανάτων δειον, whereas in the Æneid he is enthroned amongst the Immortals (‘celes sedet Aéolus arcce, spectra tenens,’ i. 397; althòs, the Athenians called their king συμμέτοχος to Boreas, and that they invoked and offered sacrifices both to him and to his consort (θόν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπικελέστω τὸν τε Βορέας καὶ τῷ Εὐρύ-θερου). Another highly honoured wind-god was Zephyros, whose war-car was drawn by horses, with Notus and others, was born of the Titan Astræus and the goddess Eos (Aurora). To Zephyros the Athenians raised a temple, where his effigy was that of a gentle winged youth wreathed in flowers. Later, under the discriminating analysis of Aristotle, the four became eight and even twelve (Meteorol. 2-9). Of the last four little is afterwards heard; but the eight appear to have retained their rank as air-gods at Athens, where was raised to them the still existing octagonal Horologium of Antonius Cyrehestes, popularly known as the ‘Temple of the Winds.’ On each of the eight walls a last-relief symbolizes the wind which it faces, and an additional element of interest is supplied by the dress and accompaniments of these figures, by which the character attributed by the Greeks to the winds which they represent is symbolically depicted. Boreas is described as a bearded man of stern aspect, richly clad and wearing strong buskins, and he blows a conch shell as a sign of his tempestuous character. Céceus, in another coil, is determined by the lower part of which is full of hailstones. Notus, the most rainy wind, holds an inverted urn, the whole contents of which he is pouring out upon the earth. Zephyrus, on the other hand, who is the
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habunger of spring, appears as a graceful youth, almost unclothed, with the fold of his robe filled with flowers' (H. F. Tozer, *Hist. of An. Geography*, P. 155).

Italy also had its complete category of wind-gods, quite independently of the Greek, as shown by their old Italian names, such as *Corvus, Aquilo, Auster, Eurus*, and Zephyr. It is clear that the names corresponded to those of the Roman *favonius*, of whom Horace sings (Odes, I. 1) that 'Solvitur acris hiemis gratia veris et Favoni,' and whom Plautus contrasts with 'rainy Auster': 'Hic Favonius seren'at, istic auster inimicus: hic fuerit tu, oh Orestes, ego omnis cuilibet.' (Morerator, v. ii. 35, 36). From this we see that Auster answers to the Greek Notus, while Virgil makes it equally clear that Aquilo represents Boreas, as in *Geor. iii. 196.'

'Qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris Incumbuit, Scythineque hiesme atque arida differt Nubila.'

It may here be stated that in Italy, as in Greece, Olympian Jove himself had at an early date extended his sway to the earth, or rather to the nether world. Of Umbrian, a sister language of Latin, some lengthy liturgical texts survive on the seventh and eighth tablets of the *Guiblai*, where they are still preserved in the town-hall. On Tab. ii., which may date from B.C. 500, the epithet *hunte* is twice applied to Jove (*Hunte Invic amentia, l. 21; and Hunte Invic vestitutio, l. 35,* and may be compared clearly with the Umbrian *hondra=inaf,* means 'inferns,' so that Hunte Invic answers exactly to the Homeric θεὸς καραχόν.* With this compare the stem *huntro-,* which in Oscan, another sister tongue, means *inferns,* leaving no doubt as to the force of Hunte (*The Curse of Vibian, l. 11 in R. S. Conway's Italic Dialects, l. p. 127*).

A few miscellaneous references may now be given to complete the subject, and show how thickly primitive peoples packed the encompassing atmosphere with gods, demons, and spirits of all kinds. These are nowhere more numerous and varied than in Arabias and surrounding lands, where the most dreaded are the ghouls (properly تُؤل = ghot), who, however, are denizens not so much of the air as of woods and deserts. They assume diverse shapes and colours, and show a certain kinship with Indian 'mother-gods' and the vampire of Europe and America, who is devoted to devils, men, animals, and dead bodies. These ghouls range through Persia, and Muslim India into the Malay lands, where there is a special 'storm fiend who rides the whirlwind,' and also 'a vile fiend called penangurah who takes possession of the forms of women, or men, or men and women,' and compels them to quit the greater part of their bodies, and fly away at night to gratify avaricious or gluttonous or lustful disposition. They are said to haunt one of the ghouls stories in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* (D'Urville, The *Golden Chersonesos*, p. 354).

The Arawaks, the natural barbarians of the Arrows, and now generally of all Muslim peoples—Bible 'Prince of Darkness,' the aunts and shetians, and the whole host of jims—existed in pre-Mahommedan times, as is evident from Job 39, where *jim* is rendered בַּדָּשָׁהּ in LXX and Satan in the Vulgate. So universal was the belief in their existence, that they had to be admitted with modifications into the Mahommedan system, which recognizes three created intelligences under Allah—the angels formed of light, the jins of subtile fire, and man of the dust of the earth. The jins are commonly supposed to be mischievous goblins born to man. Some, no doubt, are wicked, and do mischiefs, or demons, whose chief is the fallen angel Bif. These reside in the lowest firmament, that is, the surrounding air, and haunt the caves, the jins of subtile fire, the hill-tops, and the mountains. They have the power of putting on any form they please, but not greater power than the fire and smoke, and are thus making themselves visible to mortals. They may even take possession of living people, from whom they have to be exorcised by charms and incantations. But others bear a good character, and frequent the habitations of man in a friendly way; they are addressed by him in kindly language; and they, too, in virtue of their subtle essence, pervade the solid mass of the earth and the whole space of the firmament. They are also believed to inhabit the vapours of water, and in setting down a bucket to a well, or in lighting a fire, the man who does not observe this should be pronounced, 'Pernicious, and destined to misfortune.' (Lekeawhite, *Social Hist. of the Races of Muskmind*, iv. p. 384.) Jaffeer Shurwad, who speaks from personal knowledge, goes so far as to say that the inhabitants of the island on which it is said to be a jin, but a sheitan, who does evil deeds (*Monuments of India*, p. 373). The sheitan, however, does not apply to Arabs, where the bad certainly predominate over the good geni, and where the above-quoted 'soft words' may be merely euphemistic. In any case, both the Jinn and to our second edition were supposed as they are not of human origin but are directly created by Allah.

In general, witches and magicians, who have the power of assuming strange forms, everywhere infest the air as well as the land and water. In Aurora, Pentecost, and other Melanesian Islands, they fly about disguised in different personages, and sometimes assume the aspect of familiar spirits, and then they are most dangerous. 'In Lepers' Island the wizards who practise it [the magic art] are believed to have the power of changing the shape. The friends of any one suffering from sickness are at once denounced and talked against by the wizard who has caused the disease should come in some form, as of a blow-fly, and strike the patient; they sit with him, therefore, and use counter-charms to guard him, and drive carefully away all flies, lest his enemy should come in that form.' (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 207). This observer mentions the case of Molitavita, a noted magician who turned himself into an eagle, or rather whose soul went out of him, and in this shape flew a long way after a ship which had carried off some natives of Lepers' Island, and in that way was able to tell their relatives what had become of them. He also reported the case of a person who was believed to have died. 'Long afterwards, when some of those who were then on board returned, they said that he had brought back the truth, one of them by that time had died' (ib. p. 298).

In Guiana, not only the sun and moon, but also the wind and storms are deified, or, it would be more correct to say, are 'humanized' by indwelling spirits of an essentially anthropomorphic type.*

On one occasion, during an eclipse of the sun, the Arawak men among whom I happened to be rushed from their houses with loud shouts and yells. They explained that a fight was going on between the sun and moon, and that they shouted to frighten and so part the combatants. In many other countries exactly this proceeding of making a noise to separate the sun-spirit and the moon-spirit, or the sun-god and the moon-god, has been noticed; and it is generally supposed that in such cases a high degree of authority is attributed to these spirits. But I see nothing in this or in any thing else which shows that savages distinguish, by attributing greater authority to them, such beings as angry with the moon, and those who are in the habit of natural phenomena, as wind and storms, from men and other animals, plants and other inanimate objects, or from any other being whatsoever. All beings—and under this heading are included all personified natural phenomena—are, in fact, of the same kind, each with a body and a spirit. It is the old story—they differ from each other only in that some are more powerful than others in the mere matter of brute force, and none have any sort of authority over others' (E. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 364). By the Brazilian Botocudos the air is well stockcd with spirits, mostly of a malevolent disposition, 'storm-gods,' and the moon itself, the 'night-fire' (*tara guenclot*), which they look upon as a sort of evil principle. All baneful manifestations are attributed to the moon, which causes the thunder-storm, and is supposed at times itself to fall on the earth, crushing the hill-tops, flooding the plains, and destroying multitudes of people. During storms and eclipses arrows are shot upwards, not, as by the Caribs and Arawaks, to frighten the sun, the 'quenducto,' or other places, but by letting them in and shutting a bucket to a well, or in lighting a fire, the man who does not observe this should be pronounced, 'Pernicious, and destined to misfortune.' (Goahter, *Social Hist. of the Races of Muskmind*, iv. p. 388.) Jaffeer Shurwad, who speaks from personal knowledge, goes so far as to say that the inhabitants of the island on which it is said to be a jin, but a sheitan, who does evil deeds (*Monuments of India*, p. 373). The sheitan, however, does not apply to Arabs, where the bad certainly predominate over the good geni, and where
Among the Eskimos the air, usually reserved for departed souls, is replaced by the surrounding ice- fields as the chief abode of the wicked spirits. The Greenlander especially has a superstitions terror of the inland ice-cap. 'It is the home of his evil spirits, his ghosts, his apparitions and shades (tarrajutak), his trolls (timersok and erilkide), his ice-men who are not twice as tall as ordinary people, and a whole host of other supernatural beings' (Brögger and Rolf- sen's Friidtig Nansen, p. 130). In pagan times there were numerous such figures on the island, whom the Greenlanders, since their adoption of Christianity, have been led to regard as evil spirits now inhabiting the lower regions of the atmosphere and the nether world, while Torngrans, the Great Spirit, has become the Christian Satan. Elsewhere the souls of the departed sometimes lead a restless existence in their aerial abodes, and during their hunting expeditions the Alaskan Eskimos often see phantoms gliding over the heights; these are the ghosts of the departed returning to earth to injure their living relatives. The people of the Barrow Point district are much troubled by such apparitions, as also by Kioy, the demon of the aurora borealis, and Ekapunya, the Eskimo witch, who, like his classical prototype, reigns in the earth, the water, and the heavens. This is one of those numerous instances of overlapping where it be comes impossible to distinguish clearly between chthonic, celestial, and air gods.

LITERATURE.—There appears to be no work specially devoted to the subject of this article. Hence the references must be to a few of the more important treatises in which accidental mention is made of the gods of the air. Such are: A. B. Cook, 'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak,' in CLR, April 1897; Luciani, ed. Hermannus and H. Williams; Stobaeus, Florilegium; F. Ratzel, Hist. of Mankind, Eng. ed. 4 vols. 1897; H. V. Rust, 'A Suggestion of the Nature of the Maya Manuscripts,' 1906; D. G. Brinton, Annals of the Cakchiquel Indians; R. Drury, Mexican Journal, etc., ed. P. Oliver, 1859; S. J. Hickson, A Naturalist in North Cobles, 1899; T. Belt, A Naturalist in Nicaragua, 1874; Brögger and Reichen, Fridtig Nansen, 1896; R. Friedrich, Ball, in Papers relating to Indo-China, 1887; Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico, 1890-1897; Carey and Tuck, The Mexican Indians, etc., 1906; H. F. Tozer, A Hist. of Acc., Geography, 1897; R. S. Conway, The Italic Dialects, 2 vols. 1897; A. Feathern, Social Hist. of the Inca of Mankind, 4 vols. 1832-1841; R. H. Codington, The Melanesians, 1855; E. E. and Thurn, Among the Karam, 1851; A. H. G. Schellhas, Undescribed Tribes, and Past and Present, 1860; H. Rink, The Eskimo Tribes, 1857.

A. H. KEANE.

AIYANAR.—Among the most widely known and popular of the deities of the village, the grivuma-devata, of Southern India is Aiyanar, the tutelary god of the fields, who protects the crops from harm and disease, and who is oftentimes the evil spirits of drought and disease. Grouped around the shrine, and near the village, are usually to be found rude models in terra-cotta of horses, often life-size, or more rarely of elephants, on which Aiyanar with his troop of attendants is supposed to ride when in mad career he chases away the demons. The Indian villagers avoid approaching the shrine of Aiyanar lest he should be mistaken for a demon and slain.

The god is represented roughly carved in human form, either seated with crown and sceptre, or on horseback, and is sometimes accompanied by his two wives, Pārā and Pudikalai, who join him in the rout of the evil spirits. He is also propitiated in times of distress or pestilence, when animal sacrifices are offered on rude stone altars in front of the shrine. The festivals and sacrifices at the priest's house, who officiate belong invariably to the lowest castes. The clay models of the horses are presented by the villagers in acknowledgment of aid rendered, as thank-offerings for recovery from sickness, or in return for cattle. At harvest-time, there do not seem to be any records or collection held in his honour, or any definite periods of worship prescribed. Sir Monier Williams' account of his visit to Aiyanar's shrine at Parnagudi, on the road from Madras to Hanumangundy, is as follows: 'I saw no signs of any recent offerings, nor was a single worshipper of the god to be seen anywhere.' I noticed, indeed, that all the shrines of A. had a deserted appearance, the fact being that he is never worshipped, in our sense of the word. He is only propitiated in emergencies. Every year after harvest-time a festival is kept in his honour, when numerous animals are sacrificed, and images of the god are decorated with ornaments, and drawn about through the village streets on the rude clay horses (Brahmanism and Hindûism, p. 219.).

The name Aiyanar is said to be a combination or corruption of the two names Hori-Hora, or Vighnuti for Siva; and the god is popularly regarded as the son of Siva by Visûn, when the latter had assumed a female form. It is more probable, however, that he represents a primitive Dravidian deity, recognized and more or less adopted less by the Vedanta Aryans, and provided with an orthodox parentage. A figure of Ganesa, one of the other two sons of Siva, sometimes stands near his shrine. But, unlike his brother, Aiyanar does not seem ever to be invoked in the strict sense of the word; and the prayer addressed to him being for blessing or positive good.


A. S. GEDEN.

AJANTA.—Ajanta is the Anglo-Indian form of the native name Ajanta, a village and ravine celebrated for its cave temples, situated in N. lat. 20° 52′ 39″ E. long. 75° 48′, near the frontier of the British province of Berar, but within the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. It lies at the head of one of the passes (ghāt) that lead down from the Indhūyādi hills, dividing the table-land of the Deccan from the British district of Berar, and the valley of the Tăpti. The only early reference to the caves is that of the Buddhist pilgrim Hīn-Teiag, or as Watters, the latest translator and editor of his journal, transliterates his name, Yuan Ch'ao. He writes, speaking of the kingdom of Mo-ha-la-cha (Māhārātā) : 'In the east of this country was a mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheer summits. Here was a monastery which was in a dark defile, and its lofty walls were quivered in the cliff and rested upon the peak, its tiers of halls and storied terraces had the cliff on their back, and faced the ravine. This monastery had been built by the A-ch'i-lo (Achira [or perhaps rather Achala]) of Western India.' The pilgrim then relates the circumstances in Achāra's life which led to the building of the monastery. 'Within the image of the monument,' he adds, 'was a large temple above 100 feet high, in which was a stone image of the Buddha above 70 feet high; the image was surmounted by a tier of seven canopies unattached and unsupported, each canopy separated from the one above it by two rows of pillars; the walls of this temple had depa in that the incidents of the Buddha's career as Bodhisattva, including the circumstances of his attaining Bodhi, and the events attending the pastoral career of all, great and small, were here delineated. Outside the gate of the monastery, on either side north and
south, was a stone elephant, and the pilgrim was informed that the bellowing of these elephants caused earthquakes' (Watters, ii. 230 f.). Burgess and other authorities believe that this account, dated A.D. 649, refers to the Ajanta caves. Watters admits that this view is probable, but he doubts whether the Achala of the inscription recorded by Burgess is the Acha-le of the pilgrim's narrative. This inscription merely states that 'the nectoric Stavara desired to have faith and was grateful, caused to be built a mountain-dwelling for the Teacher, though his wishes were fulfilled.'

The place was visited for the first time by Europeans in 1819, and the earliest accounts of its monuments, by Alexander, appeared ten years later (Trans. R. A. S. 1829). The first scientific survey was made by Ferguson, and appeared in the same journal in 1843. His account of the wall-paintings aroused much interest, and led to an appeal to the Indian Government that careful copies of them should be made. This was done by Major R. Gill; but his drawings, except the five last executed, were unfortunately destroyed in a fire at the Crystal Palace, where they were being exhibited, in 1866. All that remains of his work now seems to be small copies, in Mrs. Spiers' Ancient India, of two of his pictures and of eight detached fragments from other works of equal beauty. The frescoes were started afresh by Griffith, and his work, in two splendid volumes, was published by the Secretary of State for India in 1896-97.

The caves are excavated in the face of an almost perpendicular rocky scarpe, about 250 feet high, sweeping round in a semicircle, and forming the north side of a wild glen traversed by a small stream, the Vaghur. Above the caves the valley termite, or an elephant, for a winding course, with several leaps, the total height being about 200 feet. The site is lonely and picturesque, and, at the same time, close to a main line of ancient traffic, thus combining the three leading characteristics which guided the excavators of the rock caves of Western India in selecting places for their establishments.

The series consists of 24 monasteries (vikāra) and 5 temples or meeting-halls (chatāya). Accord- ing to Burgess, who has made a careful survey, and compiled an exhaustive report on the caves (Arch. Survey Reports, W. India, iv. 43 f.), the earliest group consists of two Chaitya caves (numbered IX., X., according to Fergusson's plan of the site), of the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. These were excavated certainly before the commencement of the Christian era. Of the later caves, Burgess forms two groups. Nine (VI., VII., VIII., IX. to XX.) range in date from the 5th to the end of the 6th cent. A.D. The second group (I. to V., XXI. to XXVII.) were all excavated, or at least finished, within the limits of the 7th century. This second, and by far the largest, series belongs to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, and can be distinctly marked off from those of the earlier group. Cave No. I. is specially to be noted. Burgess describes it as the most handsomely ornamented Vihara at Ajanta, and in all India; and at the same time it is one of the most modern, having been constructed probably in the beginning of the 7th cent., and not completely finished before A.D. 650. The cave is of a single range, and is peculiarly intended for meditation and worship. The paintings at Ajanta are the series of frescoes in the caves. These generally represent passages from the legendary history of Buddha, and from the Jātakas, or stories of the Buddha's former births, the visit of Ajanta to Buddha, and the prophecies of him by Māra and his forces, legends of the Nāgas, or serpent race, hunting scenes, battle pieces, the carrying of the relics to Ceylon, and other incidents in the Mahayana legend. Many of the frescoes represent incidents taken from the Jatakas, while some twelve have been identified by S. F. Oldenburg (Journ. American Oriental Society, xvii. 183 f.; JRAS, 1896, p. 324). Of these, perhaps the most important are the Ummadanti Jātaka of king Ummadanti (ib. v. 210 f.) and the Chuddantaka Jātaka, or tale of the six-tusked elephant (ib. v. 209 f.). A recent discovery in one of these caves has brought to light a picture which depicts the Nāgas, or Causes, in the form of a concrete mass, and which the Tibetans are inclined to consider as a diagram of human life in the form of the wheel (Waddell, JRAS, 1894, p. 367; Buddhism of Tibet, 105 f.). In the mountain scene of the frescoes are depicted figures of birds and monkeys, and sometimes of Bils and other forest tribes, and the failed inhabitants of the hills—Guhvakas, Kiratas, and Kinnaras, the last of whom are musicians to the mountain gods, with human heads and legs and tails of birds. The whole series of frescoes is of the greatest historical value as illustrating the religious and social life of India between the 3rd and 5th cent. of the Christian era.

All critics have fully recognized the artistic value of these frescoes. 'The condition of mind,' writes Griffith (in Burgess, Notes, 41 f.), 'which originated and executed these paintings at Ajanta must have been very different from those of the frescoes in the Italian paintings of the 14th cent., as we find much that is common to both. Little attention paid to the science of art—a general crowding of figures into a subject; regard being had more to the truthful rendering of a story than to a beautiful rendering of it; not that they discarded beauty, but they did not make it the primary motive for representation. There is a want of aerial perspective, the painter's desire for space only being attained by light and shade, giving the whole a look of flatness, a quality to be desired in mural decoration. Who- ever were the authors of these paintings, they must have constantly mixed with the world. Scenes of everyday life, such as preparing food, carrying water, buying and selling, processions, hunting scenes, elephant fights, men and women engaged in singing, dancing, and playing on musical instru- ments. Many are most gracefully, and all most graphically depicted upon these walls; and they could only have been done by men who were constant spectators of such scenes; by men of keen observation and retentive memories.' Of the famous paintings of the 1st cent., the earliest, in XV., the same authority writes: 'For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story, this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentine could not have put better drawing, and the Venetian better colour, but neither could have thrown greater ex- pression into it' (ib. 58 f.).

In many of the paintings there is ample evidence of Sasanian or Persian influence. One wall scene (Griffith's drawing No. 5) appears to represent the reception of a Persian embassy at the Court of an Indian king, and, according to Burgess (ib. 27), can hardly be earlier than the 7th cent. of our era.

Literature.—The literature dealing with the Ajanta caves and their wall-paintings is very extensive. References to the older accounts of travellers and the comments of critics upon their several works are to be found in the Gazetteer, xii. 450, where a good account of the site will be found. The later and better authorities are: J. Burgess, Notes on the Caves and Temple-Towers of the Buddhist Religion, in Archaeological Survey of Western India. No. ix. i. J. Fergus- son and J. Burgess, Three Temples of Western India, Calcutta, 1851, pp. 290-347; J. Burgess and Bhagwanil Indrajal, Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, Bombay, 1851; J. Bur- gest, Report on the Hindu Temples and Caves of Western India, London, 1853; L. A. Waddell, 'Note on the Ajanta Paintings' in Indian Antiquary, 1894, p. 203. The wall-paintings are described by J. Griffith, The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta, Khambesh, 2 vols., London, 1896-97.

W. Crooke.
AJIVIKAS

[A. F. R. HOENLE]

1. Introduction.—The sacred books, both of the Buddhists (e.g. A. N. iii. 276; Dial. pp. 71, 220) and the Jains, inform us of the existence, contemporary with the foundation of Buddhism and Jainism, about the middle end of the 6th. c.c., of a community of religious mendicants, whom they call Ajivikas. From certain Jain Scriptures we further learn that the founder of this community was a mendicant by the name of Ojas (Pali Makkhalari-putta, Skr. Mostakari-putra). In the seventh Aiga (U.D. ii. 133), a man, Saddalā-putta, is said to have been received by Gosala into the Ajivika community, and the Bhagavati Sūtra, the fifth Aiga, gives us an account of the life of Gosala, as the acknowledged head of that community. Though the Buddhist Scriptures (e.g. M. N. i. 198, 230, 515; S. N. i. 68, iv. 398; D. N. i. 52; Jat. v. 246) also frequently mention Gosala Makkhalari-putta as one of the leaders of the six religious mendicant communities whom Buddha singles out for special animadversion, they never explicitly connect him with the Ajivikas, or state that he was their leader. But on this point the Buddhist tradition did not really differ from the Jain, is shown by the fact that both attribute to him the holding of the religious-philosophical doctrine of the negation of free will and moral responsibility.

On the exact signification of the name 'Ajivika,' we have no information. The Skr. word ājīva means the mode of life, or profession, of any particular class of people, whether they live as 'householders' in the world or, as religious mendicants, have renounced the world. Thus 'right-life' (saṁyog-ājīva) was in the Buddhist system (Dial. 21); B. S. 147; D. B. 146) one of the eight 'paths' incumbent on the mendicant. The word ājīvika, being a derivative of ājīva, means one who observes the mode of living appropriate to his class. We shall see in the sequel that there is some ground for believing that Gosala held peculiar views as to the ājīva of a mendicant

The following special abbreviations are used in this article:

A.N. = Aguttara Nipāta.
A.S. = Acharāga Sutta.
B.S. = Bodhisattas, in SBE, vol. xii.
C.B. = C. B. Pospelov's Buddhism.
D. = Daśa Niómoa.
J.S. = Jaina Sūtras, Parts i. and ii., in SBE, vols. xxii. and xvi.
Jat. = Jatakas.
K. S. = Kaḷuj Sutta, ed. Hermann Jacob.
N. S. = Nārāyānīya Sutta, ed. Dr. S. Warren.
O. E. = Okeberg's Buddhism.
Oman = The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India, by J. C. Oman.
S.A. = Smith's Abokà, in Rulers of India Series.
S.I.P. = Senart's Inscriptions of Piyadassi.
S. S. = Sūtra-kāhyās, in Jaina Sūtras, Part ii.
S. V. = Simhadvīpa Nāma.
S. V. = Simhadvīpa Varnāla.
Tr. K. = Transactions of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists.
U.D. = Udayana Daska, ed. by R. Hoenle, in Bibliotheca Indica Series.
V.O.J. = Vīkramāditya Jayasimha.
W.B.S. = Weber's Indische Studien.
W.M.H. = Wilkinson's Modern Hindustani.

who was truly liberated from the fetters of karma. It was probably for this reason that he and his adherents cannot be known as Ajivikas, or mendicants, but only as men who held the peculiar doctrine of ājīva. All the indications that we have tend to show that, as usual in such cases, the name was not taken by themselves, but given to them by their opponents, and that in their own view it was not meant to convey a slur.

As we shall see, Gosala, by his conduct, laid himself open to the charge of insincerity, in that he practised religious mendicancy, not as a profession of salvation (ājīva), but merely as a means of gaining a livelihood, as a mere profession (ājīva). The name 'Ajivika,' it appears, was originally meant to stigmatise Gosala and his followers as 'professors'; though, no doubt, in later times, when it became the distinctive name of a mendicant, Order, it no longer carried that offensive meaning.

2. Personal History of Gosala.—The fifth Aiga of the Jains, commonly known as the Bhagavati Sūtra, gives us a fairly connected and detailed account of the life of Gosala (Jh. S. x. 1, tr. in U.D. App. 1). According to this account, Gosala's father was a maññaka, a kind of professional beggar, whose name was Makkhali. Hence he was known as the Makkhali-putta or the Makkhali Gosala. His other name, Gosala, he received from the circumstance of having been born in a cowshed (gōsalī), in which his parents, failing to obtain any other refuge during a certain rainy season, had taken shelter. When he grew up, he adopted his father's profession of a maññaka. In the course of his journeys he repeatedly fell in with Mahāvira, who, just about that time, had commenced the wandering life of a Nigrodha ascetic. Seeing the great respect in which Mahāvira was held by the people, Gosala determined to attach himself to him. Though at first repulsed, he succeeded at last by his importunity in being accepted as a disciple by Mahāvira. But their characters were so different in character and temper, that after six years, owing to the insincerity and trickery of Gosala, the companionship was dissolved. Gosala now set up as the rival leader of a separate community of religious mendicants, called Ajivikas, and with his followers established his headquarters on the premises of a potter woman in the town of Sāvatthi (Savrasthi). After the lapse of sixteen years, Mahāvira, who was now in the sixtieth year of age and had met his former companion, happened to visit Sāvatthi, and, hearing of the influence which Gosala was wielding there, he took occasion to expose the false character of the professing ascetic. On learning this, Gosala, threatening vengeance, at once proceeded with his followers to where Mahāvira with his Niggothas was lodging. Here he began the dispute by putting forward an ingenuous argument to prove that Mahāvira was mistaken in his identity, and that, in reality, he was a totally different person from the Gosala whom Mahāvira had once known as his companion. On Mahāvira contemptuously brushing aside this sophistry, the infuriated Gosala grossly abused his adversary; and the two rival factions came to blows. In the fight two of Mahāvira's disciples were disabled; but, in the end Gosala, being discomfited by Mahāvira in a personal encounter, was compelled to retire in disgrace. The taunts of his rivals, and the consequent distress of the townspeople, now made Gosala's position in Sāvatthi untenable. This preyed on his mind so much that, having as far as possible put himself away from ascetic restraint, he gave himself up to drinking, singing, dancing, soliciting the potter woman, and besmirching himself with the cool muddy water of the potter's shop.

Six months of this vicious life were spent by Gosala in the end; and with it came a momentary return of

*Also spelled 'Xigapotha'; see J. S. ii. p. xiv, footnote 8.
reason and the sense of remorse. His last act was to acknowledge to his disciples the truth of Mahavira’s statement respecting himself, and to indicate that he wished to quit the world and to bestow the mark of dishonour and publicly to proclaim his shame. The disciples, it is added, refrained from carrying out the dying instructions of their master.

Such is the substance of the story of Gosala’s life. For the difficulties occasioned by the conflicting references to his life are much greater. Buddhaghosa (c. 410 A.D.), in his commentary on the Digha Nikaya (S. V. pp. 143, 144, tr. in U. D. App. II.), tells us that Gosala is the name of Gosala’s father, and that the latter name was given to him because he was born in a cowshed. Having broken an oil vessel through carelessness, and fearing chastisement from his angry master, who had caught him, he broke away, leaving his garments in his master’s hands. He fled naked to a village, where the people offered him clothes; but he refused them, hoping to make a better living as a naked arhat, or wandering mendicant.

The two accounts—for so far as we are able to judge—are quite independent of each other. One is Buddhist, the other is Jain; and the Buddhist and Jainas, being antagonistic sects, would not adopt the same answers to the same questions. Moreover, Buddhaghosa wrote in Ceylon, while the Jain Scriptures, as we now have them, were written in India. But—a fact of which no more is made mention in either of the two accounts—is that they both agree in the points in which they agree and in which they differ. They agree in two points: first, that Gosala was born of low parentage, a cowherd; and secondly, that he took up the profession of a mendicant, and subsequently took up the profession of a naked religious mendicant. The Jains accordingly, that Mr. Maskarin was not a mendicant, but adopted merely for the sake of getting an idle living. The ground for the belief in Gosala’s insincerity, as will be seen from the sequel, was, according to both the Buddhist and the Jains, that Gosala not only taught but also practised mendicant doctrine.

The point on which the two accounts differ is the meaning of the name ‘Maikhali’ or ‘Maikhali-putta,’ According to the Jain account, Maikhali is the name of Gosala’s father, and a derivative of maikhaka. According to the Buddhaghosa, it is the name of Gosala himself. The derivation from maikhaka is indefensible. The Pali-Pratik word maikhali is the equivalent of the Skr. word maikhaka; but there exists no word maikhak, the equivalent of maikhaka. The latter word, in fact, has not been found anywhere but in the passage of the Bhagavati Sutra which adds it as the source of the name Maikhali, and it is presumably an invention ad hoc. Moreover, the meaning of the hypothetical word maikhaka was not certainly known to the old commentators. Thus, while Abhaya Deva (c. 1590 A.D.), in his commentary on the Bhagavati Sutra, explains it to mean ‘a kind of beggar that tries to extract alms from the people by shunning the common way’ (P. P., 1, 364), it is a synonym of the well-known word mahakāla, ‘a bard.’ The truth, no doubt, is that maikhali-putta is a formation like Nigghantha-putta, a name meaning ‘the seeker after the Nighanta,’ or Nigghantha-putta, ‘a mendicant of the Nighanta Order,’ It denotes a mendicant, etymologically belonging to the Maikhaka, Maikhali, or Maikhali, class of religious mendicants. The very early existence of this kind of mendicant in India is proved by the fact that the celebrated grammarian Panini (c. 500 B.C.), in his Grammar (v. 1, 165), explains the formation of the name. According to him, a Maikhali was so called because he carried in his hand a bamboo staff (maikhaka). On account of this practice of carrying a staff, he was known also as Eka-danta, or a ‘one-toothed.’ Patanjali, in his comments on Panini’s statement (K. Mah. ii. 56), further explains that this kind of wandering mendicant (nirantarikāda) was called Maikhak in no small measure because he carried a staff, because he had renounced all activities. The reference in these two statements is to the fact that there were two grades of these Maikkhakos or Eka-dantins. In the lower grade, the ascetic carried an actual staff of wood; and in the higher grade a begging bow or ‘a bow-like object’ (kati-bandhana). In the higher grade of Paramanand, he abandoned even these three possessions, claiming absolute renunciation, and inability even to buy staff of reliance (W. B. v. 65-7).

In ancient India, at one time, the tendency appeared to have been very prevalent to adopt the life of a homeless wandering ascetic. Often this life was adopted from sincere religious motives; but it was very often the life of vagrant mendicants with avarice and dishonesty, and was very prevalent among the lower classes. Some writers have even called this ‘twice-born’ the Brahmanic law-givers attempted to regulate it by enacting that the early years should be devoted to education and the middle years to rearing a family and pursuing a profession, while only the declining years might be devoted to this ascetic life. It is not, however, doubted whether this wholesome regulation ever was much observed in Indian society; the tendency to devote the whole life to religious mendicancy was too strong among the people. The Maskarins, as a rule, led a very slovenly life, their manner of life was open to very grave abuses. Hence some men of commanding personality conceived the task of regulating the tendency to the ascetic life, or hypnotising, or regulating it in a certain period of life, but by organizing the mendicants into communities governed by strict rules of conduct. Such men were the founders of Buddhism and Jainism. Gosala, from all accounts, was hardly a man of that stamp. He seems, by natural disposition, to have belonged to the lower sort of maskarins, who made religious mendicancy a pretext for an idle and self-indulgent life. The existence of this lower sort of mendicants in ancient India is vouched for by a considerable amount of folklore. It occurs in the Tittara Jataka (No. 438 in Jāt. iii. 542). The verses occurring in the Buddhist Jatakas embody the most ancient folklore on this subject. In the 12th and 13th verses of that Jataka a mendicant of the biser sort is described, among other things, as carrying a bamboo staff (setvākhāra), which shows that he must have belonged to the class of mendicants which the Buddhists called as Eka-dantins, or Maskarins. But what gives particular significance to this notice is that the much later commentary identifies that mendicant as an Ajivika. It is clear that in the month of the Buddhas, ‘Ajivika’ was a term of reproach applicable to a Maskarin or Eka-dantin of the biser sort. This seems to explain why it was that both Buddhists and Jains call Gosala a Maikhali, and say that he was a leader of Ajivikas; and very possibly he was not only himself a Maikhali, but also, as the Jains say, the illegitimate son of a Maikhali.

It is difficult to determine the motive which induced Gosala to attach himself to Mahavira. It may be that the contact with that religious enthusiasm temporarily woke up the better instincts in Gosala’s nature; or it may be that the Jain account suggests, he hopes to learn from Mahavira more potent ‘tricks of his trade’ which he could not learn from Maikhaka, with Mahavira had no permanent effect on him. There seems to be no reason seriously to question the truth of the Jain statement that Gosala assumed the name of ‘Gosala’ from his father. In Mahavira’s time there was a woman, known as Pipali or Pipali, who was reputed to be a potterwoman. That act of open defiance of one of the strictest rules of asceticism, as is proved by Mahavira’s own Jataka, and the Boddhist’s well-known abhorrence of Gosala, throws an informing light on the real character of the man. There is, no doubt, something tragic in the closing scene of Gosala’s life: the open exposure of his shame by Mahavira in the face of his own disciples and fellow-townsmen, the consequent mental demaguge, and the final momento remorse. But the feeling of pity will be measured by the view taken of Gosala’s real character.

The Bhagavat Sutra (fol. 129b, 129a) states that Mahavira survived Gosala sixteen years. It also states that Gosala’s death was coincident with the great war which King Kuniya (Ajatashatru) of Magadha waged with King Chusala of Vaishali for the possession of a great elephant (U. D., App. i. p. 7). From these two statements the year of Gosala’s death may be approximately determined. The traditional date of Mahavira’s death is n. c. 527 B.C., and hence Gosala’s death in B.C. 548. But that date is rather too early. The elephant above mentioned was given by King Seniya (Binshbura) of Magadha as a votive offering to his pontiff. Gosala was the son, of the superior claim of his elder son Kuniya. It may be assumed as certain that Kuniya only avoided his entrance into the exercise of royal power before commencing the war for the possession of the elephant, now Seniya made over the throne to his son Kuniya some years before the latter
murdered him by a slow course of starvation. This murder happened in the year B.C. 490, or eight years before the death of Buddha, which is stated in the Buddhist tradition, in B.C. 482. Mahāvīra died some time, it is not known how long, before Buddha. But Gāsāla died sixteen years before Mahāvīra, in the year of the war, and that war must have been in place in the year 250. Kāma's accession to regal power, and that accession cannot well be placed at a very long interval before the murder of Senuṭa. All these conditions are best satisfied by assuming that Mahāvīra lived in B.C. 484-478, well earlier than Buddha, and that consequently the death of Gāsāla and the war took place in B.C. 500, sixteen years before the death of Mahāvīra, and ten years before the murder of Senuṭa. Accordingly that year, B.C. 500, may be taken as the approximate date of the death of Gāsāla.

3. Doctrines and practices of Gāsāla.—Neither Gāsāla nor any of his Ajīvika followers has left us any writings, and so there is no case for much practice. Accordingly we are reduced to the necessity of forming our opinion on those two points from the occasional references to them in the records of their rivals, the Buddhists and Jains. Their statements must, of course, be accepted with caution, but the innate general trustworthiness of the agreement in all essential points. This agreement possesses all the more value, as the statements, coming from two mutually hostile sects, constitute two independent sources of information.

In the Buddhist Majjhima Nikāya (i. 514f., N.R. ii. 254) there occurs a very instructive statement. Buddha is represented as dividing the ascetic systems which he had known into eight classes. Four of these he condemns as ‘living in inconstancy’ (abrahamma-charyya-viśa); of the four others he says only that they are ‘unsatisfying’ (anassa-sūka). Among the latter he classes the system of Mahāvīra, while among the former he places the system of Gāsāla. The distinction is clear. Buddha objected to Gāsāla on ethical grounds—for holding principles theoretically and practically immoral. His system, indeed, he conceived to be the most mischievous (A.N. i. 256; O.B. 82, 199; Dial. 71), and his author he stigmatized as ‘the bad man’ (mogha-parīṣiṇa), who, like a fisherman, caught men merely to destroy them.

The essential thesis of the system of Gāsāla is stated, in the Buddhist and Jain Scriptures alike, in slightly varying but substantially identical phrasing. The Jain Uvasaga Dusio (i. 97, 115, ii. 111, 182), of course after the Buddha, says (as four):—

‘There is no such thing as exertion or labour, or power, or energy, or human strength; all things are unalterably fixed’ (cf. S.N. iii. 210; A.N. i. 250).

In the Buddhist Dīgha Nikāya (p. 53; Dial. 71) the pithe of Gāsāla’s system is more fully stated as follows:

‘There is no cause, either proximate or remote, for the depravity of beings; they become depraved without reason or cause. There is no such thing as effort, or power, or energy; instead there is, sāla, everything that has senses (i.e. the lower animals), everything that is possessed (i.e. all animals), everything that lives (i.e. all plants), is destitute of force, power, or energy. Their varying conditions, at any time, are due to fate, to their environment, to their nature; and it is not in conformity with their position in one or other of the six classes (see below, p. 2029) that men experience ease or pain.’

With this system, its theoretical aspect, was worked on, we do not know. The Buddhist and Jain Scriptures give us no further information. It is evident, however, that, in principle, it was a thorough-going kind of determinism, denying the reality of all activity and exertion, and also the possibility for any so-called good and evil. It is equally obvious that, if carried out in practice, the principle would be most mischievous. Both the Buddhists and the Jains agree that Gāsāla did carry his principle into practice. But the Buddhists, after a short period, in B.C. 484-482, a part which was covered by his with inconstancy. Mahāvīra is equally emphatic. He accuses him of teaching that ‘an ascetic commits no sin if he has intercourse with women’ (J.S. ii. 411). He charges his followers with being ‘the slaves of wickedness’ (ib. i. 125). They ‘do not lead a life of chastity’ (ib. ii. 245). To this charge Gāsāla laid himself open by his own action in choosing for his headquarters the premises of a woman.

From the fact that the Jain Scriptures maintain that originally Gāsāla was a disciple (śiṣya) of Mahāvīra, it would appear that, beyond his determinism with its practical application, there was, in the main, no difference between his doctrines and those of Mahāvīra. This conclusion is also suggested by the statement of the Jain Bhaṅgavati Śīta (U.D., App. i. p. 4), that Gāsāla’s system was ‘taken from the eight Mahāmāttas, a portion of the Puvās.’ These Puvās (Pārācī), or ‘Originals,’ were believed to be the original sacred texts taught by Mahāvīra himself to his disciples (JĀ xvii. 280, xx. 170, 171). The general identity of Gāsāla’s system with that of Mahāvīra, and yet with a curious scheme of classification of ‘all beings’ (sarva-sattva), which in the Buddhist Dīgha Nikāya (p. 54; Dial. 72) is attributed to Gāsāla. The extreme conciseness with which the scheme is stated makes it very difficult to understand, but it does compare it effectively with the system of Mahāvīra as set forth at large in the Jain Scriptures. But two important particulars can be definitely identified which are specially claimed by the Jains as doctrines of Mahāvīra.

In this connection it is worth noting that the very same scheme, with the exception of Gāsāla’s concluding moral, is, in the Buddhist Majjhima Nikāya (M.N. i. 517, N.R. ii. 239) and Sādhūtā Nikāya (N.N. iii. 211, 212), attributed to the religious mendicant Pukanabhaya in the Tibetan Dalva (L.P. p. 162) to the religious mendicant Ajīta Kesavakamala. These two men, together with Gāsāla, Belattiputta, belonged to that group of six mendicant leaders whom Buddha often prominently names as his rivals. The other three were Mahāvīra Nātiputta, the leader of the Nīgantas, Pārāka Kasyapa, and Sanjaya Belattiputta. It would appear, therefore, that that classificatory scheme was in reality common to all the six mendicant leaders, but that each gave it a particular application peculiar to himself. For example, in the case of Gāsāla the application took the determinist line; and this, indeed, is more distinctly suggested by the Buddhist sources. In the Majjhima Nikāya (i. 256), as early as the Jātaka of the Buddha, Gāsāla (p. 31; Dial. 44, 45), it is stated that all the six mendicant leaders arose, in opposition to Buddha, that the concious soul continues to exist after death, though they differed among themselves as to the exact mode of existence. Gāsāla is said (by Buddhaghosa) to have held that the soul ‘bad form’ (rājapa), while Mahāvīra held that it was ‘formless’ (arūpa), but what these terms exactly import we do not know.

The scheme of classification itself is as follows (D.N. 54; Dial. 72; cf. U.D., App. ii. p. 17-29):

‘There are 1,400,000 principal sorts of birth, and again 6000 (or 60,000 according to the Dalva, R.L.B. p. 103) others, and again 600. There are 500 sorts of kāraṇa, and again 5 (according to the 5 senses), and again 3 (according to act, word, and thought), and there is a whole kāraṇa and a half kāraṇa (the whole being a kāraṇa of act or word, the half a kāraṇa of thought). There are 62 modes of ducet, 62 periods, 6 classes (abhiṣāti) among men, 8 stages of a man’s life, 4900 sorts of livelihood (ājīva), 4900 sorts of wandering mendicants, 4900 regions inhabited by Nāgas, 28000 pardatories, 4000 sub-repositories, 7 productions from conscious souls (sūlabh), 7 from unconscious beings, and 7 from parts between two joints (e.g. of sugar-cane), 7 sorts of devas, 7 of men, 7 of pātikas (gāsāla), 2 sorts of minor precipes, 7 important and 700 unimportant
dreams. There are 8,400,000 great periods during which both fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration, shall at last make an end of pain.

To this scheme Gosâla is represented as appending his own determinist warning: ‘Though the wise should be saved by the perfect understanding of these senses, there is no necessity for them to be saved. For, if their karmas are not yet matured, or if their understanding of the truth has not yet become perfect, such persons cannot be made to perceive, much less toemotionally act upon, the necessity of their release.’ The reason why this scheme of transmigration is essentially a deterministic one is that it essentially is a religious scheme and it is based upon a religious theory of the nature of the mind and the soul. It is based upon a theory of transmigration which is essentially a deterministic one.

The two items in the foregoing scheme which can definitely be identified in the Jain system are—(1) the division of all living beings into those possessing karmas, and those who do not possess karmas, which is essentially a deterministic one, and (2) the division of mankind into six classes (aâshâtriya). The latter division, as held by Gosâla, is essentially a religious one, as contrasted with the Buddhist Dharma Nikâya (S.V. 162, tr. in U.D., App. II. p. 21). According to his account, Gosâla distinguished the six classes by six colours—black, blue, red, yellow, white, and supreme white. The black class were the hunters, butchers, murderers, thieves, in short, all evil-doers. The blue were the mendicants known as BûkSEN, that is, the Buddhist monks. The red were the mendicants known as Nâma-kalpikas, i.e., those who meditate upon u.nâma (at least) a strip of loin-cloth. The yellow were the lay adherents of the mendicants known as Achâlakas, that is, those mendicants who wore no clothing whatsoever. The white were the mendicants, as well as the female, who were known as the Ajâvikas.

The supreme white were the leaders of the latter: Nânda Vachâdha, Kissa Sankheca, and Gosâla Manu-kirthata.

In Mahâvîra’s time, the six classes, which he termed vegid, were also distinguished by a series of six colours differing but slightly from the six of the above scheme—black, blue, red, yellow, grey, red, yellow, etc. (S.I. ii. 160). In the interpretation of these colours, the two systems, on the first view, seem to differ considerably: but the underlying principle of their distinction is the same. According to Mahâvîra, the black are those who injure living beings, i.e., those who have a desire to injure them. The blue is the one who is not afraid of them. The red are those who are deceitful and lying, those who contravene the second and third of the vows (ôstas and ösurph). The yellow are those who are above all the others, as well as in the latter, who are known as the Ajâvikas.

It has already been stated (above, p. 261) that, in the main, there was no doctrinal difference between Gosâla and Mahâvîra. There was, however, one point on which, according to the Jain tradition, there was a marked difference between them. The latter declared that the doctrine of transmigration was a doctrine of self-deception. He was a strong advocate of the orthodetic or Original Sayings. These were, later on, embodied in the Dhrëti-vûda, or the twelfth Ânga of the Jains. The first portion of this Ânga is said to have explained ‘the preparation necessary to the understanding of the Doctrine of transmigration’ (I.A xx. 173). With respect to this preparatory discipline (parikramma) we are told that some counted six, while others counted seven groups.

The former count was that of the orthodox Jains, while the latter belonged to certain schisms, called Ajâvikas or Târâsîyas, that is, as Abhayadâna (c. 1050 A.D.) explains, to the sect (piûnand) founded by Gosâla. These men had their name Târâsiya (Skr. târâsîkâ) from their practice of treating everything under three aspects (trey-ôtnama)—assertion, negation, and indifference. Thus they would say, e.g., that a thing may be true, or untrue, or partake in both white and black, i.e., it may be both good and bad (san-sod). This tenet, technically known as the yôdideca, or the “it may be” principle, is distinctive of the Jains generally. It follows that the Târâsiyas must have made use of it in some special way, and that this special use accounts for their seventh group of preparatory discipline (parikramma).

It may further be surmised that this seventh group was concerned with the Ajâvikas or the ‘profession-less’ Jains. It is possible that the Târâsiyas had received their alternative name from Ajâvikas, or ‘Professionals.’ The substance of their teaching on this head is explained by Siûlaka (c. 570 A.D.) to have been that, besides the two states of moral depravity, the higher had a third, which he was ‘bound’ by karma, and in which he was ‘liberated’ from karma, there was a third state in which he was neither truly bound nor truly liberated (c. v. ii. 245, footnote 2). The men of the ‘bound’ state were those who lived in the world. To the intermediate state belonged those who had renounced the world (like Mahâvîra); but these men, owing to their spiritual arrogance, were not truly liberated; they had yet to pass through an innumerable series of transmigrations before they could reach that state of true liberation from karma which Gosâla claimed himself to have attained.

In the Bhagavat Sûtra (fols. 1237-1252; R.L. xi. 225) the following is quoted: see also Dîl, 72) the latter is represented as himself explaining his theory of transmigration.

1. According to my doctrine,” he says, “all those who have become, or are now becoming, or will hereafter become, perfected, have to finish 8,400,000 great periods (mâyâhukâ), during which they have to be born, in regular alternation, seven times as a deva in a firmament (mâyâhena) and seven times as a ‘conscious being’ (âstiprajñâdu, man) on earth, finishing up with seven re-appearances in seven different bodies; and having, in the course of these re-births, rid themselves of the effects of the five sorts of karma, and of the three sorts of karma, and of the fraction of a karma (see above, p. 261) in the proportion, respectively, of 190,000 and 66,000 and 600 (of the 8,400,000 of all these re-births have to be passed at the rate of 45 miles, or 6 feet). Taking a series of seven great rivers of which each succeeding has seven times the dimensions of the preceding, the last is one and a half times the size of the rivers. If now ever hundreds or a thousand of sand is removed, the next re-birth consists of 150,000 of those seven Ganges rivers would be one karma period; and 800,000 of such karma periods make one mâyâhukâ, or great period (U.D., 1237).

To give an idea of the immeasurable length of time involved in this process, Gosâla adds:

1. The bed of the river Ganges measures 500 gojâns in length, half a gojân in breadth, and 3 gojâns in depth, or 4j miles, a ûkha=6 feet). Taking a series of seven great rivers of which each succeeding has seven times the dimensions of the preceding, the last is one and a half times the size of the rivers. If now ever hundreds or a thousand of sand is removed, the next re-birth consists of 150,000 of those seven Ganges rivers would be one karma period; and 800,000 of such karma periods make one mâyâhukâ, or great period (U.D.).
dead body of seven different persons. In his own case, Gosala explains, he left near the town of Rājagaha the last elephant, the last sprinkling, the last wine, the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last solicitation, the last tornado, the last sprinkling, the last wine, the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last solicitation, and the last Mṛksna, viz. Māṅkholi-putta himself. The incidents which gave rise to this doctrine are those which attended the closing days of Gosala’s life. The first four were his last personal acts at death, the next four his acts in the seven years after his life (above, p. 259 f.). The next three are to have been remarkable events which happened just about the time of Gosala’s death. The ‘sprinkling elephant’ is said to have been a huge creature which had been trained to amuse the ladies of the royal harem when they bathed in the river Ganges, and the claim to the possession of which, as has already been related, occasioned a war between the kings of Magadha and Vaiśali. In this war those stone missiles are said to have been employed (N.S. § 17 ff.) which evidently must have been thrown by some kind of powerful catapult. The raison d’être of this curious doctrine may be supposed to have been the death of their master was felt by his disciples to require investment with some kind of rehabilitating glamour.

The incident attending Gosala’s death gave rise to another peculiar doctrine, reported in the Bhagavati Sūtra (fol. 1255 f.; U.P. App. I. p. 8, 9). In the heat of his feverish excitement, Gosala is said to have held a mango in his hand, and to have wetted himself with a maddening rain which is always present on a potter’s premises. This action is said to have suggested the doctrine of the ‘four Potables and the Four Impotables’ (chatārā prahava, chatārā aprahavā), that is, the four things that may be used as drinks, and the four things that may be touched, but may not be drunk. The latter refer to what is excreted by the cow, what is soiled by the human (e.g. water in a potter’s vessel), what is heated by the sun, and what drips from a rock. The latter refer to such things as water-jars, mangoes, beans, etc.

With regard to the practices of the Ājivikas we have an instructive statement in the Buddhist Majjhima Nikāya. In the 36th chapter (M.V. i. 238; N.R. i. 376), Sackhacha, a member of the Niggaṇṭha community, is represented as explaining to Buddhist monks the reasons for the adherents of Gosala Māṅkholi-putta and his friends Nanda Vachchha and Kissa Sānikiccha. These three men, as we have seen (above, p. 262, also below, p. 267), were the leaders of the Ājivikas. Respecting them and their adherents, Sackchacha says:

They discard all clothing (achelaka); they dispense with all decent habits (mattikāras); they pick their food out of their hands (chatthārāchārākas, p. 256); they listen to no call; they receive no food or drink, nor wait for food; they permit no food to be brought to them, or to be specially prepared for them on invitation; they accept no food from the mouth of the pot or pan in which it is cooked, nor food placed within the threshold or among the firewood, nor food which has been touched by men, nor food prepared by women, nor by cattle eating together, or from a woman with child, or a woman giving suck, or a woman in intercourse with a man; nor food which was prepared in the presence of dead, or of the dead, or the dying, or of a corpse lying by, or where flies are swarming round; they will not eat cooked fish or flesh, nor will they drink water which has been poured upon the backs of Woodfordia fruticosa, nor sour crude made of unheated barley; some of them beg only at one house and accept but one handful of the food offered by that house; two keepers beg at two thousand houses, others beg at seven houses and accept seven handfuls; some subsist on one leaf, others on one handful, others on one leaf and one handful; some take food only once a day, others only once every two days, others only once every seven days, others only twice a month; in this manner they observe various routines of fasting.

In the Digha Nikāya (p. 161; Dial. 227) this account of the Ājivika practices is placed in the mouth of a naked ascetic.
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(achselaka) Kassapa. This may refer to the mendicant leader Pūrana Kassapa (above, p. 209), one of the title rivals of Buddha; and it may also imply that the practices of the Jains were more or less common to all these rival communities of religious mystics. It is also not improbable that this permission was paid with regard to their common doctrines. In any case, with respect to Mahāvīra and his Nigghantas, the identity of several of their observances with those of the Ajivikas has been pointed out by Professor Jacobi in his Introduction to the Jaina Ubrāddhāyana (J.S. ii. pp. xxv f.).

This is worth noticing in connection with Sachchakra's statement of the Ajivika practices. When he had finished it, Buddha inquired whether the Ajivikas were really able to sustain life on such conditions, and Sachchakara, naturally replied that; of course, at other times they indulged in copious and excellent food and drink, and thus regained bodily vigour and grew fat. This remark is significant of the repute in which the sincerity of Gosāla and his Ajivikas was held by their contemporaries. It only serves to confirm the suspicion of Gosāla's insincerity on the far more serious point of sexual conduct, which, there is good reason to believe, caused the rupture between the Buddhist Saint and Mahāvīra.

From the way the Terāsiyās, or Ajivikas, with their peculiar doctrine respecting the seventh group of preparatory discipline (above, p. 202), are described, it is clear that they were not regarded as outside the pale of the Nigghanta community. Their doctrine might not be acceptable to the majority, it might even be schismatic, but it was not condemned as heretical. It might cause friction between its protagonist, Gosāla, and his associate, Mahāvīra, who rejected it; but it would not have caused that total separation and intense hostility which we see taking place of the early association of the two men. For this change clearly there must have existed a special cause not essentially connected with the Terāsiyā or Ajivika doctrine. What this cause was we are nowhere explicitly told. The Buddhists are silent on the point. Buddha, we know, disliked Gosāla, but he had never been in personal touch with him, and the quarrel of Gosāla with Mahāvīra did not really interest him or the Buddhists. It was different with Mahāvīra. In the earlier years of their ascetic life he and Gosāla had been associates. The subsequent difference and total separation could not but be a matter of importance to the Jains. Yet even in their Scriptures—so far as we know they are explicit in their expli(264)citation of the cause or reason of the separation is recorded. We are left to draw conclusions from some indirect indications; nor are these at all obscure in their suggestion. Gosāla's reports respecting Mahāvīra's headquarters on the promises of a woman, and his attempt to repudiate his identity, clearly point to, not a doctrinal, but a practical ground of separation, to some discreet feature in the conduct of Gosāla. What this feature was is plainly enough indicated in the Sutra-kṛtāṅga (J.S. ii. 245). Answering the contention of Gosāla (above, p. 262), that men who, like Mahāvīra, had renounced the world belonged to the intermediate state, and were still liable to be involved in karma, just as clarified water again becomes defiled, while he, Gosāla himself, had reached the state of perfect liberation, Mahāvīra points to the conduct of Gosāla and his followers: 'These men do not lead a life of chastity.' That fact, he means to say, should be enough to satisfy a wise man as to the truth, or otherwise, of Gosāla's contention. In this connexion it may be noted that, in the Bhagavatī Sutra (fols. 1275-1291; U.D., App. I, pp. 11-14), Mahāvīra is represented as ironically applying to Gosāla his own doctrine of transmigrations, and showing how Gosāla, instead of being in the liberal attitude after his own death to pass through an interminable transmigratory series, the several steps of which he specifies, before he really attained perfection.

There is, however, a passage in the Sutra-kṛtāṅga which is even more explicit in its statement. It records (J.S. ii. 400-413) a disparagement of Gosāla, made by Ādāra, a follower of Mahāvīra, held with Gosāla respecting the points on which the latter differed from Mahāvīra. These are, first, a charge of inconsistency on the part of Mahāvīra, that it first wandered about as a single monk, but afterwards surrounded himself with many monks; secondly, a charge of misplaced severity, that he insisted on four restrictions in which he himself, finally, a charge of spiritual arrogance as well as social cowardice. The four restrictions refer to:

1. Drinking of cold water.
2. Eating of (uncooked) seeds.
3. Accepting things specially prepared.
4. Servicing (a sick) brother, food brought to him in a vessel of a householder.

The ethical item of sexual intercourse is here replaced by the ceremonial item of eating from the vessel of a lay adherent. The significance of this difference will be explained in the sequel (p. 257).

At this point it is important to notice only that none of the matters in dispute is concerned with doctrine; they are all concerned with conduct. Considering that it was the conduct of religious ascetics that was in question, the most striking point in dispute is that respecting sexual intercourse. To understand especially how it was that we must remember that Parśva, the precursor of Mahāvīra, had enjoined only four vows (vrata) on his followers (J.S. ii. 121). These were—(1) not to injure (ahimsa), (2) to speak the truth (satya or satya), (3) not to steal (asteya), (4) not to own property (apraśāta or abhimana). That is, Parśva enjoined the vows of kindness, truth, honesty, and poverty. To these Mahāvīra added the fifth vow of chastity (brahma-charita, J.S. ii. 91, 109, 139, 204). His reason for making this addition is explained in the Ubrāddhāyana Sutra (S. ii. 122, 123). Before Mahāvīra it had been understood that chastity was implicitly enjoined by the latter three; but in reality it left a loophole. The wife being accounted a species of property, marriage was forbidden by the vow of poverty, and adultery by the vow of honesty; but the case of fornication was left open. On this specious ground, laxity of morals crept in amongst the intellectually and morally more or less enlightened of the sect. The restriction was then corrected by the opposition of his associate, Gosāla. The latter sympathized with the lax party; and he appears to have justified his own and their laxity of conduct by the argument that the truly 'liberated' ascetic could commit no sin, and that, as there was no free will, there was no moral responsibility. Indeed, there is good ground for believing that it was this very laxity of conduct on the part of Gosāla that gave the occasion to Mahāvīra to introduce the fifth vow, and thus to force the withdrawal of Gosāla. It will be noticed that the two statements of the four restrictions, above quoted, have the first three restrictions in common, while they vary with respect to the fourth. This points to something peculiar in these three restrictions. Now, in one place of the Sūtra-kṛtāṅga (J.S. ii. 312) these particular three restrictions (regarding cold water, seed, and non-acceptance of specially prepared food) alone are mentioned, and in the Ādāraṇi Sūtra (J.S. i. 63) we find Mahāvīra described as "the wise man who enjoined three restrictions" (jāma itīga). On the other hand, in the Buddhist Śīla, Dīgha Nikāya (p. 67; Dīgha, 74), Mahāvīra is made to describe himself as 'the man of four restrictions' (cattāra vrata). The explanation of this discrepancy which suggests itself is that Mahāvīra originally enjoined only three restrictions on his followers, and that he added the fourth at a later time when he quarreled with Gosāla. For the fourth restriction respecting intercourse with women is, in fact, identical with Mahāvīra's view of chastity. The statement that it had already been remarked, is an addition made by him to the four vows of Parśva. If the surmise is correct that it was Gosāla who provided the occasion for the institution of the fourth restriction (pātru), that is to say, the fifth vow (vrata) of Mahāvīra's system, it goes a long way to prove that it was Gosāla's laxity

* In J.S. i. 63 the phrase is wrongly translated by 'three vows,' following herein the commentators. I prefer, 'vow,' to something different from pātru, 'restriction.'
of morals that was the real cause of Mahāvīra's separation from him. Speaking on the ascetic's duty to acquire leisure with a woman, Mahāvīra is represented in the Sītra-kṛṣīga (J.S. ii. 273) as saying concerning Gosālī: 'In the assembly of the naked, Mahāvīra's body went, yea, but he commits sin, but the wise know him to be a deceived and great rogue.' It was Gosālī's hypocrisy in the matter of her conduct that caused the breach between him and Mahāvīra.

This, then, was the main cause; but, no doubt, there were other subsidiary causes which exacerbated the friction between the two men. They had reference to the three restrictions regarding the use of cold water and unboiled seeds, and the ascetic's aversion to wet feet. In order to realize the significance of these seemingly trivial matters, we must remember that among all Indian ascetics abstention from action (krama) was held to be the paramount rule of conduct, because krama bound the soul in the cycle of transmigrations. But to this rule there was one exception: seeing that without the body one cannot go through the whole of the discipline which secures salvation (nākeṇa, nīrvidyā), such actions as are necessary for the preservation of the body (dharma-ādhāra-kārīra-rakṣāgānya in the commentary to S.K. ii. 6, §7, in J.S. ii. 411), e.g. the begging and eating of food, are innocuous and do not interfere with the ascetic ideal (Śrīmad Bhāgavatam II. Bh. Rep. pp. 94, 99). Every vow (vratā) or restriction (yāma) taken on himself by the ascetic was considered tacitly subject to that rule and its exception. The differences among the ascetics arose when it came to the practical application of this tacit reference. Thus, while all agreed that storing food was forbidden, but that begging one's daily allowance of food was permitted, some ascetics qualified that permission by certain restrictions (vāyukṣa). Mahāvīra forbade the use of cold water and of seeds in their natural state, lest injury should be done to any 'life' (jīva) in either; both should be used only after boiling, or other safeguarding process. He also forbade the acceptance of any food specially prepared for the mendicant, lest the privilege of begging should degenerate into indulgence. Gosālī, on the other hand, rejected these three restrictions.

Again, while all ascetics were agreed that besides the body the ascetic should own no other possessions, Mahāvīra permitted the possession of a bowl for the reception of the begged food. Gosālī denied the possession of a bowl because the ascetic should and should make use of his hand for that purpose (cf. J.S. i. 57, footnote 2, and i. 267, footnote 2). The food should be received into the bowl made by the palms of the joined hands, and out of this natural bowl it should be licked up. Hence ascetics of this stricter observance were known as the 'hand-beggars' (kātpālekākhaṇa, D.N. 166; Diāl. 227). If food, however, was required for a sick monk, it was to be carried to him in the vessel of the householder. Mahāvīra objected to this practice as open to the risk of injury to any 'life' that might be in the householder's vessel (J.S. ii. 305).

In this connection the treatment of the question of clothing may be mentioned. Some ascetics (like Pārśva) permitted the use of wrappers; others permitted only the irreducible minimum of a pudic cover (kātaṇa), and a shirt (koṭaṇa), and a small bag (kātaṇa) which was used for carrying the cellars of ash (achakara), or 'clothless,' class. Indeed, it is just possible that on this point Mahāvīra may have been influenced by Gosālī. For we are told in the Jain Scriptures that at first, when Mahāvīra adopted the ascetic life, he attached himself to the clothed community of monastics, but in the second year of that life, about the time when he fell in with Gosālī, that he adopted the strictest observance of absolute nakedness. The coincidence suggests that Gosālī adopted the ascetic discipline from Mahāvīra, and that it was this circumstance that formed the bond of their early companionship, until the discovery of Gosālī's hypocrisy caused the subsequent and final separation. It appears probable, however, that within the Nigāghana community the general rule was to wear the loin-cloth, and the practice of total nakedness was limited to that section of it which formed the party of Gosālī, and had adopted his doctrine of ajīva as formulated in the seventh group of the preparatory discipline (above, p. 289), and which hence was known as the Ajīvikas.

On this point there is an instructive story related in the Buddhist Vinaya Pāṭhā (l. c. 291; V.P. Tr. ii. 516 ff.). Once, when Buddha was staying in Sāvatthī, he and his disciples were invited by a wealthy householder, Vudanesa, to go and listen to his reading. When the meal was ready, she sent her maidservant to call her guests. While the maidservant was on her errand it began to rain, and on her arrival at Buddha's lodging she found the Buddha standing disrobed and enjoying the rain. Thinking that there was a sudden downpour, she hastened to return, and reached the place to which she had been directed there were no disciples, but Buddha, in his underclothing, was walking in the rain, barefoot, and had cleared up; but the incident, which happened at Sāvatthī, shows that the Ajīvikas were naked monks, and that they were the followers of Gosālī, who, as we have seen, had established his headquarters at Sāvatthī, after he had separated from Mahāvīra. The same point is illustrated by a passage from the Mahâbhikshu classification of men (above, p. 269), in which the white class is represented by his own party, the naked Ajīvikas, while the red class is typified by the party of Gosālī. It is clear that the white Ajīvikas, the Ajīvikas, is a name given to the other portion which continued in the connection. For, as will appear in the sequel, it was the latter that formed the nucleus, from which, at a later date, the Digambara Order took its rise (below, p. 299).

It remains briefly to consider the two other charges preferred by Gosālī against Mahāvīra (above, p. 254). The reference in the first of these is not quite clear. Mahāvīra is accused of having first 'wandered about as a single monk,' but having afterwards 'surrounded himself with many monks' (J.S. ii. 400, 410). On the other hand, Gosālī claims to 'live alone and single' (ib. 411). As a fact, however, Gosālī was 'surrounded by many monks,' as is clearly known as the second part of the aforesaid story. It is clear, therefore, that the mere fact that a leader wandered about or lived with a company of personal disciples did not count as an offence. The gravamen of Mahāvīra's procedure, in the eyes of Gosālī, was that this was done, not as though it, like Buddha, he instituted an Order (śāṅgha) of monks. The followers of Mahāvīra were scattered in various places in larger or smaller groups, but they were all organized in one community; and a leader (Mahāvīra). Gosālī's followers formed but a small group that always accompanied its leader. There were, indeed, other groups of ascetics of a similarly dubious character who bore the name of Jain Order (śāṅgha), and who lived apart under separate leaders, the names of two of whom, Kissa Saṃkicchā and Nanda Vachchā, are recorded in the Buddhist Scriptures (M.V. i. 328, 524; A.N. iii. 384). But this is obvious that the institution of an Order by Gosālī, and other men of his way of thinking, would form a natural bar to the formation of a widespread public organization. It may have been the consciousness of this disadvantage that prompted Gosālī's accusation against his more successful rival.
The second of the two charges against Mahāvīra accused him at once of spiritual arrogance and spiritual cowardice. The reference in this charge is to Gosālī's theory of the three spiritual states of man (see above, p. 292). According to her, Mahāvīra was in the intermediate state; his soul, though free from karma in a sense, was not truly liberated, for it was full of spiritual arrogance in thinking that he was unique and alone direct and constant, whereas those who differed from him (J.S. ii. 411, §§ 11-14, and Śīlāṅka's comment on Śattra-kṛtāṅga, i. 1, 3, § 12; J.S. ii. 245). It was also full of spiritual cowardice in being eager to win converts among the common people, but afraid to meet learned men who might refute him (J.S. ii. p. 412, §§ 15-18, and p. 413, §§ 19-25). The advocate of Mahāvīra replies that, first, his master only teaches, as others do, what he believes to be true and right, and while condemning false doctrines, he does not condemn those who entertain them. Secondly, he never refuses to meet honest and worthy opponents, and is void of hypocrisy himself, while trying to win people for his doctrines.

4. History of the Ajivikas. — The earliest mention of the Ajivikas occurs in a brief record inscribed on the walls of two rock-hewn caves at Barabar Hill near Gaya (I.A xx. 361 ff.; S.A. 141). A celebrated Edict of the same Emperor Asoka, made in the 13th year of the reign of the Emperor Asoka, that is, in B.C. 261. It runs as follows: 'King Piyadassi, in the 13th year of his reign, bestowed this cave on the Ajivikas.'

The next mention occurs in the seventh of the celebrated Pillar Edicts of the same Emperor Asoka, made in the 28th year of his reign, or in B.C. 236 (S.I.P. ii. 82, 97; Ėp. Ind. ii. 276, 277, 284). This Edict, we have already noticed, that my Censors of the Law of Piety shall be occupied with the affairs of the Buddhist Order (śrīpuṇa) as well as with the Brāhmaṇa (asectics), the Ajivikas, the Nig兰nantas, and, in fact, with all the various mendicant communities (pāśupātī).

A further early mention occurs in a brief record, inscribed on the walls of three rock-hewn caves on Nagarjuni Hill in the first year of the reign of Asoka's successor Daśaratha, that is, in B.C. 227. (I.A xx. 361 ff.; S.A. 145). It runs as follows: 'This cave was bestowed by his Majesty Daśaratha, immediately after his accession, on the venerable Ajivika to be so occupied for them as long as the sun and moon endure.'

After this we meet with no mention of the Ajivikas till we come to the 6th cent. A.D. In that century, about A.D. 550, Varāha Mihira, in his astrological works Bhāja-jātaka (xxv. i) and Laghu-jātaka (ix. 12), names them as one of seven classes, of religious mendicants. These are:—(1) the Śikyas or Raktapātas (men of the red robe), i.e. the Buddhist monks; (2) the Ajivikas, or, as the commentator Bhājaotpalā (c. 950 A.D.) explains, the Ekadandins, or 'men of one staff'; (3) the Nirgranthas, or Jains monks; (4) the Tāpṣas (asectics) or Vanyāśāyas (enters of wild life), i.e. Brāhmaṇas of the fourth ārama, living as hermits without, and following, according to the commentator, the Minūšs system; (5) the Vṛdhā-nītāvakas; and (6) the Āharikas, who appear also to have been two kinds of wandering religious mendicants. That these seven classes of devotees, and therefore the Ajivikas along with them, were considered in Varāha Mihira's time, is evident from the fact that he teaches that a person is destined to enter into one of them according to the indications of his horoscope.

Recent and more detailed testimony of the great Jain commentator Śīlāṅka (c. 870 A.D.) to the continued existence of the Ajivikas. And here we first meet with the interesting fact of the identity of the Ajivikas with the Digambara Jains. Commenting on the objection made by some to Varāha Mihira's identification of the Sutra-kṛtāṅga (J.S. ii. 267), Śīlāṅka states that the reference is to the Ajivikas or Digambaras. Seeing that, in his comment on another passage of the same work (I.A xx. 361), he identifies the followers of Gosālī, that is, the Ajivikas, with the Terasīyas (Sanskrit: Trairāsikas), it follows that in Śīlāṅka's view the followers of Gosālī, the Ajivikas, the Terasīyas, and the Digambaras were the same class of religious mendicants.

In the 10th cent. we have a further testimony to the identity of the Ajivikas and the Digambaras. In his vocabulary, called the Abhidhānā Ratnakālī (ii. 189, 190), Halāyudha (c. 950 A.D.) enumerates a large number of names of the two Jain divisions, the Svetāmbaras (or white-clothed ones) and the Digambaras (or sky-glad, i.e. naked ones), or, as he calls them, the Svetāmbras and Digvāsas, or, in the term used by the Ajiva, which is only a shorter form of Ajivika.

Lastly, in the 13th cent. we have, in certain temple records of the Ajivikas as a sect then actually existing in South India, we have records are inscriptions on the walls of the Permal Temple at Poyzai near Virinchipuram (S.I. Inscr. i. 88, 89, 92, 108). They refer to grants of land to the temple. In one of them (w. 2), the name of the Jains, for it is this sect whose principal sent, in those times, was in Southern India, and colonies of them are still to be found there (I.A xxvii. 450; J.GOS xxvii. 17). The statements on the subject in the Tamil dictionaries appear to be based on the Tamil literature, and possibly on modern usage. The older Tamil literature (test Dr. Pope) certainly uses the term Ajivika in speaking of the Jain sect, i.e. these Digambaras. There can be no doubt, therefore, that since the 6th cent. A.D., when Varāha Mihira used the term, the name has signified the Digambara sect of the Jains.

As to Varāha Mihira's use of the term, it is to be noted that his commentator Bhājaotpalā, whose date is about A.D. 950, identifies the Ajivikas with the Ekadandins. This identification is based on a Prakrit verse which he quotes from a Jain writer called Kālikkabharāya. That writer, who lived about A.D. 450, that is, about a century earlier than Varāha Mihira, names the same seven classes of sectics with the one exception that he writes Ekadandins for Ajivikas (Tr.CA iii. 2, p. 535). Bhājaotpalā on his own part adds that the Ekadandins or Ajivikas are devotees of Śīvāyapa, that is, of Śiva. On the other hand, Śīlāṅka, speaking of the Ekadandins in another connexion, declares them to be devotees of Śiva (J.S. ii. 245, 417). It is clear from this apparent discrepancy that whilst these two commentators had in their mind was the class of sectics who are still known as the Daśamūras, or 'Men of the Self.' These sectics are usually classed as belonging to the Sāvite division of Hinduism; but they are rather ecclesiastics, in that they inveigh against the doctrines of Śiva, and of Śivāya. They carry a staff (dāpya) with a piece of reddish cloth attached to its top, wear only a narrow strip of cloth or go entirely naked, and are generally of low social position. They hold a particular set of doctrines; and any man, caste or no caste, may join them (Riv i. iv. p. 142). They must not be confounded with the Daśānami Daśānīs, who are a comparatively modern class of sectics, having been founded by the reformer Kālikkabharāya and his disciple on the Jain moderate cent. A.D., and their chief place of assembly is called (mūtha), and pay some regard to caste in the matter of admission (J.GOS Ex. 45).

From the fact that Gosālī is called Manabhālputta, or Māñkali (Maskari), i.e. the man who is an expert in the lamboo-staff, it is clear that originally he belonged to the class of Ekadandins or Daśamūras sectics; and also that he adhered to the system of Mahāvīra and adopted his system, he held some dis-
tinguishing tenets of his own, and also retained his old distinguishing mark, the bamboo-staff. On account of these distinctive marks, within the Buddhist community was known as the Terasiya or Ajivika (above, p. 262), and apparently also as the Ekadandin, or the One-staff men. Still later, by reason of his evil life, when it was discovered that he still lived and worked in the community; and with him, it would appear, were ejected also a few of the Ajivika party who were his intimate friends and shared his evil practices. Among these were the ascetics of two of these friends, Kissa Sakhiachaa and Nanda Vachchha (above, p. 263). These three men, after separating from Mahávira, appear to have lived a comparatively solitary life at Sávatthi at the head of small groups of like-minded followers. But there is no reason to believe that, with the expulsion of the black sheep, the Ajivika or Terasiya party as such ceased to exist within the Niggaññha Order. In fact, whatever evidence there is points the other way. Thus, in this connexion, the difference already noted (above, p. 264) between the two versions of the 'four restrictions' possesses a peculiar significance. The restriction thatDigambaras, especially those of the Gosala's party, imposed on themselves is an ascetic version which is concerned more especially with Gosal and his faction; while the other version, which substitutes the reference to the use of the householder's vessel, is, according to the commentator Śiñjikita, concerned with the Ajivikas or Diganbaras. The discrimination in the two versions, tends to show that there was a portion of the Ajivika party within the Niggaññha Order which was not implicated in the antinomies of Gosal's faction. As a matter of fact, the Diganbaras differ, to the present day, from the Svetambaras on the points implied in the four restrictions. Thus the restrictions respecting the use of cold water and natural seeds were intended to enforce extreme regard for any kind of life (jiva); but the Diganbaras are said to be 'only moderately careful of animal life,' while the Svetambaras are extremely so (I. A. xxi. 469). With respect to the fourth restriction, while both sects insist on the vow of chastity, they differ in regard to the possession of the alms bowl. While the bowl belongs to the regular outfit of the Svetambar monks, the Diganbaras are not permitted to carry it, but must receive their food in the palms of their hands (Oman, p. 151). As to the point of nakedness, the difference between the two divisions is sufficiently indicated by their names.

Another evidence in the same direction is afforded by the subsequent revival of the Terasiya trouble within the Niggaññha community, and by the retention to this day of the distinguishing mark of the staff among the Diganbaras. On admission, we are told, 'the novice is supplied with the articles allowed to an ascetic by the Jain Scriptures, a black rod or deadv about five feet long,' etc. and 'the Sādhū (or professed monk) always carries his staff (deadv) ('BG ix. pt. 1. p. 107).

The case, then, stands thus: Ekadandin is a general term for a class of ascetics who included two subdivisions, the orthodox Sāvite Dandins and the heterodox Jain Ajivikas or Diganbaras. The Jain writer Kalakachāryā, of course, meant to indicate the latter by the word Ekadandin; and Vaiśeṣika Vāma, who in his 'two centuries understanding, sub-stituted the more definite term Ajivikas. The orthodox commentator, Bhāṭottala, misunderstanding the position, confused the heterodox Ajivikas with the Jain Ajivikas of the friar party and the rest of the Niggaññha community. It manifested itself especially in the time

The history of the Ajivikas may be briefly summed up as follows: Gosāla commenced his ascetic life as a Mankhāli, or Maskarain, that is, as an individual of the ancient well-known class of religious mendicants which was distinguished by the carrying of a bamboo staff. After a time he made the acquaintance of Mahávira, who belonged to another class of religious mendicants known as the Niggaññhas, who in the Western Gazetteer are called the Svetambaras or 'white-robed' by the Buddhists, and in the context of the word 'Buddhist' is the word 'Buddhism', that is, a person of the Buddhist race who had adopted the rule of the fourth Brāhmaṇical dharma or way of living. Such a person took on himself to live a homeless wandering life as a religious mendicant. The appeal to the non-believers of the Ajivikas, as it has been already shown (above, p. 260), is not disavowing. A Vaiśeṣika or Sāvite ascetic may belong (or rather, may have belonged before joining) to any caste (W. M. H. pp. 59 ff., 89 ff.). These men may be said to be 'Brahmanical' ascetics because they profess to be the holy men of Brāhmaṇical doctrine, the Indian who would call them 'Brahmanas.' The word 'brahumani-cal' expresses a Western idea, quite foreign to the word brāhmaṇa.
AJMER—AKALIS

AJMER, AJMIR (the mere, or sacred mountain, of Ajayarka, who is said to have founded the city in the 2nd cent. A.D.)—The capital of the British district of Ajmer-Mhairwara, in the province of Rajputana. It is the seat of King Pandyu, separated to form the distinct Order which is now known as the Digambaras. It thus appears that the Jain division into Digambaras and Svetambaras may be traced back to the very beginning of Jainism, its origin having been the division of the two associated leaders, Mahavira and Gossali, who are the representatives of the two hostile sections.

It remains only to notice a few detached references to Ajiva mendicant occupations in the Buddhist Scripture books elsewhere. The Vinaya Pitaka (i. 8; SBE xii. 90) and Majjimma Nikaya (i. 170; N.R. i. 271, ii. 454) relate how Buddha, immediately after his enlightenment, met an Ajiva of the name of Upakna, who, however, received Buddha's account of his spiritual experiences rather contemptuously. The Majjimma Nikaya (i. 31; N.R. i. 46) further relates the story of an Ajiva Budhavutta who had been originally a carriage-builder, and who was converted by Buddha to his own belief. In the Vinaya Pitaka (i. 284; SBE xx. 750) we are told also of an anonymous Ajiva mendicant who gave the Buddhist monk Kassapa the story of his mysterious birth. These, and perhaps three men probably were members of the Ajiva party in the Nigantha community. In another place the Vinaya Pitaka (i. 190; V.P.7r. xx. 152) relates how on one occasion certain Ajivas, meeting with some Buddhist monks who walked under the protection of sunshades, jeered at the un-ascetic conduct of their rivals. In the Mahavatthas (T.Mv. 67) there is a curious notice of a group of Ajivas who were living as mendicants in the city of Pundarikakshabaya about B.C. 426, and on whose behalf that king is said to have built a house (gaha). This notice, however, considering the very early date to which it refers, must be accepted with much reserve. Another very curious notice of the Ajivas occurs in a little book on Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan, by Sadajiro Sugiura (ed. by Mr. Edgar A. Singer, jr., in the Philol. Journal xli), the Publications of the University of Pennsylvania.)

In the introduction, p. 15, the author says: 'Two more schools are frequently included by Chinese and Japanese authors among the main groups of the Jain sect (a separate article on each of them). They are called Nikendabtra and Ashibika, and are quite similar to each other. They both hold that the penalty of a sinful life must eventually be severe, and that it is impossible to escape from it, it is better that it should be paid as soon as possible, so that the life to come may be free for enjoyment. In their practices were ascetic: fasting, silence, immobility, and the burning of themselves to the neck (Nayakuron-lo, i. 23), were their expressions of penance. They were probably offspring of the Jainists or some other Hindu sect.'

The 'Nikendabtra and Ashibika' of this statement are obviously the Janagantas and Ajikivas, that is, the Svetambara and Digambara Jains.


A. P. R. HOSENIE.

—AKALIS—

The sect of the Akalis differs essentially from all the other Sikh orders in being a militant organization, corresponding to the Nagas or Gosains among the Hindus. Their foundation is ascribed to Guru Govind himself, and they steadfastly opposed Banda's attempted innovations. The term akal means, or 'immortal,' is said to be derived from akal, a 'day,' and akal, 'the dawners of the eternal,' but probably it is a self-assumed title, bearing its obvious meaning. The Akalis wear blue cheeked dressers, with hangers or bracelets of steel round their wrists, and quilts of steel on their lofty caual blue turbans, together with miniature daggers, knives, and an iron chain.

* The tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs, 1769—1770.

* Murray's History of the Sikhs, p. 303; Frere's Sikh Empire's Hist. of the Sikhs, p. 117. But Akal means 'deathless, i.e. God,' and Akal is simply 'God's worshiper.'

* Malcolm Collection, Vol. vi. A young sister brother, Bala Ram, wore blue clothes, when he is called Nikalmar, or 'clad in dark blue,' and Sivras, or 'the blue clad' (Acali Recherches, xi, p. 211).

A few Akalis wear the jatni or top-knot, but not all. Those who do not, do only use 'gar and hid' water; and also smoke.

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AKBAR

In their military capacity the Akâls were called Nhangs, or reckless, and played a considerable part in Sikh history, especially of the four delàrs. At the siege of Multân in 1818 a few Akâl fandies f carried the fauce-braye by surprise, and precipitated the fall of that fortress. The career of Phûli Singh illustrates both the glory and their qualities and qualities and their defects. Akâl first came into notice as the leader of the attack on Metcalfe's escort at Amritsar in 1800. He was then employed by Ranjit Singh, who stood in considerable need of him, as a leader in the Indian valley, where he was guilty of atrocious cruelty towards the Muhammadan population, and in Kashmir. Finally, Phûli Singh and his Akâls contributed to, or rather virtually won for Ranjit Singh, the great Sikh victory over the Yutanaus at Teri in 1823. In this battle Phûli Singh met with a heroic death, and his tomb at Naushahra is now an object of pilgrimage to Hindus and Muhammadans alike.

Under Phûli Singh's earlier leadership, and perhaps before his rise, the Akâls had become a terror to friends and foes alike, and they were dreaded by the Sikh chiefs, from whom they often levied tribute, and who would be accompanied by them, after 1823, did much to reduce their power, and the order lost its importance.

The Akâl headquarters were the Akâl Bânga at Amritsar, where they assumed the deliberation of religious and political questions. The Mohammedan Bist, and the discussions of the Gurûmatâ; indeed, they laid claim to exercise a general leadership of the Khâls. Since Ranjit Singh's time Anandpur has been their real headquarters, but it is the place where the more degenerated passed away, and some of them have degenerated into mere boors.

As an order the Akâls are celibate. They have, says Trumpp, no regular chief or disciple, yet one hears of their qurry, whose leavings are eaten by their disciples (sewel or chelas). They do not eat meat or drink spirits, as other Sikhs do, but consume inordinate quantities of bhang.


H. A. ROSE

AKBAR.—1. Life.—The emperor Akbar, whose title of Bahá-lâf (or Abû-l-Mogâhl) Jalâl-ad-dîn Akbar Ghâzi, was born at Unmâkot (the fort of Unmâ) in Sind on 15 Oct., O.S., 1512, which the jâht-weather may not do. Others, again, wear a yellow turban beneath the blue one, as so to show a yellow hand across the forehead. The story goes that a Khâiri of Delhi (Sand Lâl, author of the Zindâ-nîma) desired to see the Guru in yellow, and Govîl Singh gratified his wish. Many sikhs wear the yellow turban at the Rasînt Panchû. A couplet erroneously ascribed to Bhai Gurdas says:

Sikh, sukh, surkh, zarbda,
Jo palna, kei Gurdâl, the Akâls, white (the Nirmand), red (the Udais), or yellow, are all brothers in the Guru.'

Ibbetson, § 522. Cunningham (p. 370) says râghân—"naked," or "pure," and has that meaning literally (cf. Pânts, s.c.); but in Sikh parlance the word undoubtedly means 'free from care,' 'careless,' and 'reckless.' It bears the same original meaning.

They were headed by one Jass Singh, called Mâli ("rosary") Singh, from his piety. 'He denied himself the use of bhang, the only intoxicating drug in use among the Akâls.' See Car-

uchi Sahib's Bâng Family of Lahore, p. 131.

1 Prinsep, on the Sikh Power in the Punjab, p. 111, and Phîbisco, Calcutta, 1794, p. 130, on the head of his tribe, and the temple (role) of the Akâls at Amritsar, the stranger presents a few rupees, and in return receives some sugar, while a small mirror is held before his face so as to reflect his image. This practice, if it ever existed, is now obsolete.

2 Religious opinions. This side of Akbar's character has received what is perhaps a disproportionate amount of attention. No doubt the question of his beliefs is a most interesting one, but the almost exclusive attention which has been paid to it has failed to obscure the emperor's actual greatness. After all, Akbar was a king immersed in affairs, and religion was only the occupation of his leisure hours. He was a great conqueror and administrator, and was more in his head than in his heart, and his great reforms, religious or revenue, were mere手段s to his end of Worship. It is certain, too, that he never seriously entertained the idea of becoming a Christian, and that the name of Christ and the Portuguese, missionaries were so deeply wished in his hopes about him.

Father Goldie very sensibly remarks: 'How far Akbar was sincere in his search for truth, how far he had towards it a
feeling akin to the agonism of our day, or whether he was merely bent, from the very first, on making for his subjects an eclectic religion, which would free itself from its old trammels and its old creeds on which it had been trained. It is a question over which he determined to place himself as the supreme prophet and infallible teacher, it is hard to say. This was essentially an established, self-sufficient, universal religion. Divine toleration was a new experience, very naturally made the same mistake about Akbar that many a musing forefather must make about himself. He was filled with a joyous exultation when he first has me as them with, and is captivated by their courtesy for his views, and their kind and loving attention to his work. The sovereignty was willing to pay homage to the Holy Scriptures, and pleased to see the "unkhon beaten on their own ground. But from this to subsidence in海军山 or from the authority of the Conqueror, to a long step, and one of which he probably never dreams.

Akbar's religious opinions have been discussed by Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis, Christians, and freethinkers, and we have details about them in the Akbar-Nama, Badayuni, the Dabistan, and in the writings of Du Jarric, Bartoli, Vans Kennedy, Wilson, Elphinstone, Rehnraat, Bloehmann, Count Noer, General Macclagan, and others. We have also the younger's poem Abar's Drocus.

Undoubtedly Akbar has received more credit than he deserves for the depth and fervour of his religious character and his action, and that more is necessary of the hour should be neglected." But he was the reverse of a fanatic or an enthusiast. He was, before all things, a man of the world.* His real belief was that forms of religion were of little consequence. He saw that men were good or bad from causes quite remote from their religious tenets, and that there were good men in all religions. He had no overpowering conviction that there was salvation or destruction in any creed; and not being a one-sided enthusiast himself, he could not establish a new religion or make any ardent proselytes. He was a sincere inquirer after truth, but he was not a profound thinker, and his book-knowledge was exceedingly small. Altogether, he was very badly equipped for religious or philosophical discussions; for, as Badayuni says, though he had an acute mind and was a seeker after truth, he was exceedingly ignorant. He had not, like Julian the Apostate, studied in the schools, and was not competent, therefore, to arbitrate between contending sects. At the same time he was wiser and less superstitious than Julian, and did not, like him, try to combine lock and key to make a deep paganism. Julian was a fanatical polytheist, and dislikd freethinkers as much as he disliked Christians; but Akbar was made of calmer stuff.

In one sense (Lowe, 312) ascribes Akbar's heresies to his having been associated from boyhood with Hindus and to his early marriages with Rajput princesses, there seems to be no doubt that Akbar, like many other free-thinkers, began by being pious after an orthodox fashion. But perhaps Badayuni, by his jibbing expression Himad ronad, does not mean so much that the Hindus with whom Akbar associated were men of high character, as that they were devoted and ascetics, for ronad is the plural of ron, a word which has a double meaning, and signifies both a libertine and a devotee. In this sense the charge is true, for Akbar was from his youth up fond of the society of yogis and swamis. Patriotting in the sixth year, when Akbar was still under twenty, on one occasion he remarked, "Divine worship in monarchic countries consists in sacrifices and offerings." By the end of his reign he had spent much time in listening to Jewish and Christian sayings. He was a rare jeweller (i.e. a connoisseur), and a seeker after truth, as Akbar himself tells us. Lyons thus characterizes a prophet or an apostle, and seems to have flattered himself that his own ignorance was an advantage for philosophic investigation. "For the purposes of divination and fortune-telling, the prophets were all illiterate. Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition."
AKBAR

had a remarkable experience which is described as a case of jashba, or attraction. He had gone out to the fields one day to play polo, and as he was lying on the ground after the fall, he suddenly became aware of an inner voice that had been speaking to him. This voice urged him to quit the game and go to the fields where the grass was fresh, in order to drive away the evil spirits. He did so, and found that his spirit was completely renewed—to enjoy hunting, and had appointed officers to organize an immense yamannah, or battue. It was to extend over some fifty miles of country from Girjak—supposed to be the Burephys of Alexander—down to the vicinity of Agra, and he himself was to be seen driving the game, and had nearly completed the work, when something came over Akbar, and he suddenly broke up the hunt and set free all the animals. This event occurred in the month of Friday, the first of May, the year 1579, in the 20th year of his reign, or the 13th year after his accession, on the 24th of Sept. His reason for this unusual order, which was not at first understood, was that it was a sign of his impending death. In this year also he revived the discussions in the 'Jhadathamun, and we are told that the Sufis, the philosophers, the rhetoricians, the lawyer, the Sunni, the Shii, the Brahman, the Yati, the Panthesists, the Buddhist, the Zoroastrian, and all others, enjoyed the pleasure of seeing Akbar place himself in the pulpit and preside over the debates. The date given for the commencement of these discussions is 20 Mihar A.H. 956 or 3 Oct. 1557. Abul-Fazl puts Father Rudolf Aequaviva's appearance in the Hall of Worship into this year, and tells an apocryphal story about the Father's challenging the Muhammadan doctors to the ordeal of fire; but unless Abul-Fazl is giving a consecutive account of the discussions and so has departed from a chronologically correct order, there is a mistake in his narrative, for Aequaviva did not arrive at Fathpur till February, 1580. According to Abul-Fazl, Akbar spoke at one of the meetings as follows:

'Formerly, from assenting to the opinions of specious, wicked men, we thought that outward conformist knowledge to bring Anger and Lust into subjection to Sultan Reason, and to erase from the soul the images of evil habits, that learned the men of Proof shall emerge from behind the veil of Error and convert one into a worshipper of the Truth. Afterwards, he may by inward influence draw to himself some inspirer after the Faith. Such loadstones are quarried in the mines of asceticism. Or he may, by virtue of a tallman and might of incantations, bring him into his circle. Should the latter, by an error of judgment, fall into the pit of heresy, assuredly he shall not be stained with the faith of the same. That is, that which we have done in accordance with old rules and before the real truth about Faith had been made known to us.'

These words may be compared with two sentences in Akbar's Memorabilia at the end of the 'Ath. 'Formerly,' he states, 'the Sufis, the philosophers, the rhetoricians, the lawyer, and all those engaged in dethroning Islam. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, I was unfeeling or coarse in my words. But I decided that I would not take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon.'

Abul-Fazl went on to introduce the subject of the tenets of opposed religions, and described their various excellences. He gave no weight, says Abul-Fazl, to the foolish talk of the vulgar, but seized upon whatever was pleasing to Akbar, and he was disposed to believe that if he issued any new order, the nation was bound to obey it. If this position were opposed to the public interest, it would be for the public benefit. If any one opposed such an order, he would be ruined spiritually and physically, and be subject to final damnation.

Badyuni tells us that the 'ulama, with the
exception of Mubarak, signed this document unwillingly, but that Mubarak added to his signature the statement that he was heart and soul in agreement with the paper, and that he had for years been awaiting its execution. Badayuni adds that after Akbar had procured this document, the road of *itihaad* (decree-giving) became open, the supremacy of the imam's intellect was established, and no place remained for opposition. There was an end to the resolving of questions and to prohibitions. The intellect of the imam became the Law, and Islaam was called bigotry.

Abu-l-Fazl's account of the execution of the document, and its effects, is naturally very different from Badayuni's. According to him, all the doctors were eager for its execution, and the reluctance was on the part of Akbar, who was unwilling, as he expresses it, to come out from behind the veil. He yielded to their entreaties only because he came to perceive that, in leaving his position as commander of the spiritual world, and accepting the rank of *muftihad*, he was in reality placing a veil over himself. The result of the document was, he says, that the wanderers in the desert of doubt attained certitude, and that distracted souls obtained repose. Almost immediately afterwards, however, he admits that Akbar's complacency was soon to give way to misconceptions, and that he was accused of claiming the Godhead, of disliking the Muhammedan religion, and of being a Hindu. He says that one special reason for such ideas was the appearance of Christian philosophers in the meetings, and the discomfiture by them of the pretenders of learning.

It was probably in order to counteract these ideas that Akbar, shortly after this, paid a visit to England at Ajmir (he did not go there at the usual time, that is, at the saint's anniversary), and that he paid extraordinary reverence to a stone which was brought from Mecca and was said to bear an impression of the Prophet's foot. Abu-l-Fazl tells us that the impression was not genuine and that Akbar knew this, yet that he completely silenced calumnies by his politic conduct on this occasion.

But he proceeded more carefully with his new religion, and the Christian missionaries found him less disposed to listen to them. After the rebellion was suppressed, however, he advanced further in the path of heresy, of formalism, and of the Divine Faith and practised sun-worship. At the same time he was intolerant to some heretics. A sect calling themselves *Shais* sprang up, but Akbar had the members seized and sent off to Sind and Afghanistan, as the surest way of destroying them.

Akbar had a theory that the Muhammedan religion could last for only a thousand years from its origin. This was apparently a part of the Mahometan mission which had been added by him to the Prophet's præcepta. This theory was doubtless published by the late Mr. A. H. H. 900, that is, at the beginning of the 10th cent. (Maham.). In accordance with his belief in the approaching termination of the Muhammedan religion, he rigorously enforced the prohibition of idolatry, especially during that part of the year which in Arabic is called *aain* shows began, in A.H. 900, that is, at the beginning of the 10th cent. (Maham.). In accordance with his belief in the approaching termination of the Muhammedan religion, he rigorously enforced the prohibition of idolatry, especially during that part of the year which in Arabic is called *aain* (October). It was evident, however, that some one had addressed an unorthodox writing to him. The juxtaposition of these two letters does not prove that they were written about the same time, but this is evident from other grounds. The letter to the Jesuits was written in Rabi'-ul-awwal, A.H. 900, *April 1582;* the letter to the Fathis was written in the month of Add. 16, A.H. 900, and if it is true that Jerome Xavier was sent in consequence of this letter, this date is likely to be correct.
that to the shari'a is not dated, but it evidently was written about the same time, for it refers to the year 989 as having passed away.

Some years after this, Akbar called in 1572 A.H. in A.H. 994 (1586), we find him writing a letter repelling the charge of impiety brought against him by 'Abdullâh Khân, the ruler of Transoxiana. 'Abdullâh had been so provoked by the fact that he could not make his heir apparent, an emir, that he had accused Akbar of religious heresy.

In reply Akbar wrote two long letters to him, denying the charge and answering his ordohcocy. Blochmann (p. 466) refers Akbar as containing numerous samples of Persian, and an Arabic quatrain which Abdullâh could construe into a denial of his apostasy; but the letter goes farther than this, and is a serious denial, backed by supposed proofs, that the charge was no good. In it he appeals to his temporal successes as proofs of his being sound in the Faith, for otherwise God would not have favoured his arms; he refers to his having introduced Islam into places where it was previously unknown, and speaks of churches and temples of idolaters and heretics having been turned by his instrumental into mosques and holy shrines for the orthodox. He also speaks of his great desire to destroy the Perishing, i.e., the foreign religions, and destroy the persectives.

The truth probably is, that though Akbar had become disgusted with the 'ulamâ on account of their greed and their quarrels among themselves, and also because they held that he had more wives than the Law allowed, and though he was determined to be the head of the Church and the supreme arbiter in religious matters, he never entirely divested himself of his early religious beliefs. He was himself a Mohammedan and panegyrist Abu-l-Fazl, who, while professing a new and perishing, and presiding over a fire-temple, was yet secretly engaged in the pious work of multiplying copies of the Qurân, and was sending copies of his father's commentary thereon to foreign princes. Akbar, too, was before all things a politician and a man of the world, and was in no mood to endanger his sovereignty for the cause of religious truth. He was willing that his followers should exhibit what he called the four degrees of devotion, i.e., to sacrifice Life and Property, Religion and Reputation for him, but he showed no eagerness to make such sacrifices himself. He was a sincere and enthusiastic worshipper of the Divine Religion, and hence, though he was a mighty monarch, he was far less successful than his humble contemporary Bayâzîd in making proselytes, and founded no enduring school.

In the 'Dabistân-e-Magâhî, a singular work written in the time of his grandson Dârâ Shukoh by a Jew who apparently prosessed Muhammadanism, but was at heart a Parsee or a follower of the Aria Hâli of Akbar, we have what purports to be a specimen of the disputes which were carried on in the 'Ildhi-nâma, and was sending copies of his father's commentary thereon to foreign princes. Akbar, too, was before all things a politician and a man of the world, and was in no mood to endanger his sovereignty for the cause of religious truth. He was willing that his followers should exhibit what he called the four degrees of devotion, i.e., to sacrifice Life and Property, Religion and Reputation for him, but he showed no eagerness to make such sacrifices himself. He was a sincere and enthusiastic worshipper of the Divine Religion, and hence, though he was a mighty monarch, he was far less successful than his humble contemporary Bayâzîd in making proselytes, and founded no enduring school.

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AKIBA BEN JOSEPH

the sun was in the meridian. In the Akbar-namaah, iii. 364, one instance of such initiation is recorded. Fath Dost, the son of the Burjeel or Master of Requests, imported Abid-Flaj and Akbar to be admitted, and at length Akbar consented and recited over him the formula 'The pure shafi and the pure gladiator, when the initiation is ended, for two days afterwards Fath Dost was caught and killed under such disgraceful circumstances that his father declined to prosecute (Graetz, ii. 591).

Father Rudolf Acquaviva left when he found Akbar bent on establishing a new faith. He and other missionaries saw they made no impression on Akbar, who refused to accept Christianity unaided. In 1717 he went to the Trinity of Tbilissi, and the Sonship of Jesus Christ were made intelligible to him. He also withdrew from their society when he found that his alleged heresies were provoking a rebellion in Bengal. He returned to playing with the subject when the danger was over, and Father Jerome Xavier was with him to the end, and wrote for him a Life of Christ and a Life of St. Peter, and also some controversial tracts. But Akbar never was so well-disposed to Christianity as his son Jahangir, and died as he had lived—a sceptic.


HE BEVERIDGE.

AKIBA BEN JOSEPH (50-135 A.D.). — A great Rabbi who largely modified Jewish thought after the destruction of Jerusalem, and was not without influence on the early Christians. Graetz describes Akiba as beyond doubt the most gifted and influential of the Tannaim. Much legendary material clusters round his early history. He was a great traveller. He went to Rome in the autumn of 95 as one of an embassy to dissuade Domitian from an intended massacre of the Jews. On his return he was tried for his death. His companions were Gamaliel, Eliezer ben Assarir, and Joshua (Erubin, 84; and Sukka, 22). When on board ship, he cated a tabernacle, which was blown down in a gale, and his companions laughed at him for being over-rich. He was in favour at the court of the Emperor Nerva, where Flavius Clemens (conslul and Domitian's nephew) and Domitilla and Akyias (or Aquila), afterwards Akiba's pupil, became proselytes. But when Trajan succeeded, bad times arose for the Jews, and he returned to Palestine. Thence he went to Babylon, and preached and taught in Nehardeh (see Ketubbot, 55b). Afterwards he lived at Gazahka (Ab. Zev. 14b).

Before the outbreak of Bar Cochba's rebellion, Akiba made a final journey throughout Parthia and Asia Minor, and spread the Messianic propaganda preaching against Hadrian and his legions. We read of him in Phrygia, Galatica, Galicia, and Cappadocia (Rosh Hashanah, 52a; Jehovah, 121a; Baba kamma, 113a; Sifre, Nu 58). The early Christians had sown an idea inspired Akiba and the Jewish rebels with confidence; for as its rise had coincided with Jerusalem's fall, so should its fall result in the restoration of the Jewish capital.

The disastrous failure of Bar Cochba's rebellion resulted in Akiba's imprisonment and execution by the Romans.

E. A. Abbott, in From Letter to Spirit, quotes the Talmudic description of his martyrdom (Berakah, 60b) tells how, when Akiba 'was being led out to execution, he prayed for the time for rescuing the Shema' ('Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One') and was combing his hair with comb of iron; but he persisted in reciting it. His disciples remonstrated with him, and Akiba replied, 'All my days I have been troubled about this verse: Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy soul (or life), even if He should take away thy life (or soul). When, therefore, dost thou have the power to fulfil this? Now that I have the occasion, shall I not fulfil it?' And he continued chanting out the word G-d, till he expired at Ox, the Bath Kol went forth, saying, 'Hail art thou, Akiba, that thy spirit went forth at Ox.'

It is interesting to compare this with the account in the Jers. Talmud (Berakah, 11. 7): 'R. Akiba was on the point of undergoing the extremity of the law in the presence of the infamous Turnus Rufus, when the moments arrived for reciting the Shema.' He began it, and it filled him with joy. 'Old man, old man,' said the proselyte, 'art thou a proselyte (so that thy tortures cause thee no suffering), or dost thou defy me by showing joy in the midst of thy pains?' 'CALM THYSELF,' replied Akiba; 'I am neither prosely nor mocker: but all my life long I have read this verse of the Pentateuch, and sorrowfully said to myself, when shall I fulfill the three ways of worshipping God set forth in this profession of faith? Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy powers! I have proved that I love him with all my heart and with all my means, but I had not yet undergone the test of love with all my heart, and in the present moment is that the moment in which I thus recite the Shema.' I delight in this occasion of proving my faith; and I have shown my joy.'

With these final words he went straight to his death.

The story of the 'ten martyrs,' including Akiba, still forms the theme of a touching Selikhah, and of an elegy in the Jewish ritual for the Day of Atonement, the Fast of Akiba.

But legend does not leave Akiba with his death. As with so many saints, there is something miraculous about his burial. A Midrash, quoted by Jelli-

issar (vi. 27, 8), tells how, after Akiba's execution, Elijah, according to the Midrash of R. Joshua, entered the prison where the body lay, removed it thence, and, escorted by many angels, brought it to Csesarea. They entered a cavern containing a table, a chair, and lamp, and laid the body on the bed. No sooner had they left the cave than it closed of its own accord, and no man has ever seen it since. A hundred years after Akiba's death, about 290, we get the first mention of a Messiah ben Joseph, who was identified with a person named David. R. Dosa tells of this in Sukka, 52a. The Messiah ben Joseph must die first, and then will be the advent of the real Messiah. This idea is perhaps due to the legendary tale of a man named either Jesus or Akiba, and genuine Jewish folk-lore is at the bottom of it.

Akiba was much opposed to the new Christian heresy, and it is not surprising that some put him at the head and front of the opposing Rabbis.

'Dusca dominus Nasaari—dusca familiae interpretatorum Sannaii filii Elisei sunt scribae et Pharsone, quorum scripta seus discipulisque magistrum Aquilam proselytus autem post eum Mura praebuit et filiam eam et post ordinem Delphinum (a Tarphon et) rematum Joseph Gallaeus, et usque ad captivitatem Jerusalem Jane.'

Perhaps his most famous pupil was Aquila, whose literally literal translation of the Hebrew text of Scripture was held in high esteem by all Jews, though Jerome sneers at it. Every exoclic is translated into Greek. And the Toldoth酵 Jerusal (Kid. i. 509) says: 'Aquilas the proselyte made his Targum (aum) in Akiba's presence.' This was because of his practice of Akiba's theory, and so inquired the rabbis and the Jewish scholars amongst the Jews, who in Palmd and Haggadah quote Aquila no less than fourteen times (see de Rossi, Neor Emaus, vi. 45). But that popularity did not preserve his Targum, for it was not printed till 1803 and was still in print in 1885. When, in 1803, Clarke undertook to publish and identify an important fragment of the Cairo Genizah. Of Akiba's other pupils, we must mention the Jewish Aesop, Meir, who was the link between his Mishna and
ours, and Simeon ben Jochai the mystic, to whom the foundation of the Kaballah is attributed.

With mysticism, however, as with gnosticism, Akiba had no sympathy. He is the only one of the four Rabbis who is said to have entered the mystic garden, and come out again without hurt. One died, one became insane, and one an apostate—probably to Christianity. The last was the famous Abner, Eleish ben Abuya, co-operating with Christianity in those times. Even the famous Elisher ben Hyrcanus, Akiba’s teacher, was taunted with being a Christian because he listened with pleasure to a parable recited to him in the name of Jesus. But Akiba was an exact science which left no room for eschatological speculations. He sought for mathematical proofs of his principles of the Jewish religion, and found them in the apparently superfluous terms, words, letters, and ornaments of Scripture upon which tradition and usage were to found new legislation. This method he derived from his teacher, Nalum of Ginzo, but Philo had applied it a century earlier to the religious philosophy and philology. Akiba applied it to Halakhah, and Akiba’s view ultimately prevailed in the Talmud. It is in reference to this doctrine that Mt 5:16 and Lk 18:19 record that ‘till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or tittle shall not pass from the law’ (LXX ἐκεῖνος τὸ μικρὸν ἢ τὸ μεγάλον ποιεῖται). Sharpe translates κεφαλή by ‘one tip of a letter’.

Akiba’s chief antagonist was R. Ishmael. The two are throughout Rabbinical literature regarded as opponents, like Hillel and Shammai, and other pairs such as those described in Aboth, chap. I. The fundamental distinction between them was in the treatment of pleanomas in Scripture: Ishmael regarded some of them as words, and interpreted with the text of the common language, Akiba held them to be essential portions of the Law. He never took the particle ἦν as a sign of inflexion, but ‘expounded’ ἦν as the variable of the verb ἦν in the Torah, and his pupil Nebuchim of Emmaus seceded from his school in consequence of the risk which such an interpretation involved in such a passage as ‘Thou shalt fear (εὐφροσύνη) the Lord thy God,’ which, according to R. Akiba’s view, implied fearing somebody or something with the word of God. In his language, Akiba said this meant the Torah, but, objected his pupil, it might just as well mean another god. Another of such rules was that dealing with the word ‘saying’ (ἀντίθεσις) when it is used for a roundly to be expounded’ (Sifre, Nu. 59). Finally, he interpreted the letters ἐ and τ wherever they seemed pleanomistic in the text. ‘R. Akiba expounded (παρεύρεσθαι) (Jebamoth, 588): A further difference between the men was that whereas R. Akiba did, R. Ishmael did not allow himself to treat conclusions out of Scripture as the premises for further conclusions (Jerus. Kidd. i, 2, and Nevi‘er, 57a).

It was in opposition to this perhaps extravagant mode of interpretation that the more sober R. Ishmael altered all rules of interpretation to his famous Midrash, so that he represented logic as the opposite of allegory. These thirteen principles are really based upon the seven rules laid down by Hillel.

The Midrash were originally drawn up as abstract rules by Hillel, and were variously interpreted and modified by his successors, so that Ishmael and their scholars specially contributed to their definition, Akiba on the grammatical and exegetical side, and Ishmael on the logical. In their final form these Midrash are the exposition of the thirteen rules which the Law is expounded, and which constitute the Baraita in the Shabbath, the weekly Prayer-Book.

(1) The inference from minor to major.

(2) The inference from similarity of phrases.

(3) The inference from similarity of law derived by inference from a common feature in (4) the same passage, (5) different passages.

(6) Interpreting a passage according to one of similar content in another place.

(7) Bedding a passage from its context.

In (6) and (7) Akiba and Ishmael disagree. Where two Scripture passages contain the same word or sentence, Akiba was not permitted to confirm one of the two conflicting dicta and reject the other. Ishmael would thereby modify both such dicta. This opposition of the two schools on this point decreased still more, so that the later Talmud do not discriminate between Akiba’s axioms and Ishmael’s.

The effect of Akiba’s system was epoch-making. He really gave his contemporaries a new point of view. The Temple had been destroyed, the country vanquished, and the Jews of the time were like sheep without a shepherd, having lost all hope and all belief. Scripture seemed insufficient to provide for one’s daily needs or satisfy anybody’s ideals. The Oral Law was doubted. It had enemies without and within. The forces of barbarism and Rome had conquered, and Christianity was a redoubtable foe from within, which, with its Messianic mysticism, must have offered comfort to the hopeless exiles. Then came R. Akiba, and showed that there was authority for all the Oral Law. He gave the solid rock of Scripture as a foundation for all the structure of observances, rules, and usages prevalent in his time, and at the same time enabled his pupils and followers to build higher and to aspire. Now his name was the dread of his contemporaries, and even his teachers, such as R. Joshua, once his teacher, could ask (Sota, 27b), ‘Who will remove the earth from the eyes of R. Johanan ben Zaccai, so that he may see how vain was his fear that Halakhah would have to be abandoned because it wanted Scripture support. Behold R. Akiba has found Scripture support.’ Everybody agreed that, but for R. Akiba, the whole Law must have been forgotten or, at any rate, neglected. If there had been no R. Akiba, the Oral Law would have abandoned tradition, it enabled the Oral Law to be rounded off and ordered and completed, and thus he is the true Father of the Talmud. His mnemonic method was twofold: first, to divide the laws according to their subject-matter, property, marriage, divorce, Sabbath, and so on, each such division constituting a treatise (Mekhilah); and, secondly, to arrange the material for each treatise according to numbers, so as to make them easier to remember. Thus there are four kinds of damage to property, there are five classes of people who may not enjoy the Priests’ terumah, fifteen women are excluded from levirate, ten crimes are punishable with exclusion. This arrangement of the Halakhah was called Mishna, afterwards known as R. Akiba’s Mishna, to distinguish it from the Mishna now extant, and this was translated by the Christian theologians, such as Epiphanius, as Akiba’s Deuteronomy. There had been other Mishnas earlier in date, but Akiba’s superseded all. Thus it is frequently stated in the Talmud that ‘This (meaning the dogma there set forth as the Law) is R. Akiba’s Mishna, but the first Mishna said . . .’ (cf. Sanhedrin, 27a, and Tosha Hashanah, 17).

Mnemonic grouping, into numbers, was applied by Akiba to each of his ethical sayings also. These, collected by Bacher in his Agada der Tanaim, throw considerable light upon the social conditions of the Palestine of Akiba’s time. Some of them are culled from Sirach, an interesting fact, when it is remembered that Akiba was one of the Rabbis who settled the canon of Scripture, and objected to the use of extraneous books, including Ben Sirra. In something like the spirit of the Jewish bards, it looks like a strange Scripture, destroy them: if they support Scripture, they are not needed. Some of Akiba’s logia are given in the 3rd chapter of Aboth, but his ethics is scattered through the Talmud and Midrash. Specimens of these are the following:—
"Three people are happy, and their consistencies may be tranquil, namely, (1) he whose prayer is glib in his mouth, for prayer must come free from the heart, not from the mouth; (2) he who has satisfied God, God has satisfied, and he believes in whom men have not satisfaction, God has not satisfaction; (3) he who does not expect anything from God. There is a good sign for him; but he who is dissatisfied, that is a bad sign.

As for sin, at first it is like a thread of a spider's web, but in the end it is a huge web like a ship's rope. He who in anger tears his clothes and breaks his crockery, he will serve idols in the end. He who is angry with other people will incline to them. It says today 'tear thy clothes,' and to-morrow 'serve idols.'"

"Agiba is very hard upon passionate anger. He who in anger threatens to kill his brother with his money, he will not leave the world before he has had to beg his neighbours for bread and for money. Agiba mocked at the scholars who could not bear the inclination to sin, but there is an Aramaic legend to the effect that he himself had once nearly succumbed to temptations ( Kidd, Sha), when Sotan presented himself to him in the guise of a lovely woman.

"Like Hillel, Agiba's great principle was that of Leib 471, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' and this principle he applied with characteristic ingenuity to marriage. An unequal match he condescendingly opposes against this principle. He that marries a wife who is not fitting to him commits five sins. He transgresses the three commandments, not to bear a grudge, or hate his brother in his heart, as well as the two as to loving one's neighbour. If he hates his wife, he defeats the object of marriage, which is to bring forth children. If he who sins much; (6) he who sins in pleasant places; (7) he who sins in order that he may satisfy God's desire by his sin.

"Agiba was no laughing philosopher. He lived in serious times, and therefore it is that he says laughter and levity lead to immorality, and that, furthermore, that truly holy has no place for the Laws, vows for piety, silence for wisdom.

"In his son's name he gave the following seven rules of life (Passages, 112a) (1) Do not live in the heights of the city; (2) do not live in a city whose ruler is a learned man; (3) do not live in a house that is barefooted; (4) do not walk barefooted; (5) eat an early breakfast, in summer before it becomes hot; (6) better to serve the poor; (7) keep friendly with the man whose hour smiles upon him.

"Five rules he gave to his pupil Simeon ben Johael when he was in the Roman prison: (1) if thou wouldst not hang thyself, hang on a large tree; (2) teach thy son out of a correct book; (3) do not cook in a pot in which thy neighbour has cooked; (4) seek to keep thy capital and have an income besides; (5) it is both nuture and pleasure to have a wife and children."

"In Agiba's name are seven other six rules of life: (1) Go into the society of mockers, lest they learn from their actions; (2) be not at the table of a priest who is an idiot, lest he give thee a bad example; (3) be not holy; (4) be not thy proof least thou break thine oath; (4) accustom not thyself to being a glutton, lest thou have thy capital in the kitchen; (5) commit not thyself to doubtful things, lest thou art found wanting in that of which there is no doubt; (6) go not to the bath, lest thou be accused of washing thyself in the same water with the gods.

With regard to diet he advised (Shak. 17 v): 'Live only in the country where there is fruit, for fruit is good for the eyes. He that eats foods that disagree with him transgresses the three commandments. He disgraces himself, he disgraces the food, and he makes a Beraikah (blessing) in vain.'

Shancul is he who allows his daughter to remain at home unmarried.

"Take heed of him who gives advice without being asked for it."


ALAHKNAMIS, ALAKHGIRS, or ALAKH-

KHYAS (Skr. alakya, 'unseeable,' and namam, 'name'; hence Ílandini Alakh-námi, 'one who causes to be known the unknown'), is a Gauvari sect of the Saiva sect. In Alakh- gír, gir =Skr. gir, an honorific title employed by one of the orders of the Dasânmi Saiva sect. Alakhgia is simply a Hindustani derivative of Alakh, meaning 'unknown'.—A name applied in Northern India to various sects of Saiva mendicants. The name Alakhgia is applied to all, but Alakhgír is generally reserved for those claim to be a subdivision of the Purâni division of the Dasânmi sect, while Alakhgír is reserved for those belonging to the Giri division. They are all popularly known as Alakh-ko jagâññé, or 'Wakers of the Unseeable,' in allusion to their habit of crying out His name. Adherents of other Saiva forms of faith also call themselves Alakhgíra, but the true Alakhgíra consider themselves as belonging to a sect apart, and do not follow customs (such as sitting the ears among Gôrankhanius (q.e.), which are retained by Alakhyas of other sects.

All these Alakhgír have tenets much in common, based on the central idea that the Supreme Deity is incomprehensible, or, as they say, 'unseeable.' In this respect Powlett's account (see Literature at end) of the Alakhyas of Bikâna in Pájputâna may be taken as applying to all. This particular sect was founded by a Chânâr (or low-caste leather worker) named Lâl, to whom his followers gave the title of Lâl-çir. He denounced idolatry, and taught his followers to call only upon 'the Unseeable.' Their sole worship consisted in repeatedly ejaculating the name Alakh. Charity was to be practised; the taking of life and the use of meat were forbidden. His doctrine was that there is no future state. All perishes with the body, which is finally dissolved into the elements. The sole rewards which he held out was the idea of attaining to a blissful life, and consisted in the attainment of purity, untroubled contemplation, and serenity. There being no future life, heaven and hell (or, in other words, happiness and misery) were within the man himself.

Alakhgíra wear a peculiar garb, consisting of a long blanket coat and a round, or high conical, cap. Although mendicants, they never beg directly. They come to a man's door and, in uncomprehensible language, tell him their characteristic cry of 'Alakh koâ, Alakh-kâ lâkkh,' 'Tell of the Unseeable; see the Unseeable.' If alms are then offered, they accept them; otherwise they go away at once. They are looked upon as a quiet, harmless class of beggars.

Lâl-çir's date is unknown, nor is there any record of the origin of the special theory which is the basis of the religion. That the Supreme Deity is incomprehensible is a common belief by all phases of Hindu belief, but this has been materially qualified during the past thousand years by the spread of the Bhakti-marga (q.e.), which supersedes it to its former. The Bhakti-marga, in the ideas of direct personal devotion, the Supreme Deity become incarnate in cognizable form out of pity for man's weakness and sin. The greatest exponent of the Bhakti-marga, Tulsí Dâs (1522-1623 A.D.), was never weary of dwelling on the incomprehensible nature of the Supreme Deity, and arguing from the fact that He was nãma- kramâ- bhaçhana-agôchara (i.e. beyond the reach of thought, act, and speech) to the conclusion that the only way of salvation open to finite beings was the exclusive worship of a personal incarnation of that Deity under the name of Râma. The tenets of the Alakhgíra, based as they are on the rejection of the idea of a personal God, may well have been put forward as a protest against the view of the Bhakti-marga, and as a counter attempt to popularize the idealistic theology of the advaita Vedânta philosophy, the aim of which is known to have been the reduction of all the pantheistic system into one of the comprehension. In this connexion the termination gir in in Lâl-çir, 'Alakh-çir,' is important, as, amongst Saivas, it is employed only by the sects of the Western Gauvaris. From Sûkârachârya (q.e.), the great founder of the advaita Vedânta, Lâl-çir was also probably influenced by the doctrine of the Jains (with which his teaching has much in common), who are a
numerous and influential body in Rājaṭputānā. Still more striking is the agreement of its teaching with some of the doctrines of Buddhism, but we have no reason to suppose that he can have been alive when that religion flourished in India. The earliest mention of the Alakhīyās that the present writer has seen is in a short poem attributed to Tulsī Dās. That reformer is said to have entered into a controversy with one of them, and his argument, as contained in the poem, was that the only way to ‘see the Unseen’ was to see him through the personality of Rāma.

The Alakhīyās, however, was founded about the year 1850, in Orissa, by one Mukund Dās, who was, according to his followers, an incarnation of Aśkē (sic) himself. He, however, claimed only to be in special communication with this Aśkē, whom he described as an incorruptible, spiritual being, omnipresent and omniscient.

In other respects his teaching was identical with that of the Alakhīyās of Northern India. He died in 1875, and the sect they have are, but is still in existence in some force in the district of Sambalpur, immediately to the west of Orissa.

**Literature.**—Regarding the jīr, see p. 185 of the Gazetteer of Allabād (Muller, ed., W. Powlett (ed.)), Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (1896), p. 75 (mostly based on Powlett); cf. also H. W. Volker, *The Vatican Bible Religion of the Pāñcakśa* (1931), i. 235, 236, 238; and the present writer’s *Notes on Tulsī Dās* in *The Indian Arch.,* xxiii (1893), p. 273, and the followers of the Aśkē sect, see *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1885, p. 2f.

GEORGE A. GREERSON.

**ALANKĀNĀ** (Skṛ. *alakñana, ‘a young girl’)._—A sacred river in the district of British Garhwal, one of the tributaries of the Ganges. It has several sacred junctions (*anugama*) along its banks, at which religious bathing is allowed. A prominent point in the north is Nandprayāj, where it is joined by the Nandakini; Karṇaprayāj, by the Pindār; Kudraprayāj, by the Mandakini; Devaprayāj, by the Bhagirathi, after which it is styled the Ganges (which see). Though the Alankānā in volume and position is superior to the Bhagirathi, the latter is popularly regarded as the source of the sacred river.


**ALBIGENSES.**—A sect which derived its name from the city of Albi in Lower Languedoc, situated on the south bank of a confluence of the Garonne in France called the Tarn, which gives its name to the modern department. The ‘civitas’ of the bishopric was conterminous with those of Carcassonne and Toulouse, all the three dioceses being in the province of Narbonne, and owing a common allegiance to the metropolitan of that city (Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule,* pp. 529-531; Devic and Vassède [ed. 1872], vi. 6). The associations of Albi were consequently chiefly with the country to the south; but when, in the 11th cent., it was placed under the rule of a vicae, his jurisdiction extended north as far as the course of the Aveyron. In the 10th century, however, like that of Toulouse, is connected mainly with that of Septimania, the extensive region between the Rhône and the Pyrenees. Especially as the 5th cent. St. Amaran had been the patron saint of Albi, and with his worship was associated that of Eugenius, the bones of both being interred at Vieux, some 18 miles west of the city. Diognianus, his third bishop, is the first with respect to whom we have any information; he is referred to by Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franc. ii. 12) as one of the oldest guardians of the faith in the first half of the 5th century. Septimania, from the 5th to the 8th cent., was ruled by the Visigoth, who had his capital at Toulouse, and the territory is consequently, at this period, often referred to as Gothia. The Goths professed the Arian faith, and supported it, although not coercively, among the populations whom they had reduced to subjection, but whom they aimed at assimilating rather than effacing. They were themselves industrious cultivators of the soil, and understood the working of metals; the Roman cities remained intact beneath their sway, and the Roman laws were administered concurrently with their own. The chief impediment to peaceful relations between the two races was the pertinacity with which the Catholic bishops of the conquered opposed the religious creed of the conquerors. The Goths were thus encouraged to spread, and, during the reign of Theoderic II. (453-466), became the national faith of the Suevi in northern Spain and of the populations of Cantabria and the Spanish March. If, indeed, the same conciliatory spirit towards the Roman clergy as was shown by Theoderic the Ostrogoth in Italy, had been shown by the Catholic bishop towards the upholders of the Arian creed in Septimania, it is likely that the Albigensian crusade would have been averted. In the 5th cent., under King Eude, the Visigoths had extended their rule over the greater part of the Spanish peninsula, while in Gaul it reached the Loire; but the persistently aggressive policy of the Visigoths and the Arian creed roused the latter to a retaliatory course of action, which still further embittered the relations between the respective adherents of the two chief religions of Western Christendom. In the following century, on the other hand, the envoy of the Ostrogoths in Italy to Belisarius, could defy their enemies to prove that that monarch had ever resorted to unprovoked aggression on those professing the Catholic faith (Procopius, *de Bell. Goth. ii. 6,* while the rule of Theoderic the Great was characterized by such exceptional tolerance towards his Jewish subjects as to make them his firm supporters against the common enemy (Vassède, *Hist. de Langueco*, i. 655-660; Dahn, *Urgesch., d. german. u. roman. Völker,* i. 362-368, 240-250; Milman, *Lat. Chris- tianity*, bk. iii. ch. 3).

It is to be noted, again, that political sins weighed considerably with Clovis, the Frankish monarch, when, after his defeat of the Alemanni in 496, he embraced the Catholic form of the Chris- tian faith. For the latter, which he undertook against the Visigoths, it was as ‘Arian heretics’ that he proposed to sweep them out of the land (Gregory of Tours, ii. 27), and the immediate result, consequently, was to rouse the Burgundian and other Teutonic monarchies, which professed Arianism, to a common resistance. From the struggle which ensued, Theoderic emerged lord of Provence as well as of Italy, while Gothia became yet more closely allied to the Visigothic power in Spain. In both these great monarchies, aversion from, and a spirit of resistance to, the Frankish invader became a tradition alike with the Teutonic conqueror and the native element—an element which in turn was largely modified by ethnic admixture.

The Albigois, probably recovered by the Goths in the early part of the 6th cent., was again wrested from them a few years later, and the capture by the Franks of Alais, Uzès, Lodève, (Lutecev), and Carcassonne followed shortly after. The last-named city was thus constituted a Catholic see,—Sergius, the first bishop, afterwards appearing as a supporter of the Catholic cause. The Council of Toledo in 589, over which Recared, the Visigothic monarch, presided. Recared had recently been converted to Catholicism; and, being stimulated by his example and aided by the great preponderance of the ecclesiastical over the lay element, the Roman party secured on that
memorable occasion an easy victory, eight bishops of Septimania, those of Magnolune, Lodève, Agde, Beziers, Narbonne, Carcassonne, and Elne, headed by the metropolitan of Nimes, making their submission and subscribing the condemnation of the heresy. That example was reluctantly followed, however, by many of his subjects, and in Septimania frequent risings ensued [Mansi, Concilia (ed. 1644), xliii. 128–130; Doni, op. cit., p. 125].

Early in the 8th cent. the kingdom of the Visigoths was overthrown by the Saracens, and the new conqueror maintained his ground in Gothia for fifty years. In certain features, Muhammadanism and Ariantism are alike, especially in their common denial of the Divinity of Christ, and also in the aversion with which both regarded the innovations which were then taking place in the Roman Church, in the direction of saint-worship and the concomitant veneration of images and relics. The new conquest was attended also by another racial admixture which would imperceptibly incline the population of Septimania to listen favourably to the doctrines of that new faith. From whom many of them were, before long, to imbibe the doctrines of Manicheism. Fauriel has pointed out how, during this period, the industries, architecture, and literature of the old race, of the Carolingian, were modified by the influence of the dominant race (Hist. de la Poésie Provençale, i. 312–316). Of this approximation between the two races, an historical incident and a traditional reproach afford an excellent example. If we regard the 9th cent. as the beginnings of the 10th, a leader of the Paulicians is to be found advancing to battle side by side with a Saracen chief, to join in the defeating of the forces of the Carolingians at Boulogne beneath the walls of Sensa (Cedrenus, ii. 153; Zonaras, ii. lib. xiv.). In the 12th cent., the Catholic persecutor could assume it as a recognized fact that, in consequence of the Gothic and Saracen occupations, the inhabitants of Septimania, and more especially those of the Toulousain, had inherited a taint of heresy from which many of them were still unwarmed (Peter de Cernay, Migne, PL cxviii. 541; Milman, op. cit. v. 439; Loménie, Innocent III., la Croisée des Albigeois, 169). The obscurity which attaches to the history of the different Italian States in the 10th cent. and the earlier part of the 11th renders it impossible to state with precision the dates of those successive migrations of Paulicians (or "Publicani," as they are frequently termed), who, quitting their homes in Bulgaria (or Thrace), appeared at this era in Italy and from thence passed on to Western and Central Europe. The con

The Albigenses doctrines with those of the Euchites, a process which he considers had been brought to completion in Thrace (or Bulgaria), and subsequent to which the same emigrants, proceeding westward, carried with them doctrines which had a Gene of the heretic Caeleant's error. As early as 1012, when the Emperor Henry II. was at Mainz, "refutata est insania quorumdam laecetricorum," whom Hauck (Kirchengesch. iii. 431) assumes to be identical with the Manichaeans (Manichaei, 77, 120, 120, menta Germ. Hist., iii. p. 51); but the earliest authentic instance appears to belong to 1017, when certain canons of Orleans and other ecclesiastics of that city, thirteen in number, were brought before a specially convened Synod, and on being convicted of Manichean tenets, which they refused to abjure, were burnt outside the city gates. Various features gave to this case a peculiar interest,—the fame of Orleans as a seat of learning, the facts that King Robert himself caused the inquiry to be instituted, that the heresy had been imported from Italy and Perigee, and not least that it was by artifice, on the part of a Norman king, that the ultimately obtained from the admissions made by the victims themselves. The heresies to which they confessed—as involved in the denial of the Virgin-birth (as Peter of Lescar) and of prayers to the saints, of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and of the lawfulness and duty of marriage (in opposition to the Petronians) —were unquestionably those of the Albigenses (D'Achery, Le Pape, 725; 694-695; Bouquet, Becoste, ii. 62-65; Bouquet, Becov, x. 36-38). There is, however, strong presumptive evidence of the existence of such doctrines in northern France before the 11th century. The eminent Gerbert, on being consecrated to the archbishopric of Rheims, made solemn declaration of his belief in the articles of the Catholic faith, at the same time expressly specifying certain other tenets—which he excepted with no less sincerity,—the resurrection of Christ and also that of all mankind, the Divinely inspired origin of both the OT and the NT, the existence of an evil spirit (which was evil non per conditionem sed per arbitrium), the lawfulness of marriage and of second marriage, and of the eating of meat, the remission of original sin by the rite of baptism (Gerberti Epistole, ed. Havet, 161-162; ib. ed. Olleris, 245-258; Schmidt (C.), Hist. de l'Eglise, i. 101-102, 231-232, 33). As all these were tenets specially repudiated by the Cathari, it is difficult not to concur in the view of Schmidt, Havet, and others, that Gerbert's declaration was designed as a protest against the growing activity of the sect in the province which he had been called upon to administer. As uttered by the metropolitan of the French kingdom, Gerbert's pronounce ment acquired special importance, and it is probable that any manifestations of such heresy within the royal domain were repressed with exceptional rigour. But all around the comparatively circumscribed limits of the realm of France in those days, we have every reason to believe that the doctrines of the Cathari were spreading rapidly. At Arns, in Flanders (whose counts rendered to the French Crown a homage that was purely external), there appeared in 1025 an Italian named Gundulf, whose preaching attracted so large a following that Reginald, the bishop of the city, ordered his arrest. He succeeded, however, in effecting his escape, and the bishop decreed it that all the same be made of the Cathari, either to be docile to argument, but was baffled by the discovery that they admitted no written authority in doctrine save the NT, while they altogether rejected the OT. His inquiries failed to elicit any expression of opinions which could be pronounced
Manichean, a fact which Schmidt (l. 39) explains by supposing that the heresy was introduced into France by the Flemings and Walloons who came as traders in 1199, and who were not yet excluded. Yielding to Reginald's gentle persuasions, they abjured their errors and implored forgiveness, whereupon they were again admitted to the fold. Among the tenets to which they adhered, the worship of the Cross and of its use as a sign—an early instance of opposition to this feature in the Roman ritual (Mansi, Concilia (1739), xiv. 423; Schmidt, op. cit. i. 35; Dillingen, Benedikt, i. 60-67). In 1204, we are informed, bishop de Chalons-sur-Marne, consulting Wazon, bishop of Liege (an ecclesiastical court in high repute both for his learning and piety), with respect to certain secret meetings frequently held by the Cathari in his diocese, especially at the fortress of Montwinoire, near Chalons. Wazon advised that, in the first instance, Roger should limit his interference to simply instructing the faithful throughout his diocese to abstain from communion and intercourse with such as were known to attend the gatherings. As, however, no satisfactory result followed, the Council of Rheims, in 1049, determined to issue a sentence of excommunication against those who adhered to the Catharistic tenets, and was not, with all the means known to be members of the sect, but also against all who should encourage or protect them (Mansi, op. cit. xiv. 742). This stringent measure appears to have had the desired effect; and, for some sixty years after, all traces of Catharism in northern France entirely disappear.

The above instances may here suffice to exemplify the treatment of heresy under the earlier Capet—treatment for more reasons similar to that which the French Crown, although there is evidence of a continuous growth of Catharist doctrines, the evidence that would have necessarily resulted from active measures for their repression appears to be comparatively rare. A decree of the Council convened at Toulouse by Calixtus II. in 1119, and re-enacted at the Lateran Council of 1123, throws considerable light on the general situation. The 'sacred Synod' enjoining the taking of active measures against those whom the Church has visited with its anathema; should they, on the contrary, endeavour to protect them, they are to be regarded as accomplices (Mansi, op. cit. xxi. 230, 522). The researches of Lachaise supply an excellent commentary on those edicts. The attitude of the seigneurs in his liege, as well as that of the citizen in his walled town, was at this time becoming less and less friendly towards the Church; the former often found his territorial claims in conflict with those of the bishop, or with those of some adjacent monastery exempted from local control by virtue of papal charter, while the latter's chief pride was in the newly acquired freedom and privileges of his ville franche; both were thus inclined to sympathize with the persecuted sectaries rather than with the imperious persecution. They were not formally excluded from，“alii Catharos, alii Patrocinis, alii Publicanos, alii alia nominibus vocant” —while all are forbidden, under peril of incurring an anathema, to give them shelter, either in their houses or on their lands (Mansi, Concilia (1644), xxvii. 460-461). If we may trust the Church History published at Leyden in 1599 with the sanction of the Vigniers, large numbers of heretics, known as the same appellations, were burned in Flanders and various parts of France about the year 1183 (Vignier, Hist. de l'Eglise, p. 391). Two years later, we find the cardinal bishop of Albano placing himself at the head of an armed force with a view to their forcible suppression. But the first organized measures of this kind date from the decree of the Council of Verona in 1184, where, although the Cathari are indicated only in general terms, the power to take active measures against them by the Church is declared to be in their hands. The episcopal Synod at Toulouse is declared to search out heretics, and, on due further inquiry, to hand them over to be dealt with by the secular authorities (Lavisse and Rambaud, ii. 272).

It was not, however, until the pontificate of Innocent III. (1198-1216) that the decree of the Council of Verona appears to have been put into execution. A member of an illustrious Roman house, he applied himself with singular ability and penetration to the task of building up a spiritual despotism. Even Otto iv. was constrained to promise his co-operation in a religious conflict before he could receive his imperial crown in Rome (Oct. 1209), and by that time the dangers which confronted the Church had assumed a yet more menacing aspect, for the Catharism was represented a movement which threatened the Roman pontificate itself with overthrow. From their various centres in southern Europe, following the courses of the great rivers,—the Danube, the Rhone, the Danube, and the Rhine,—they spread, in yet greater numbers than before, in Picardy and Flanders. Industry, and especially the weaver's craft, attracted them to the more important industrial centres,—the desire of con-
ving their foes by argument, to the famous schools of Paris, Chartres, Chalons, Orleans, Rheims, and Soissons (Haurieux, "Innocent III., p. 12). In Spain, it was rumoured, they were seeking to form an alliance with the Southern fanatics of Christianity, and, like Hildegarda, the pontiff in Rome and the troubadour in Languedoc alike denounced their heresy as the worse of the two (Jochim in Apocal., 134; Fanriel, "Hist. de la poésie provençale," i. 47). It is now that the territory of the Albigeois, having become their chief centre in Languedoc, appears first to have given its name to the sect; but in distant centres or districts they were still generally known as Cathari, and often, specifically, by some local name, wherever they congregated in large numbers—in Flanders and Picardy, for example, as Pipihi, a corruption of Paulicians; further south, as Béngari or Benegres. But their most widely spread designation, after that of Cathari, was Patarini, the name which they had brought with them from Italy, where again, at certain centres, they sometimes bore a local appellation, such as Concorriço, from Concorraiso near Monza, Albanenses, from Alba in Piedmont, and Bagnolcnses, from Bagnodo near Brescia. Even Agen, though but a few miles distant from this last city, gave it a different appellation,—Agnennenses [see in Döllinger's Beiträge (ii. 53–84), the text of a MS compiled in 1255, and entitled Supra Stellæ]. It does not, however, appear that these widely scattered communities were at variance among themselves, as was notably the case, in the 17th cent., with those Puritan representatives of the Cathari who settled, as exiles, in Holland and in Germany, and who on either side were marked as successive waves of a great exodus from Hungary, Croatia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia, breaking now on the north-western shores of the Adriatic (where Venice became their chief centre), and now on the coast of Apulia, but finding, both among the rising communities of Lombardy and the unruly barons of the south, a sympathy which deepened into admiration and bore fruit in numerous con
tacts and negotiations. The state of the Catholic Church, indeed, whether in the lands which these exiles had quitted or in those in which they settled, was not such as to inspire them with much reverence, but rather to cause them to form a new, independent Church, and the clergy were poor and ignorant. In Hungary, a public official might be a Jew, a Muhammadan, or a pagan; and the mon
estaries there, which professed the Benedictine rule, were fain to seek their novices in Germany and Italy, and existed in almost complete isolation from the surrounding populations. Some of the Greek Church, on the other hand, while regarded with dislike by the Latin clergy, often sheltered within their walls not a few of whom the refined subtleties of the Manichæan dualism possessed almost a fascination; while over those rude natives to whom the Perfects of the Cathari were able to make a gospel forth that simplicity and ascetic life exercised a scarcely less potent influence. Among those of them who became converts to Bogomilism (see Bogomils) the accession from that source of new adherents to the sect was so strong that large numbers became converts to Manichæanism. The Paulicians, however, who formed an important body in the New Rome, migrated to Italy and to France. With regard to what might there be applied of the "moral life of 281" higher ecclesiastics and the state of discipline in the Church at large, it may here be sufficient to cite the declarations of a contemporary Pope and Theodore, the bishop of Mende, alluding to living in the latter place. It was in May, 1294, that Innocent III. addressed to his legate in Narbonne a letter charging attention to the demoralized condition of the clergy in that province, a state which he attributes largely to the misrule of the metropolitan, Berenger. He describes the effect that the simony and the heresy of his predecessors who had forgot how to bark, simoniacs who sold justice, absorbing the rich and condemning the poor, themselves regardless of the laws of the Church, accumulators of benefices in their dominions, fermenting dignities on unworthy priests or illiterate lads. "And hence," he adds, "the insolvency of the heretics and the prevailing contempt both of seigneurs and the people for God and for His Church." Nothing," he goes on to say, "was more common than for monks even, and regular canons, to cast aside their attire, take to gambling and hunting, consort with concubines, and turn jug
glers or doctors" (Epist. bk. vii. No. 75, Migne, PL. cciv. 355–357). "We are bound, in good faith, to admit," writes Mgr. Donouis, "that the clergy of the 12th cent. were not simply wanting in the power to withstand the revolutionary designs of the new Manichæans, but themselves afforded them, at once a pretext and an excuse" (Les Albigeoisi (1880), p. 287). In the year in which Innocent himself was elected Pope, the citizens of Lodève, in the territory of Beziers, had "given for palaces of their bishop, and compelled him, by threats on his life, to grant them fresh privileges (Luchaire, Innocent III., p. 27). It is, indeed, undeniable that at this time most of the chief seigneurs in Languedoc regarded Catholicism with indifference, if not hostility, and were friendly at heart to the Catharists; while, if their arch
caccuer, Peter of Cernay, might be credited, the counts of Foix, Beziers, Toulouse, and Bœm took a special delight in assisting the Catharists and in urging on the rise of the Catharist religion. The same clergy, and in offering insults to the officiating clergy (Historia Albignensium, Migne, PL. ccxi. cols. 565, 566, 579, 600–602). Such that outrages were instigated by the Catharists themselves, or that they were the result of their teaching, is, how
ever, at least doubtful, although there certainly are instances of similar action on their part under extreme provocation. But, generally speaking, by the admission of the same writer, they were known among their supporters as the bons homines, the 'bons hommieres,' whose simple blameless life offered, in most respects, the strongest contrast to that of the self-same clergy and seigneurs, and by whom the clergy, and to the dissolve and reckless careers of the majority of the seigneurs (ib. col. 553). Prior to the reign of Louis v. (1130–1180), the counts of Toulouse had been among the most independent of all the vassals of the French Crown; but in 1154 the marriage of Raymond v. with Constance, the sister of Louis, ushered in a material change in these relations. Shortly after, and for the first time within a century, a French monarch visited Languedoc in person; in 1158 his aid was invoked to repel the forces of Henry II. of England from the Toulousain. From that day, it became the policy of Louis and of his successors, Philip Augustus, to cultivate friendly relations with the clergy of these southern prov
ces; and a series of charters granted to the bishops of Maguelonne, Narbonne, Nimes, Uzes, and Agde, and to the churches and abbeys of Toulouse, raised them to comparative independence of the local seigneurs with respect to their temporalities,—the King and the Pope thenceforth representing their suzerains (Luchaire, Institut des première époque, p. 281). It was at the time when this important political change was becoming operative, about the year 1167, that the chief leader of the Paulicians in Constantinople (Constantinopolitan Ecclesiastical Prefect, Luchaire, ib. 281), arrived in the Toulousain to preside
over a Synod of the teachers of the Catharists which had been convened in St. Peter's, Toulouse. Farman, near Toulouse, has left an account of the prospects of the sister Churches in the East was well calculated at once to reassure those whom he addressed, and to raise the apprehensions of those of the local Catholic clergy. He had a right cause to feel. His own church of Melangia, in close proximity to Constantinople, stood firm; as also did each of four others, among which he had made a visitation before crossing the Mediterranean: (1) that known as the Didyma, (2) that in Roumazi, (3) the Bulgarian (with Philippolis as its centre), (4) the Dalmatian,—at the head of each being its duly appointed bishop, duly fortiﬁed for the spiritual life by the reception of the Consolamentum. Before he left the Toulouse, Niceas had either confirmed or instituted ﬁve new bishops for Septimania and the adjacent counties, among whom was Sicard Cellrier, bishop of Albi (Vignier, Histoire de l'Etat, 1601; Döllinger, Betracht., i. 116, 121, 123, and n.).

According to Döllinger (ib. p. 200), the above-named Synod reasserted the Manichean doctrines of the Catharists and of the Eutychian and in 121, another 'Perfectus,' one Julian of Palermo, a teacher of the same school, appeared at Albi. He had long been known by his labours among the warlike race which sheltered in the gloomy gorges of a mountain and his fervid oratory now wrought upon the Albigensians, that almost the entire population accepted his teaching, while his emissaries were received with open arms in most of the chief towns of Septimania. It is to be noted, accordingly, that at the very time when Innocent re-solved upon the Crusade in Languedoc, the doctrines of the Cathari had assumed a form which can only be described as subversive, not merely of the teaching of the Western Church, but of Christi-anity itself.

The Church of the Cathari most resembled, perhaps, that of Rome, with respect to its organization. It appears to have had its episcop, although this is somewhat doubtful (see Schmidt, Histoire, ii. 145); but it is certain that, in the New Rome, Niquinta had been styled 'Papa,' and Julian of Palermo, known as Major Harecterusom, appears to have been regarded as his successor. The func- tions of the Catholic bishop were vested in the Perfectus, the person in each separate community or congregation of eredentes who, by virtue of a length of time as well as of discipline, which in- cluded periods of complete isolation from society, had won for himself the recognized right to bear a designation which implied his superiority to human frailties and passions. Under his teaching his flock learned to repudiate the Divinely insti-tuted ordinance of marriage and to ignore the rights of individual proprietorship, the ties of social existence and of civic organization being alike thus cast aside. Self-detachment from the world, while engaging in secular duties and pur- suits, appears, indeed, to have been their dominant conception of the religious life, all contact with the material involving a certain detestation, while life itself was a kind of purgatory, of which the Catharists rejected the Roman doctrine, main- taining that the soul, after death, entered forthwith into a state either of perfect happiness or of eternal suffering. (Schmidt, Mythe, PL, cxxii. col. 15). Their abstention (of Manichaean origin) from all animal food included even milk and eggs, all matter being regarded as the creation of the Spirit of Evil, but especially that which was the outcome of an animal origin. Labour was justiﬁable so far as it served to sustain life; carried beyond that point, it was useless for those who were debarred from the possession of anything that could be called personality (Schmidt, ii. 84, 85). The Cathari of the East did not recognize the Perfectus on the believers (eredentes); but besides the believers there were the 'hearers' (audi- tores), who listened to the words of the teacher but failed adequately to put in practice what he taught. With regard to their theology, the doc- trine is perplexing, not to say contradictory. Their Christology, while evidently inﬂuenced by Arius, differed from it in some important re- spect. Christ, they held, was not God, but a creation of the Divine Nature, and one with it only in respect of will and intention,—an Archangel among the angels and appearing upon earth in this celestial form (see DOCETISM), but neither Incur- rate nor Ascended, the very miracles which He wrought being explained away as purely metaph- orical, and designed simply to symbolize the power of the spiritual over the earthly nature. At the time of the commencement of the Crusade, indeed, the dualistic and anti-materialistic theory had obtained such inﬂuence in Languedoc, owing, possibly, to the teaching of Nicetas and Julian, that, according to some teachers, the Christ of the Manichees was the same as that of the Evils, permitted to appear on earth as the Tempter, seeking to lead man astray and to undo that work of man's salvation which was being accomplished by the true Christ in heaven (Peter of Cernay, ed. Schmidt, p. 546; Schmidt, ii. 427). The views inculcated with respect to the Third Person in the Trinity, so far as discernible, are not altogether intelligible, and the dualist can hardly but have found his main theory accom- panied with exceptional difﬁculties in connexion with this question.

If the above tenets were calculated to scandalize and alarm the devout Catholic, the theory of the Consolamentum must have added yet further to his dismay, supplanting as it did the ordinances of the Church in relation to baptism, to the Eucharist, and to absolution. This singular and elaborate ceremony, described at length by Schmidt (i. 119—129), commencing with the renunciation of the Church of Rome and followed by a declaration of acceptance of the Catharist faith, and a solemn promise to observe all the conditions imposed with regard to chastity, diet, and outer sanctiﬁcation, ter- minated in the formal admission of the believer into the number of the Perfecti. He then, after a rigid fast extending over three days, retired for forty days more to complete that period where the Consolamentum had been granted to one who was seriously ill, the individual, we are told, would not infrequently refuse all food, and either voluntarily or at the behest of the Perfecti submit himself to the cutura, so as to die of starva- tion, and thereby expedite his immediate passage into eternal felicity (Liber Sentent. Inquisitionis Tolosanum, p. 134; Schmidt, ii. 102, 129). With the Consolamentum were associated two other doctrines which may be said to have completed the alienation of the Catharist from all that savoured of Roman Catholicism,—the above-men- tioned repudiation of the doctrine of Furgonomy, and the theory that the efﬁcacy of the ceremony would be lost, if the ofﬁciating Perfectus were not himself pure from sin. The admission, indeed, with which the teaching of the Perfecti was listened to, alike by the seigneurs of Septimania and the citizens of Albi and Toulouse, is largely to be attributed to the fact that the Perfecti actually exempliﬁed in their lives the austere virtues which they inculcated, thereby presenting a marked con- trast to the life of the secular clergy. Labour was justiﬁable so far as it served to sustain life; carried beyond that point, it was useless for those who were debarred from the possession of
preached and he prayed, but he did not persecute; and here, again, he contrasted favourably with the Catholic, and won the sympathy of the seigneur. It must, indeed, be remembered that Puy-l'Évêque, Chaource, and community of knights of Languedoc a man could profess almost any religion that he pleased. To Innocent III., however, such laxity of belief and diversity of morals and of customs was imperatively for intervention; and his experiences, since his accession, in his own dominions might well seem to show that such intervention, if judiciously carried out, might be relied upon to accomplish the desired results. In Italy itself the increasing numbers of the Patarini and the defiant attitude of many of their leaders had already roused him to active measures. At Verona, on the petition of the archbishop, he had pronounced a sentence of excommunication, but it had been treated with contempt (Baluze, ed. Mansi, i. 191). It was yet more ominous when, within the limits of the Patrimony itself, a succession of cities had given evidence of their disloyalty, in 1200, his intervention having been solicited by the Catholic party, he had sent Parentio, a high-spirited young Roman noble, to assume the office of his representative there, and, even then, his representative had exerted his authority had given rise to a conspiracy, and Parentio had been dragged in his house and put to death outside the city walls (Acta SS. vol. ixvii. Mai.). At Viterbo (one of his favourite residences), in 1290, several Catharists had been elected consuls, and their Perfectus, one John Tiniosi, had been returned for the office of papal chamberlain. Remonstrances having proved ineffectual, Innocent himself, in 1297, had repaired to the city; the leaders fled on his approach; he commanded that their houses should forthwith be demolished and their property confiscated; while the Podesta and the consuls were compelled to swear that, in future, they themselves would meet out like punishment to all heretics (Epist. x. Nov. 103, 130, 139; Migne, PL. exxv. cll. 1220, 1220, 1231). Like punishment was inflicted on Orvieto, and with the close of the year 1297 the submission of the cities was complete, and penitent Viterbo had been raised to the rank of a cathedral city; while Innocent was now able to direct his attention to where it seemed most needed. In Languedoc the intervention in that province was materially aided by a political change which had taken place since his accession (Schmitt, i. 148–149).

In 1257, the kingdom of Aragon had been acquired by the crown of Barcelona, Raymond-Berengar IV., and the crown had become hereditary in his house. In 1294, his descendant, Pedro II., following the example of the French monarch, had proclaimed himself the vassal of the Roman pontiff; and, in consequence, various sieges which had before done homage to the counts of Toulouse (among those of Carcassonne, Albi, and Nîmes) became detached from their former fealty to that of the kings of Aragon, the first two cities, it is to be noted, being in the same episcopal province, with Narbonne as their common metropolis (B. Haouran, Bernard Deliciens, p. 12).

It was now, therefore,—when the Fourth Crusade had resulted in the reduction of the Eastern Empire to the condition of a French dependency, when the disastrous ten years' war between France and Germany had been ended, and Otto IV., under solemn promise to restore the lands which he had wrested from the Holy See, was looking forward to his coronation in Rome,—that the time seemed to have arrived for Innocent to exploit the very natural interest which was now being approached by his excommunication, and placed his

on the fact that his great aim is the conversion of the heretic, not his destruction; and in Nov., 1296, three legates had been sent by him from Rome to Nîmes to make yet another attempt to bring the Cathari to reason. The presence of argument. They were at the same time directed to lay aside all pomp and ostentation, and to aim at winning the sympathy of observers by a humble demeanour, lowliness of bearing, and the poverty of their great exemplar, and by the force of their own example and convincing speech (documentum sermonis) to recall the heretic from his errors (Epist. x. No. 185). It is noted by Lucchare that four months before this letter was written, Diogo de Acevedo, the bishop of Osma in Spain, accompanied by Dominie de Guzman, the founder of the Dominican Order, had had audience of Innocent in Rome, and on their return journey had, by accident, fallen in with the above three legates (one of whom was Peter of Castelnau) at Castelnau, when the bishop of Osma had given them much the same advice as that which soon after reached them as a mandate from Rome. As Dominie was one of the bishop's chapter, and was present when this advice was given, we may fairly accept the assertion of Vignier that the self-same words, of which he has just spoken, distinguished the Dominican friars, to a great extent, evoked by the urgent necessity of combating the success which had attended the exhibition of the same characteristics on the part of the teachers of the Catharism (Histoire de Tuges, p. 405; Lucchare, Innocent III., 90–91). Dividing themselves into little bands, the Dominicans now appeared at different centres,—Servian, Beziers, Viterbo, Montpellier, and Pamiers,—inviting the leaders of the Catharists to amicable discussion on the chief points of disagreement. At each of these centres the dispute extended over from seven to fourteen days, and was listened to with intense interest by crowded audiences; but as the only accounts which have come down to us are those preserved in Catholic sources, they can hardly be supposed to be impartial. But if it be true that at Montpellier, Oton, the Catharist protagonist, affirmed and maintained his quidam the identity of the Church of Rome with the Babylon of the Apocalypse, and even ventured to style the former 'the Synagogue of the Devil' (Epist. 410, 411), it is very unlikely that this could be credited with any real desire to conciliate his opponent (Devic and Vaisissatte (1879), vi. 239). At the expiration of two years thus spent, Dominie is recorded to have expressed himself deeply gratified at the result of their collective labours (Pierre de Cernay, op. cit. cc. 1–5; Schmidt, i. 211–217; Lucchare, Innocent III., 92–90).

But however sanguine Innocent may originally have been of their success, he had already determined on the employment of other means, and, early in 1297, Peter of Castelnau had received instructions to urge upon certain seigneurs of the Septimania (one of Raymond de Galiza himself was one) that they should lay aside the feuds which, unhappily, were rife among themselves, and combine in a Crusade against the heretics. That it was designed, by this proposal, to isolate Raymond admits of little doubt, and he was himself fully aware of the net that was now closing round him. The other barons, allured by the prospect of rich plunder, to be reaped at small risk, readily accepted the proposal. Raymond de Galiza, apart from his open sympathy with the Cathari, who composed a large proportion of his own subjects, recoiled from the prospect of seeing his own domains overrun by the enemies of his house, and by very natural reparation procured him excommunicate, and placed his
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territory under an interdict, at the same time justifying this extreme course by alleging the count's laxity, and extorting by the administration of his seigniery,—laxity, as shown in his partiality to Jews and heretics; extortions, as attested by his encroachments on the temporalities of the Church (Vaissette, iii. 146; Devie and Vaissètte [1919], 257). Innocent followed up the action of his legate by confirming the sentence of excommunication, and, addressing to Raymond a letter in which he upbraided him with seeking "to provide for his confederates in crime by allying himself with the foes of Catholic truth" (Epist. xi. No. 99; cf. Devie and Vaissètte, op. cit. vi. 255-257).

In the first instance, Raymond is said to have feigned submission, but he failed to give practical effect to the promises which he is alleged to have made; and Innocent now, for the fourth time, proceeded to invoke the aid of King Philip, entreatin; him to come in person and place himself at the head of the Crusade. The latter, although himself involved in hostilities with John Lackland, at length feigned compliance, but in doing so he stipulated that Innocent, in turn, should undertake to bring about the release of Raymond and Roger from imprisonment, and should also deere the levying of a subsidy from the clergy and nobles of the French kingdom to defray the expenses of the Crusade. This, however, was soon abandoned; and it was while he was probably hesitating as to the course he should next pursue that his perplexities were suddenly terminated by the assassination of Peter of Castelnau, when on his way to St. Gilles, by one of Count Raymond's officers. The person and his territory were declared to be no longer under the protection of the law, and his subjects and allies alike absolved from their vows of fidelity or loyalty (ib. xii. 106). It was then that, inasmuch as the Church had been a target for so many enemies of the Faith, while the greater part of Septimania was reduced to the appearance of a desert. So great, indeed, was the scarcity of supplies, that the French leaders, having completed their forty days' term of service, and seeing no prospect of further plunder, were fain to return home. Simon de Montfort, fourth earl of Leicester, alone remained, in the Ile de France he held only a petty seigneurie, and having been appointed successor to Raymond Roger in the viscounty of Beziers and Carcassonne, he found himself virtually an autocrat in the government of the desolated province. Although he was by education a Catholic, his religious enthusiasm was probably fanned by a sense of personal wrong. In 1107 he had been implicated by John of England in the various that John of England would commit this very way in caring to his mutilation and delinquency in England of that same episcopal order whose power de Montfort was pledged to restore in Languedoc, we
cannot but see that hatred of heresy can hardly have been the sole motive which urged on the stern Norman knight in his merciless career. Before the year 1210 had passed, John himself received information that his grandsons were plotting to place the crown which he wore on the head of Simon de Montfort.

The circumstances under which Simon was now called to account for his activities over a territory which, however, sufficiently discouraging. Funds had been entirely to fail him, and this at the very time when the few knights who had remained with him were demanding double pay, to indemnify them for the absence of the plunder which the country no longer afforded. In his difficulties he appealed to Innocent. The pontiff, already overburdened by the demands consequent upon the Fourth Crusade (see CRUSADES), was unable to respond with pecuniary aid, but wrote to the Emperor Otto, the Kings of Aragon and Castille, and numerous powerful knights and ladies, to invoke their assistance (Migne, PL ccvi. cols. 141-143). At the same time, now that the situation was admitted by the service which Simon had rendered in restoring to the papal exchequer the heathen tax of three pence per annum which the legislator had already imposed, in many cases, been diverting to their own uses.

In the meantime, Raymond, sorely pressed by the demands imposed on him by the papal envoys, was reduced almost to desperation by being for a third time excommunicated, the sentence having been pronounced by a Council at Avignon, 6 Sept., 1209. He resolved on a personal appeal to Innocent, before whom (Jan., 1210), having been admitted to an audience in the Lateran, he laid a statement that his own lands and dominions were at his disposal, and in return for what actually took place on this occasion; but it is probable that the pontiff deemed it prudent to disown, to some extent, the relentless proceedings of his legates, one of whom, Milo, had just died, and he now enjoined that Raymond, who had complied with all the conditions originally imposed, should be reinstated in possession of his castles, and that his lands should be returned from further requisitions (Migne, PL ccvi. 15, cols. 171-173). His instructions, however, either arrived too late, or were wilfully disregarded by his legates, to whom Toulouse was now called upon to supply an army. To the city and in the faubourg alike, holding themselves bound by their oath of allegiance to their seigneurs, refused compliance; and it was with difficulty that the archbishop of the city, a staunch supporter of Simon, succeeded in inducing a certain number of the citizens to support the latter, under whose leadership there now ensued, throughout the Toulousean and Septimania (June, 1210 to Sept., 1212), a long series of plunderings and massacres, accompanied by almost unprecedented atrocities, wherever the defenceless victims refused to abjure their errors. At the strong fortress of Minerve, near Narbonne, 140 prisoners were thrown themselves on to the burning pyre (Deve and Vaissat, vi. 329-331). At Lavaur, taken after a stubborn defence, the well is still shown into which the widowed 'Lady of the City,' the bounteous Giraldis, and her daughter, were drowned, and stones rolled down upon their bodies. The governor and eighty knights were either suspended on the gallows or put to the sword. Termes, Castres, and other towns were the scenes of similar horrors, Toulouse and Montauban being even only two which remained in the possession of Raymond (Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii Hist. Albig., cc. 17, 18 [in Duchesne (A.), Hist. Franc. Script., v.]; Cernay, Migne, PL cxiiii. cc. 37, 52, 63; La Chan-


The war itself must now be regarded as assuming another phase, and Innocent himself believes that a reaction was setting in throughout Languedoc, as, to quote the expression of Paul Meyer, 'it became clear that the Crusade was designed to accomplish not only what the subscription of some enterprising adventurers from France for the ancient seigniorial families of the South' (La Chanson, etc., Introd. p. xxix; Pauriel, Hist. de la Croisade, Introd. pp. xlviii-1).

The doctrines of the Catharist were again openly espoused, as a powerful incentive to renewed resistance. The Count de Foix, Raymond Roger, reverted to his former defiant attitude. The Catholic leaders, on the other hand, perceiving how closely political supremacy was involved in the suppression of heresy, began to assert their position with increased emphasis. Arnold Amadric, the abbot of Citeaux, asurped to himself the title of duke of Narbonne (Luchaire, Innocent III., p. 188), and imposed oaths of fidelity and homage on the former subjects of Raymond of Toulouse. Simon, however, with his habitual asuteness, professed, in the first instance, to have assumed the position of, and, after he to Philip (Aug., 1211), said that he had instructed his envoys to assume possession of all the territory wrested from Raymond, and to hold the same until the rightful owner should be declared (ib. 178). By the middle of the following year, however, his representatives in Rome preferred the demand for his recognition as lord of Languedoc; in a charter of 14 Sept., 1212, granted by the abbot of Millau, that Simon de Montfort was declared that 'God has justly assigned to Simon de Montfort the territory of his adversary' (ib. 189). In the following December, Simon himself convened an assembly at Paniers, to which the seigneurs, the clergy, and the citizens of the province were alike summoned,—the great political revolution which was in process being thinly disguised by their being themselves invited to become members of the Commission which was then appointed, and by whose action the 'customs' of Paris, the 'use' of Northern France, and the supremacy of the Church (acting through its ecclesiastical court), were restored, the city liberties and the civic freedom which had before existed. As Luchaire points out, however, Simon de Montfort posed as the saviour of the land, whose mission it was to establish order, centralization, and peace; and for a time there were those who firmly believed that they should obtain these blessings at his hands.

The king of Aragon was still Simon's suzerain, and, with the support of Innocent, was able to assert his rights. He regarded with no small alarm his great vassal's monopoly of influence and the impending political changes. As soon, accordingly, as the Crusade was pronounced by Innocent to be at an end for 1212, Peter's first friend, who was to submit to a Council convened at Lavaur (16 Jan.) a memorandum, drawn up with the design of showing that Raymond himself had never learned a heretic, and that neither he nor his cousin, the count of Comminges, nor the count of Foix, nor Gaston de Béarn, had ever accepted the Albigensian doctrines. It was the design of the Council, however, to complete the count's ruin, and the opportunity of regaining the confidence of Innocent, and counter-representations were made at the Lateran, couched in terms of such urgency, that the pontiff in his Memorials, a letter on the distrust of Simon and the Norman party, was prevailed upon
to change his attitude completely. 'The supporters of heresy,' he now wrote to King Peter, 'are more dangerous than the heretics themselves,' at the same time plainly indicating that further obduracy would visit obloquy on himself, with another Crusade (Epist. xvi. No. 48; Migne, PL ccxxv. col. 851).

Soon after, hostilities were resumed; and Peter, along with his allies, now appeared at the head of a great army, whilst the king of Jerusalem, under the command of Muret, where Simon, with a small body of knights, awaited their attack. The disasters which the barons sustained, involving, as it did, the defeat of King and the dispersion of his forces (12 Sept., 1213), sealed the fate of Raymond's party. He himself is next heard of at the court of John Lackland, at Périgueux, professing a now worthless homage.

Simon's son, Amaury, now married Beatrice, the heiress of Dauphiny; Toulouse surrendered to Montfort, and the whole of southern France became incorporated with the French kingdom. Towards the close of the year, the Troubadour, Wilielmus de Tudela, gives place (line 2708) to his successor in the Chanson, which henceforth becomes of primary value as a contemporary historical source, being at once highly original and always to be read (line 2709-11).

In 1214, Innocent resented the prohibition to preach the Crusade, and in the course of the year a hundred thousand 'pilgrims' poured into Languedoc. Their first military achievement was the capture of Manzillette, on which occasion we find a reference to the Waldenses, seven of whom were burnt 'with great joy' as incorrigible in the attestation of their errors (Devie and Vaissètte, vi. 445). Concurrently with this movement, the victory achieved by the royal forces over Otto IV. at Bouvines (27 July, 1214) broke the power of the barons throughout the realm, and was hailed by the clergy as an auspicious triumph for the cause of unity in the Church. At the Council of Montpellier (8 Jan., 1215), Simon was unanimously elected 'prince and sovereign' of Languedoc; and in the following April, Prince Louis, accompanied by the new lord of the province and by Peter of Beneventum, the new papal legate, set out on a progress through the scenes of the war. The towns, still secretly hostile to de Montfort, threw open their gates to the representatives of the Crown; Simon, however, although he formally acknowledged the new governor of the conquered territory, would never recognize him as his rightful lord, and subsequently, when called upon to arbitrate in the fierce contention between Simon and the abbot Arnold for the dukedom of Narbonne, gave his decision in favour of the monastic dignity.

At the memorable Lateran Council of Nov., 1215, Raymond was once more, and finally, confronted with his accusers; and here, again, we find the pontiff strongly urging that the exiled count should be reinstated in the Toulousain. His advice was supported by a small minority of bishops, whose counsel Peter of Cernay does not scruple to stigmatize as that of an 'Aliothelpel' (Hist. Abig., c. 83; Migne, PL ccxixi. col. 700), and it was not received with enthusiasm. The brief allusion of the monkish chronicler to the fact of this divergence of opinion is illustrated at length by the contemporary Troubadour, in a manner which brings home to us the fact that this famous Council, to quote the language of Fauriel, was really 'nothing less than a great political congress, at which the passions, ideas, ambitions, and secular aims of the time are to be discerned, for the moment, in actual crush.' The brief allusion of the monkish chronicler to the fact of this divergence of opinion is illustrated at length by the contemporary Troubadour, in a manner which brings home to us the fact that this famous Council, to quote the language of Fauriel, was really 'nothing less than a great political congress, at which the passions, ideas, ambitions, and secular aims of the time are to be discerned, for the moment, in actual crush.'

In the sequel, Innocent himself was under the necessity of issuing a decree whereby Raymond was adjudged to have forfeited his right to govern, and condemned to pass the remainder of his life in captivity. It was further granted him, which, together with his wife's dowry, was deemed sufficient for his maintenance. The Council assigned to de Montfort all the territory which he had wrested from the heretics, along with Toulouse and Montfort fortress; but it was ordered that the unoccupied lands 'in Provincia' (beyond the Rhone) should, for a time, be held in commission, and that in the event of the count's only son (a youth of fifteen) being apprehended (a circumstance of heresy had been preferred) giving proof, by his 'fidelity and upright conversation,' of genuine merit, provision should ultimately be made for him therefrom (Hist. Abig., col. 701; Guill. de Pod. Lastr., c. 34; Vaissètte, iii. 299; Devie and Vaissètte, vi. 475, 477).

To all outward seeming, Raymond was now permanently excluded from a public career. The decisions of the Lateran Council had, however, been received throughout both the Toulousain and Provence with a general dissatisfaction which embodied both father and son to sail, in the spring of 1216, for Marseilles, where they were received with enthusiasm and with the utmost joy (Hist. Abig., vi. 448; Devie and Vaissètte, vi. 475-477).

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in the appearance of Prince Louis at the head of an army, whose achievements in the field are remembered only by the massacre at Marmande, when 5000 men, women, and children were put to death by order of the bishop of Saintes, on the sole sound of their assumed heretical beliefs, and the city itself was burnt (Guill. de Pod. Laut. p. 685; Fauriel, ib. 9306-9320). An endeavour to inflict exemplary punishment on Toulouse was baffled, and, after laying siege to the city for three days, or twelve hours, the Albigenses struck his camp and returned to France. The Albigenses took fresh heart, and many of the towns which had been wrested from them by the sword of Simon de Montfort were now recovered. Eventually, after a war extending over two more years, Amaury de Montfort was fain to bribe the French monarch to renew his interdiction, by offering to surrender to him the entire territory which had been adjudged to his late father. It was at this juncture that Raymond vi. died (Aug., 1229); his interment in consecrated ground was forbidden; and for nearly a century and a half the remains, deposited in the crypt of the collegiate church of Sainte-Cecile in Albi, were exposed to sight within the precincts of the Hospital of the Knights of St. John, outside Toulouse (C. Moliner, L’Ensevelissement de Raymonde vii.).

During Simon’s rule, large numbers of the Catharist Bishops, from Bitz to Carcassonne, had returned, at his death, inspired with renewed zeal by the exhortations of their Pope, or metropolitan, in those regions,—while they were encouraged and sustained in the renewal of the conflict in the Narbonnaise by the teachings of his delegate, one Bartholomew of Carcassonne (Devie and Vaissette, vi. 567-568). The disputations with the Catholicks were again held; and in the years 1225-1226 the latter labourers, or delegates, of a Perpignan, had appeared in the Toulousain and the Narbonnaise to urge on the persecutor the resumption of hostilities (ib. vi. 391-395). In the national archives of Paris are still to be seen the letters, written in 1227, by the metropolitan of Sens and the bishop of Chartres, offering contributions towards a new Crusade against the Albigenses (Len, Hist. of the Inquisition, i. 291). Eventually, after a long and gallant struggle, Raymond viii. submitted; and was compelled, by the Treaty of Meaux (1229), to accept a series of onerous and humiliating conditions—the demolition of the greater part of the strongholds of Toulouse, the cession to the French Crown of territory which included two-thirds of his father’s dominions (of which, however, a part had been included in the surrender, above mentioned, by Amaury), the cession to the Roman See of the marquisate of Provence (the portion of Provence on the left bank of the Rhone), while in Toulouse itself he was required to institute a school of studies, which subsequently developed into the university, and was now conceived on lines designed to ensure the predominance of strictly Catholic teaching (Martin, Hist. de Frérec, iv. 149-150).

In asserting to the foregoing conditions, Raymond can have been actuated by no other sentiment than a conviction of the political unwisdom of prolonging a racial conflict against forces which were overwhelming; but in promising to turn back the tide of heresy, he was, apparently, giving expression to a contrite sense of the paternal folly which had brought such ruin on his house, and that in the manner in which Innocent had compassionated his helpless baylows may have instilled into the young count a genuine admiration of his protector, and sympathy with his designs. That sagacious pontiff had seen very clearly, some years before his death, that, however effective fire and sword might prove in the temporary extirpation of heresy, more was needed to prevent the recrudescence of an ancient faith sincerely, however wrongly, held. Notwithstanding his habitual tendency to temporize, he had accordingly drawn up a series of instructions to his delegate in France, for the establishment of a system of inquisition upon preceding methods (Douais, L’Inquisition, 1906, p. 6). The mode of procedure in a judge’s court, at that time, was still that of the old Roman tribunal; the magistrate always awaited the appearance of an accuser before he intervened to punish the malefactor. But, however adequate such a method might be found in dealing with offences against the person or against property, Innocent perceived that it failed altogether to reach a particular class of citizens, distinguished generally by their blameless life and inoffensive conduct, but lying under grave suspicion owing to their adherence to the prescribed forms of public worship, and their secret gatherings. If such conduct were really a shelter for rumoured malpractices, it was certain that stronger motives were required to induce the grand inquisitor to act. Infringement of the prohibition of the inquisition, a system of inquiry, authorized in legal form and terminology, for bringing home to the offender a definite charge. As early as 1153, Lucius III. had enjoined upon the bishop of each diocese the necessity of seeking out and passing sentence on heretics (Manis [1644], xxvii. 6), although Luchaire appears to be in error in supposing that his instructions were actually formulated as a system of inquiry (ib. op. cit. 6, 7, and direction given that investigations should be instituted throughout the province of Arles, and in the dioceses of Agde, Lodève, Veroil, Tarragona, and Geneva (Potthast, Regesta, 2516, 2872, 4876, 4828). It is, however, true that these instructions were general in their scope, specifying, as they do, no particular offence or persons. But when the dioceses to which they were sent (as specified by himself, pp. 6–8), together with the time of their promulgation, are considered, it is difficult not to infer that they must have been directly aimed at the Albigensian heresy. By the machinery thus brought into operation, the Inquisition (which may be considered to date from the year 1229) obtained the evidence on which its first proceedings were grounded, and was enabled to arrogate to itself a function beyond the power of the already existing ecclesiastical courts; while the Inquisitor, if we accept the view of Douais, represented an authority which the supreme pontiff alone had the power to delegate (L’Inquisition, i. 141). From the year 1239, accordingly, the history of the Albigenses becomes mainly associated with the proceedings of the Inquisition, and will be found treated under that heading; while for an admirable list of the proceedings of this authority, and the experiences of Bernard Dolicius, as described by B. Hauréau (1877), should also be consulted. With the advance of the fourteenth century, the Catharist almost disappears in Western Europe,
although occasionally showing a bold front against the Dominicans in Toulouse. In the East, in their ancient home in Bosnia, on the other hand, they might well have accomplished a more important service if the Franciscans had been turned out of the Franciscans to retire from the kingdom (see BOGOMILS); and so recently as 1875 a paragraph in Le Temps stated that members of the sect were still to be found in that country. The problems that can also to be used of the anti-dominican position had done its work, secluded in the valleys of the Pyrenees; but for the last four centuries they have often been confused with the Waldenses, and in some instances the Franciscans and the Catharists are difficult to trace. In the eastern Germany the Catharist becomes lost in the 'Ketzer' (Schmidt, Hist. i. 141, n. 232-233; Lombard (Alex.), Paulicinena, etc. (1899), 209-276). In Albi itself, their final dis- appearance can never be inferred from the fact that in 1404 the bishop of Amboise was to be found giving orders that the bones of St. Amarannd should be brought from Viau (surgit, p. 257) and deposited in the cathedral church of St. Cecilia, as in a city no longer tainted with heresy (Gregory of Tours, ed. Ruinart, col. 787-788 n.).

LITERATURE.—I. CONTEMPORARY.—(i.) Anna Comenio, Anoni. libr. iv. ch. xiv. xcv. ch. 8 and 9, xv. ch. 8. (ii.) Peter of Varras, De historia Ales musicorum et de vita Simoni comitis de Montforti (to Simon's death in 1218), Migne, PL, iv. 1355. Peter wrote, he says, from the page of Guy, the abbot of the monastery of Vaux-Cernay, with whom he went to Provence in 1290; he was the partial admirer of Simon, and in his Carmina (1290) he mentions the Ales lauraux (Guillelmus de Podio Laurenti), Historia Albigensium (to the year 1277). William was chaplain to Gour begin de Vauguy, and wrote long after the Crusade. Although not always strictly impartial, he is entitled to the highest credit as an accurate and honest historian. (iii.) Peter of Varras, De historia Albigensium, first made known and edited by C. Fauriel (Paris, 1837). This edition is altogether superseded by that of Paul Meyer (2 vols., Paris, 1875-1879); the editor in his Preface (p. cit) has established the following conclusions: (1) The Alogamus is the production of two writers, differing considerably in their diction, style, and ideas, the former being one William des Toules (le Navare), an ardent partisan of the Crusaders; the latter, who commences line 5769 and carries on the narrative to the siege of Toulouse (June, 1219), was a native of that city, and shows himself throughout a devoted adherent to the party of the seigneurs who opposed the Crusade. Notwithstanding some important omissions, he supplies us with a narrative of the highest value in relation to the subject and of great historical merit. (2) In the course of the 15th cent., the whole poem was retold and recited in a prose collection, like the original, in a mixture of Provençal and Romance. This version was finally edited as by L'Angevin (vols. iii. and iv.), was perhaps used as a text by Devic and Valsotte among the Preuses (vol. viii. I–2003). It has small literary merit, and, since its claim to be regarded as an authentic and reliable version has thus been lost, it can no longer be regarded as of any historical value. (v.) The Letters, or Rognacines (in the Latin m. Migne, PG, lxxxv. 1149), partly gathered in banknotes, are of primary importance. (v.) The treatise by Eckbert, abbot of Schwanberg, in the diocese of Trièves, entitled, Sententiarum XIII. ad illustres et insignes doctores, damnatas errores et harsines (Migne, PL, ccxxv. 1149), and the Letter of Ever- well of Steinfeld to Bernard of Clairvaux, De harsibus et temporalibus (Migne, PL, clxxxvi. 676), both written cire. 1150, are recognized as sources for the doctrinal belief of the Catharist of that period. That of Alanus de Insulis, bishop of Aixerre, In Filio Catholic contra heresici temporibus (ib. ccxxv. 300) deals specially with the Albigensian heresy. It appeared towards the close of the century, and was shortly followed by the Libellus contra Catharos (ib. ccvii. 792–792) of Bonaventura, a heretic who had returned to the Church, and who, passing along with the doctrine of the Catharists, the recognized arguments for their refutation. It was owing to a conviction that the arguments advanced by Moneta in his adversus Catharos et Waldenses Libri VI. (Rome, 1743) were also largely applicable to Luthean truths, that the Dominican Provincial, who had published this treatise, together with two noteworthy dissertations on the subject (see L. d'Aguesseau et de Lamot, De Catharum et Lesiannis de Relinquis Simoniaci (vol. 15), is printed in Martini et Durandi, Theologiae summa, vol. iv.; and another text, largely incorporated and with a different title, is given by the Jew, Greist (Opera, xii. ii.).

J. B. S.

ALCHEMY (Greek and Roman).—At present our knowledge of ancient alchemy is based upon a collection of chemical recipes in a Leyden Papyrus (X, ed. Leemans, Pappo Musae Lugduno-Batavicii, ii., 1885), a number of about 1,090 recipes distributed in several libraries, containing a Byzantine and Mediaeval collection of chemical treatises. Chief among these are three Marcians in Venice, dating from the 10th or 11th cent., and a Parisinus in the Bibliothèque Nationale, written in 1474. The materials contained in these manuscripts was edited by Berthelot and Ruelle in the Collection des Alchimistes Grèce, Paris, 1888. Unfortunately, this latter edition is written in such an exact value, not only as regards the constitution of the text, but also as regards the writings of the most important among the authors contained in the collection. For, instead of retaining the order, or as they are known MS, the editors have attempted an arrangement by ages; and to attain this aim they have cut up the collection, so that it is with the greatest difficulty that one can obtain an idea of the whole of them as they are in the original collection. The difficulty is increased by the fact that even our best manuscript, the Marcian, is in reality a second edition, with omis- sions and additions. The earliest, and also the most complete, of the 9th cent., while the younger codices contain much material of very doubtful character. A final judgment must therefore be postponed until some
scholar has re-edited the Corpus Chemicorum in a manner to conform to modern demands. (On this question compare W. Meyer, Verzeichnis der Hand-
schriften im preussischen Staate, t. 1, 5, 1893).

The notices of the ancients themselves in regard to the history of alchemy are scanty. The alleged

mentionments of the ‘science’ in the poet Manilius

(under Tiberius), iv. 243 ff., and in Pliny’s HN

xxxii. 79, referring to an attempt of Caligula to

make gold, are more than doubtful. The first

authenticated primary points to the time of Dio-

cletian. According to Suidas (Διονυσίου καὶ Χαρί
des), the emperor ordered all Egyptian books on the

making of gold and silver to be burnt. We are

then thus back to the beginning of the 3rd cent.

of our era, a period which teemed with secret,

magical, and astrological writings. To the same

time points a notice of the Byzantine historian

Georgios Synkellos (6-9 cent.), that Julius Afri-
canus mentioned the science of chemistry (676, 10,
ed. Bonn). During the 4th cent. the possibility of

alchemy was denied by Themistius (Or. iv. 214,
ed. Petau), and άναλοκία (5th cent.) is un

mentioned by the later Greek philosophers. None

of these authors, however, uses the modern name.

This was formerly believed to be secured by a

passage in the astrologer and Christian writer

Firmicus Maternus (5th cent.), but the passage is

a misinterpretation (cf. the edition by Kroll

Sktische, Leipzig, 1898).

The notice in Suidas points to Egypt as the ori-
ninal home of alchemy. To the same country the

legendary history of the pseudo-science ascribed.

The ancient alchemists knew a great many stories

about the mystic origin of their art. It was said to

have been taught by the fallen angels, by Isis, by

Miriam the sister of Moses (the last trace of that

legend in Early 6th hist. de l’alchimie, ‘Thaumia’ or

modern chemistry), and so forth. But even their

best tradition ascribed the invention of the ‘holy

mystery’ to the philosopher Democritus of Greece.

This tradition takes us at once to Alexandria,

where a luxuriant growth of forgeries under the

name of the atomistic philosopher had sprung up,

largely ascribed to a certain Boles of Mendes,
living about the beginning of our era. (The litera-
ture, which is still in process of study, is given in

Lehrer’s Geschichte der Chemie, li. 516 ff., and

Wissowa, i.e.).

Alchemy was divided on alchemical lines into two
classes, roughly represented by the Levden Papy-
rus and the Collection. The former class is

purely technical, not yet infected by mystical

ideas, and designed for practical purposes. The

second class starts likewise from practical work,

but from the outset is indissolubly interwoven

with mystical thoughts. As time went on

without bringing the alchemists any nearer to

the solution of the eagerly sought mystery, specu-
lations and fantastic hallucinations overlay the

practical nucleus in ever increasing masses, until

nears the end of the Middle Ages the writings of

the adepts had become one vast farrago of

allegories, each one in its turn calling forth a

still more allegorical commentary, until the 18th

cent. brought about a revolution and a return to

practical work, and began the modern science of

chemistry.

We shall now rapidly pass in review the extant

works. The Levden Papyrus belongs to a group of

papyri found together in Egypt in the early part of

the 13th cent. and purchased by the Levden

Library. There are three branches the most

prominent as a related group. They are known by

the letters x (our papyrus), y, and z, the numbers

of the manuscripts (or codices) of which they

belong. The most important, x, is the most

pre-
mixed by the excellent treatment to which they have

been subjected by Albrecht Dieterich (‘Papyri Magici’

in Jahrb. f. alchim. Gesch., 1896, as well as in

Deutsche apostiles des späiteren Albertus, 1891). They

are our most valuable source for studying the

syncretistic religion of later antiquity as

reflected in the mind of the vulgar. With these our
X must be grouped, as it was found with them.

The great mass of its recipes, it is true, contain

nothing but prescriptions for the apprentices of

making gold and silver. But of these prescriptions

are interspersed with others referring to super-

stition. Small words for the most part of the

recipes from the earliest times was considered to be

secretly connected with magic; witness the legents

of the miraculous creations of Baphomet, of Bel

and Bilit, and the theories of the Rosicrucian

Roscher’s Lex. der gr. u. röm. Mythologie, s.) and

the northern legends of the Edda. Traces of the

Middle Ages have also made their way into our

times. Even the village blacksmith is usually

‘the wise man’, if not actually a wizard, of his

village.

Alchemy in the ancient world was always to be

found in X. But a large number of its recipes have

for their aim a revival of the ancient belief in the

very close resemblance to the

prescriptions of the papyrus (cf. Berthelot’s analysis,

in the Histoire des lois de l’alchimie, 1885; also

would not be able to detect the nict.

But two of its prescriptions use a ‘never-ending material’ and a

special kind of ascan. This ascan, originally the Egyptian
tame (αρεμία) of which gold and silver (ελέκτρον)

are here conceived as a material which can give the

qualities of the precious metals to the base ones. It acts, so

we, as a leaven, changing the base foundation into gold

whereas the fumes rise into bread; in other words, we are face
to face with a real form of transmutation.

At this point the second group of chemical literature sets in. Its

most important, at any fundamental, treatise indeed, that of

Democritus, which in its recipes the closest resemblance to the

prescriptions of the papyrus (cf. Berthelot’s analysis, both in

the Histoire des lois de l’alchimie, 1885; also

would not be able to detect the nict.

But two of its prescriptions use a ‘never-ending material’ and a

special kind of ascan. This ascan, originally the Egyptian
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we, as a leaven, changing the base foundation into gold

whereas the fumes rise into bread; in other words, we are face
to face with a real form of transmutation.

We have called the above work fundamental. And so, indeed,

it must be called, in view of the fact that after its existence

nothing new was written, and that all successors either had

no higher ambition than to comment upon it, or started from

it as their basis. Here belong the works of Synesius (not the

Cyrenean historian of that name, although a contemporary of

his), of Olympiodorus (of doubtful age, but perhaps living

under Justinian), and of Zosimus (the most important of them

all, though the most elusive. The question of the latter’s person-

ality, as well as of his time, is so perplexing because for his

writings more than for anything else the editorial method of

the French Collection has been confusing. In the several hundred

quarto pages filled by pieces ascribed to him, many parallel and

even contradicting sections are inserted from old as well as

recent works. These are jumbled together. This much is sure,

however, and borne out by the indications of Olympiodorus, that

of all the authors of the Collection he was the most important.

Certain indications in his writings

are not to leave us in doubt, which point to a conjuncture that he

lived after the philosopher Por-

phyrius, and before Olympiodorus. Hence his only work has been

attributed to Manilius, the founder of Manichaeism. We shall

therefore not err very much if we say, that he lived in the early

years of the 4th cent. of our era. Suidas (s.v.) tells us that

he came from Panopolis in Egypt, and lived in

Alexandria. The later Greek alchemists can not only a passing mention in

this article. Such are Stephanos, contemporary of the emperor

Heracleianus, and the alchemical poets, four in number, who in

Byzantine trimetres revamp the scanty ideas of Stephanos.

Numerous smaller treatises, preserved in MSS, cannot even be

mentioned here. The question of their value is indissolubly

bound up with that of the value of our tradition.

We shall now able to trace in a very few

wors the development of alchemy. Starting from

the purely practical basis of fraudulent craftsm-

ship, in Egypt famous, in the later knowledge of metalwork and crude

chemical know-
edge (cf. the Egyptian porcelains and glasses), it

found its further development in that home of all mystic

alchemy, Alexandria. At the same time we are

well under the influence of that mixture of religions,

of mysticism, and of philosophy which we call either

Syncretism or Gnosis, and pursuing that kind

of knowledge found its ‘Bible’ in the forged

treatise ascribed to Pseudo-Demetrius, the most

mer of that kind of literature, counter-claim met

claim; hence the various traditions as to the real

inventors of alchemy. Conforming partly in ideas and in expressions to Christianity, it escaped the

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fate of other superstitions,—the condemnation of the Church,—was carried to Constantinople, and there vegetated in peace in the deserts of the libraries. On another occasion, through Syrian translations it found its way to the Muslims, was by them carried to the West, and so reached Europe, where it was received with 0xalous avidity, and flourished and finally flowing into the broad stream of true and modern chemistry.

It remains now to speak of the relations between alchemy and philosophy and religion. The recent searches (Untersuchungen, Bonn, 1889-1897), of Dieterich (l.c.), and of Schmelck (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alten Mutter Seele) have shown how enormous was the influence of the Stoic school on the development of popular beliefs in the last cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. In regard to alchemy, however, the proof had been furnished as early as 1506 by Prantl (Deutsche Vierteljährsschrift, 1856) in an article they wrote the sign of the sun, a colossus or tone of the philosophical elements in ancient alchemy. The Stoics, in their endeavour to prove that the whole cosmos was permeated by the Divine, and that the whole nature of man, the soul, could not afford to reject any claim to the supernatural raised by these pseudo-sciences, and so they became the ardent defenders of magic, alchemy, and astrology (for the latter see Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de l'Astronomie grecque). Vice versa these sciences gratefully adopted the apparent aid to be got from the Stoic arsenal of proofs. When the Democritean theory constantly harsps on the refrain 'Nature overcomes nature, nature rejoices in nature, nature rules over nature,' the alchemists simply followed Stoic precedent. Nay, this very tenet is considerably older than the e
xtant works on gold-making. It is ascribed to the mythical Egyptian king Necheopion, the patron saint of alchemy, whose forged works found their entrance into the world of letters about the beginning of our era. The maxin, too, upon which the Leydon Papyrus bases its prescriptions, that a little leaven leaves a whole loaf, belongs here. When later, in the 2nd and 3rd cents. of our era, that jumble of all philosophies, from the Ionians to Neo-Platonism, which we call Hermetic philosophy, gained ascendancy, it too was eagerly adopted by the alchemists. Hermes now becomes the great protagonist and inventor of the science. Nor were the alchemists averse to borrowing from other branches of wisdom, and entered once more into Astrology, again under the influence of Stoic ideas. Not only do some treatises take account of favourable planetary aspects, but the theory that the planets exercise a profound sympathetic influence over the component parts of the universe found its expression in the small but significant fact that the metals are written in the manuscripts by a sort of planetary notation; for gold they use the sign of the sun, for silver that of the moon, and for quicksilver that of Hermes, whence the English name 'mercury.' No less strong is the influence of that syncretism which we also call Gnostic, which finds its expression in the last chapter, Omega, by telling us that it belongs to the sphere of Kronos, but only κατά τευχαν φησί, while the δωρεάν φησί is known only to the great hidden Nithis of the ancients. Not only the name itself is Gnostic, but still more so the distinctions between a corporal and an incorporeal expression; for this distinction between Jesus in the body and without a visible hand forms the very foundation of Gnostic speculations.

This leads us into the sphere of religion. Now we must not expect to find in the alchemists any new information about the religious speculations of those times. These men, locked up as they were in their narrow labor in the dark cellars of the world, could only reflect what was saturating their minds at that time. Everything is 'One and All.' But nevertheless, individual deities, like Hermes, Kronos, Aphrodite, play their part. Nor were the alchemists averse to calling in the help of Jewish Gnosticism, and even of Zoroastrianism, for the simplicity and unity as it appeared to them. Zosimus embodied in his commentary a piece containing highly interesting speculations about Adam. But, on the whole, we may repeat what Usener says about the speculations of the Gnostics: 'like a sultry breath of air carrying to us wondrous scents from an unapproachable garden, such is the impression of the Gnostic (and alchemistic) teachings.'

To the most ancient among the Arabian authors who dealt with alchemy was a royal personage — Hālid, son of Yazid, or Mu'āwiyah—who died A.H. 85 (A.D. 704). There are three letters on alchemy ascribed to him: his master is said to have been a Syrian monk, Morienus or Marbanus, and he illustrated a treatise on alchemy to him: Liber de compositione Alchemiae, quem edidit Morienus Romanus Calid regi Egyptorum, tr. in 1182 by Robert Castrensis (cf. Leclerc, l.e. 64). Compositions ascribed to Hālid and translated into Latin are published in the Thea
trum Chemicum and in the Bibliotheca Chemicæ; the Arabic text of these is not extant.

The historian Ibn Hālid, in his Progymnasia (ii. 207; in de Sane's Fr. translation), questioned the authenticity of the alchen
alchemical works of Jocul the Umayyad, on the ground that this prince was a Barmil Arab who lived between the 1st and the 2nd centuries. The scientific activity of the Arabs, and that therefore he could not have been acquainted with the earliest form of alchemy. However, the tradition is very exact, both in the Book of Songs (Kitāb al-Aṣfalah, xvi. 88-98), and in Musulmān (Les Périod. Or. ed. by le Breton, p. 270, Fr. ed. by Berthelot, 1891). The historian says that alchemists acknowledge Hālid, son of Yazid, as the compiler of their notices. The second name to be mentioned is that of Geber. This famous person, who became illustrious and legendary in the Christian Middle Ages, is known under the Arab name of Abū Musa Ja'br, son of Ḥallāj; his tribal name is 'the Azīde; from the place of his birth he is named 'of Ta's' or 'of Ta'rūs;' he is sometimes called al-Ḥarrānī, which agrees with the tradition connecting him with the Sabians of Harrān. The surname 'al- Umawī, the Umayyad,' which is sometimes given him, represents a tradition according to which he had Hālid, son of Yazid, as master; but other authors describe him as a pupil of Ja'br, who is also credited with a profound knowledge of occult sciences, and to whom bibliographers ascribe works on science and divination (cf. Hafiẓ Ḥalfa, v. 277, 280; Ibn Hallījah, No. 180). Lastly, there is occasionally mentioned with the name of Geber the epithet 'Ṣafī'; this is explained by the fact that Geber, having been converted from Sabacism to Islam, is said to have exhibited great zeal for the Musulmān faith; thus a visible hand must have been added, however, at a later period.

We should clearly pay no heed to a view men
tioned in the Fihrist (p. 554 ff.), according to which
Alchemy (Muhammadan)

Geber is a mythical personage. This famous alchemist did certainly exist; but very little is known about his life. A reliable tradition represents him as usually residing at Kufa; he is sometimes connected with the Harran-mendes (Hedra and Haji) Hafza, iii. p. 558). He flourished about the year A.H. 100 (A.D. 718). A whole series of works is attributed to him; their titles are generally symbolic, and their dates range from the seventh to the fourteenth century. There are twenty-two Arabic works placed under his name in our libraries. Berthelot and Houdas have published five of these treatises under the titles of: Book of Royalty; Small Book of Balances; Book of Mercury, a work revised by a pupil; extracts from the Book of Concentration; and Book of Oriental Mercury. The Latin treatises ascribed to Geber do not correspond to the Arabic works; besides, they exhibit a more advanced stage of chemical science. Some of these are: Geberi regis Arabum suumae perfectionis ministerii, Gedani (Danzig), 1682; Geberi philosophi de alichemia libri vii., Nuremberg, 1545 (cf. Steinschneider, ZDMG xlii. 1891, 125). The treatise, entitled Book of the Seventy of (John), is the only one which seems to have preserved some fragments of Geber's or his pupils, judging from the resemblance between the titles of the Arabic and those of the English work of the same name which the Fisrtor mentions and ascribes to Geber (Latin MS 7156, Paris; cf. Berthelot, La chimie au moyen age, i. 323).

There were several alchemists in the 3rd cent. A.H.; the two most famous are the as-Salih Dhu-n-Nun al-Miṣri of Ikhmim (d. 245 = A.D. 859) and Ibn al-Walshithiya, the imaginative author of the Nabatäin Agriculture, who wrote during the second half of the 4th cent. under the reign of the first Caliph. We possess three works of Dhu-n-Nun on alchemy—in poetry, dialogue, and miscellany (cf. R. A. Nicholson in J.R.S., 1906, p. 311 ff.). We have various works of Ibn al-Walshithiya, especially a Treasury of Wisdom or Secrets (Kawṣ al-akhirān or Kawṣ al-asrār), which is a whole system of alchemy. We may add to these names of Muhammad, son of Umain (rather than Amayl) at-Tamini, who composed, among other things, an essay on ancient Egyptian paintings; and that of Uthman, son of Kawād of al-Ikhmim, who disputed with Ibn al-Walshithiya.

In the 4th cent. (10th A.D.) appears the medical philosopher 'Razes,' Abū Bakr Muhammad, son of Zayd. He was one of the rare exceptions to the scientific study of alchemy, and almost a martyr to this science. As he had dedicated his famous book on medicine, al-Manṣūrī, to the Sāmānīd prince Abū Sālīḥ Mansūr, son of Isāk, he afterwards as he presented him with his plea, 'The Establishment of Alchemy (Kitāb iktībāl al-kimyā). The prince asked him to verify some of his experiments, and finding him unable to do so, he struck him across the face with a whip, and blinded him. He died in A.H. 311 or 320. We may mention his Kitāb al-asrār, 'Book of Secrets,' on alchemy; a Preparatio Salis Aromatice, placed under his name, is published in the Theatrum Chemicum, iii. No. 61.

To the same century belongs another important writer, Maslama al-Majriti, i.e. of Madrid. This learned encyclopedist (d. 392 or 393 = A.D. 1004 or 1007) after travelling in the East, brought thence to his native country a collection of the famous works of the 'Brehiten of Purity,' of which he probably made a new recension. Being skilled in alchemy, he wrote specially on this subject a book al-Ma'tūdī, 'Treasury of Accomplishments,' dated 348.

We may mention in passing another prince, who was reputed to be an alchemist, the celebrated Kifā al-Halifa al-Manṣūr al-Hākim (d. 411 = A.D. 1020), the son of the latter the Druze prince Qarun. The only famous names that we find after him are those of Ghazzālī the great philosopher, Tuqār, and Jilḏakī. Ghazzālī (451-503 = A.D. 1111) believed in alchemy, and wrote some articles on the subject; one of them is extant at Berlin, Magāla al-λunta, 'Lecture on Preservation, Taḫṭārī, 'Doctrines of the Wise,' the Hāsin, son of 'Ali, who died about 515, wazir of the Seldinid Sultan Mas'ūd at Mosul, became famous as an alchemist, wrote on alchemy, Žāmiʿ al-asrār, 'Compendium of All the Secrets' of the alchemists' stone, and a commentary on Geber's Book of Mercury. Jilḏakī (Ali, son of Aidinur, son of Ali), who died in 743 = A.D. 1342, is the author of several works on alchemy and the search for the 'elixir' (cf. on this author S. de Scuy, Notice et extraits, iv. 105; Leclerc, ii. 289).

Alchemy studies continued in Islam during the time of the literary decline and down to the present day. In the 10th cent. A.H. (16th A.D.) authors like Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn Ṣanūsī, the philosopher Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn Qazwīnī, the Baktari and the Baktari, are still alchemists in Morocco and at Mecca.

2. Doctrine.—The doctrine of alchemy appears among the Arabs very philosophical aspects; it implies various and contrary systems, all lot of which are derived from general philosophy. This connexion with philosophy is so very close, that we come upon treatises beginning with real philosophical introductions; e.g. the Treatise on Concentration (4th cent.) ascribed to the Greek universe; essence and its nine accidents. It is not difficult to see with what philosophical school the alchemists are, as a rule, connected. It is with the great school of Neo-Platonic origin, which developed in the Muslim world when the Greek sciences were being studied there, and it was their height about the 10th cent. of the Christian era (4th A.H.). The alchemists are connected more especially with the branches of this school which professed the so-called 'illuminative' doctrines. In these sects a disposition to syncretism prevailed: according to them, truth was possessed in the different nations by wise men who expressed it in different ways, and who are at one time called 'heretical' by the philosophers of very different opinions. The same inclination towards syncretism is shown in the alchemical writings. The alchemists do not know whether they owe their art to Egypt rather than Persia, or to India rather than China. The ancestors whom they claim are at one time quite mythical, e.g. Hermes and Agathodemon; at another historical or semi-historical, e.g. Qūran, the Korah of the Bible, brother-in-law of Moses, whose treasures are mentioned in the Qurān (xxvii. 76, 79, xix. 38. xx. 25); or, again, queen Cleopatra, the emperor Heraclius, or Bilqis, the queen of Sheba. To these soothsayers and kings the alchemists add the philosophers and scholars of classical antiquity, especially Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Democritus, Dioscorides, and Galen. This grouping would not give any very clear information, if we did not know from the history of philosophy that the list is framed according to the usage of the Alexandrians and the Sabaeans, and that therefore it was in these two groups of scholars that the Muslims found their masters. As alchemists, we have already remarked that Geber probably belonged to their sect; they carried the practice of syncretism to a great length; they collected and fixed a large number of legends of various origins. The addition of Pāṭīmūs II., of Qārūn and of Bilqis, of the Persian names of Jāmā' and of
Maghis the sage, to the Egyptian legends of Hermes and Agathodaimon, must have been their work. More especially Alexandrian are the legends, of frequent occurrence in the alchemical writings, which refer to the Pyramids and the great ruins of Egypt, and represent these monuments as ancient laboratories, or at least as having been used as depots for the secrets of the sciences. The tradition which must be noted is that of the capable series of discoveries ascribed to the Pyramids, which is undoubtedly Alexandrian, as is also the one which represents another woman, Mary the Copt, as lecturing on alchemy in the presence of various learned men (Copt. Roemer) (cf. de S. Schneel, Mathem. § 140; Berthelot, La Chimie au moyen âge, iii, passim). One of the Arabic treatises published by Berthelot and Houdas bears the name of an Egyptian sage Osiris.

Another tendency which appears from time to time in the alchemical writings certainly arises from Neo-Platonism, viz. the tendency to mysticism. It makes itself evident in two ways: (1) by founding the art of alchemy on a religion which was recognised by the ancient prophets, e.g. by Hermes or by Qurân; or (2) by making moral conditions intervene in the production of the great work: God co-operates in the undertaking, and the alchemist must work under the conditions of the terrestrial state of purity by heart. Even in the cases in which this condition is not formally laid down, the alchemic writings bear a strongly religious stamp.

It is a very wide-spread custom among writers on occult subjects to connect the metals with the planets. Gold is held to correspond with the sun, silver with the moon, the other metals, mercury, iron, tin, lead, correspond respectively to Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. This connexion was made long ago, but the Muslims ascribe it more especially to the Salamans; and this provides a new proof of the important part which that sect took in the transmission of ancient Ideas, Greek as well as Jewish and Chaldæan.

The part played by Syrian scholars in this work of preserving and handing down scientific knowledge was greater even than that of the Salamans; and it is better known. It was through Syrian works that the Muslims became acquainted with the chief Greek alchemists, especially Zosimus (cf. Berthelot, La Chimie au moyen âge; recently the doctrine, or rather the postulate, on which alchemy is based? This postulate, in its essential elements, is very simple. It holds that metals differ from each other in degree, but not in nature, and that any one of the lower metals, like lead or copper, may be transmuted into a more perfect metal like silver or gold. This postulate is connected with or implies a various idea frequently expressed by alchemists, that of the ‘life’ of the mineral. The metal or the mineral is really regarded as a living being, which is engendered and develops in the womb of the earth, where it is subjected to various conditions, such as heat or cold, which its perfection. This theory is expressed, e.g., in the treatise of the ‘Brethren of Purity’ devoted to mineralogy. Dieteric, the editor of that treatise, remarks that it is impossible to make a mineral a stone without its being transformed. The artificer, one might say rather, Neo-Platonic principles, and that it is inserted in a series of treatises based on those of Aristotle, although we do not know any work on minerals by that philosopher.

In that treatise the doctrine is represented thus. From the elements which lie like potentialities in the womb of the earth, there are first of all formed, as energies, mercury and sulphur; from these are afterwards formed other metals which are good or bad, noble or base, according to circumstances, and which are only in consequence of certain injuries undergone that the material does not become silver or gold immediately. After having wounded the Alchemy endeavours to repair these injuries (Dieteric, Die Abhandlungen der Indian et-Cèle, Leipzig, 1886, Vorwort, p. 13, and text, p. 157). The same idea is expressed in the works of Zosimus (cf. W. R. Waterhouse, i, p. 267), and in this work also it is ascribed to Aristotle; the metals in their mines undergo certain injuries which cause their imperfections: these need to be removed; and these injuries—unpleasant, softness, and disagreeable sound. In this book also, means of getting rid of these defects are suggested.

In the works of Geber published by Berthelot, and especially in the Book of Merog, whose authenticity is very much disputed, it is said that metals is consistently expounded; a regular anthropomorphic theory is applied to mineralogy; not only the idea of ‘generation’ applies to metal, but also the idea of ‘education’; all these conditions, it is said, are necessarily the same as in the case of a human being. This doctrine is expressed with equal force in the treatise by al-Julâb, published in the same collection and apparently quite ancient. According to these various alchemists, the formation and the life of metals require time, like our own; to bring the metal in the womb of the earth to its perfect state which is the state of gold, nature takes a very long time, more than a thousand years, according to the most wide-spread alchemistic tradition; the work of alchemy is to imitate nature, and at the same time to discover more rapid means than hers for the development of the ‘spiritual education’.

The anthropomorphic theory of alchemists has one more aspect; it applies to chemical bodies the ideas of life and death, of body and soul, of matter and mind. In this sense the idea of alchemical forces is very interesting; these subtle, intangible, invisible forces are compared to ‘spiritual forces’; the force of the magnet, which attracts iron through other materials, and that of poison, which can destroy an organism where care calls, is compared to ‘spiritual forces’ (Berthelot, Geber: ‘Traité de la matri- corde,’ p. 175). In bodies there are some substances earthly and gross, and others pure and light; the former are called, ‘dead,’ the latter ‘living’; these notions of death and life are also employed in a relative way: e.g. sulphur and arsenic are living when they are mixed with substances inferior to them, such as talc; but they appear earthly and dead when they are united with live mercury (ib. p. 178). In every body, and a fortiori in every combination, it may be supposed that there is a material part and a spiritual, a soul and a body. The soul is infused into the body; its nature, however, is in a sense simply defined, it gives and it gives a kind of immateriality.

A common task for chemists consists in giving a soul to each body, by first purifying souls and bodies, and then infusing into each body the soul which suits it. Geber, still following the idea that there were certain injuries caused by nature, even speaks of ‘restoring’ to the body the soul which has gone out of it: this is another aspect of a chemical operation; thus, mercury is the soul which suits gold and the other metals. The spirit also is capable of a sort of education; not only must it be fit to unite forcibly with its body, and for that reason be pure, but it must also be firm, it must resist fire, and to this end must, as far as possible, partake of the nature of fire.

In practice, the aim of the alchemist’s efforts is to find the substance, a living substance, or spirit, which, when combined with the body of the imperfect metal, previously prepared and purified, will change it into perfect metal. Alchemists use various means, and look in various places to find it. In some cases, it does not matter what this is; in others, it is more important, they even make use of organic bodies in its preparation; they discuss whether it is excremen, blood, hair, or egg: as a rule, they describe it as a stone; it is ‘the Philosopher’s stone, the very precious stone’, and then, during the grinding it is sprinkled with...
water mixed with drugs and simples. The liquid obtained in this way is the 'elixir.'

3. Discussions of the doctrine.—During the course of Arabic literary history, various persons assumed an attitude of opposition to the alchemical doctrine. However, this is not the place to treat of these oppositions. It must, however, be stated that the objections raised were not directed against the study of bodies and their properties, but only against the assumption peculiar to alchemists, concerning the possibility of the transmutation of metals. In the 3rd cent., A.D. the philosopher al-Kindi declared himself against the alchemists. He wrote a treatise on 'the error of those who think that gold and silver can be obtained otherwise than in their mines,' and another on 'the deceits of alchemists.' A pupil of al-Kindi, Dukais, took up the cause of the alchemists, however, and wrote two treatises on their science, cited in the Fliris. Razes composed a 'refutation' of the objections of al-Kindi. Fārābī believed in alchemy, but Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), was opposed to it (see AVICENNA). Taghri杜兰 afterwards defended alchemy against Avicenna.

Avicenna's works, like all others, is based on the assumption that the seven metals differ in their specific qualities, each of them forming a definite species with real characteristics; Fārābī believed, on the contrary, that all metals consist of the same species, and he considered their qualities merely as accidents. Taghri杜兰, bringing in the Divine power, observes, in addition, that it is not a question of producing a specific difference in the metal treated, but of making it receive this difference from its Creator. Avicenna also objects, like al-Kindi, that it is incredible that there can be a shorter way of bringing metals to their perfect state than that which is followed by nature.

The other objections brought forward against alchemy are: that no one has ever been pointed out with certainty as having achieved the great work; that it is especially poor people who study alchemy; that alchemists counterfeit counterfeit gold, and in that way wrong the public, and are liable to punishment by law. This latter accusation refers to the cases in which alchemists succeeded in giving to metal what they called a dye, i.e. in covering it with a layer which had the appearance and some of the properties of gold. The alchemists replied, weakly enough, it is true, to these objections, by saying that the word 'dye' was fast, and would last several centuries.

The cosmographer Dimishq (ed. Fraenh., p. 97) and the historian Ibn Haldūn (Prolegomena, de Saine's Fr. tr. iii. 207 ff.), opponents of alchemy, speak in an interesting way about alchemists, and relate the objections which were raised against them.

4. Special contribution of Muslims to alchemy.—It is very difficult to determine exactly the share due to Muslims in the progress of chemical discoveries. It was in this point, very slender. The most ancient Arabic works are adaptations of, or commentaries on, Greek works; this is typical. The discoveries which Western tradition has ascribed to Geber, those of aqua regalis, of sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and nitrate of silver, are not found in the Arabic works placed under this alchemist's name, but only in some Latin pamphlets at the end of the 13th cent.; it seems, therefore, that the admiration affected by the Western peoples for Muslim alchemists is due not so much to their real worth, as to the general confusion and lack of knowledge in the East for masters, especially of the occult sciences.

It is probable, however, that Muslims made progress in chemistry as applied to medicine, in dyeing, and in the art of enamelling. Al-Kindī, besides others, wrote about colouring matters, glass-making, the processes of removing stains from cloth, and other similar subjects. These particular industries have not yet been studied minutely enough.

Every one knows that our languages are indebted to Arabic chemistry for certain words, which are in some cases Arabic words, in others Greek words preceding by the Arabic article; e.g. alchemy, alchemic, abuladic, abudelic, elixir; 'toward alchemy' has been derived from χυδα, 'mixture.' Wiedemann has shown that this word originally denoted the very substance which has the property of accomplishing transmutation, the elixir, and not the sum of the ways which help to find it. Wiedemann, Beiträge, i. p. 331; J. Gildemeister, ZDMG, 1876. The kohl, which has given its name to alcohol, was originally a very fine powder; it is the black powder which Oriental ladies use for blackening round their eyes. The use of the word was generalized and extended to various powders and to liquids. Elixir is said to be derived from Greek ἐξερή, 'dry powder' (J. Gildemeister, i.c.); it is from ἐξερήτωρ, a verb of the grammatical form, that it is an Arabic word and belongs to the root קדם, 'to grind,' al-ikalir being 'the thing ground,' 'the powder.'


Bib. CARA DE VAUX.

ALCHEMY (European).—The study of alchemy in Europe is traceable to the schools of Spain. J. Ferguson, in his notes to the 'Catalogue of the Chemical, Chemical, and Pharmaceutical books of James Young of Kelly and Durris,' notes which form the latest storehouse of information on the history of alchemy in Europe, says, under the head of Michael Scotti de lein., to which it had been brought by the Arabs, that the art first found place in Europe? (Bibliotheca Chemica, Glasgow, 1806).

The Khalifate of Cordova reached its highest splendour under the rule of Abtarrabrahim III. (A.D. 912-961) and Al-Hakam II. (961-976). The libraries of the rulers, the nobles, and persons of importance, numbering in some cases 400,000 volumes, attracted students from all parts of Europe (Rafael Altamiranda of Crevea, Historia de Española, i. 275).

1. Among the first to profit by this revival of learning was Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. (990-1003). While still a student in the Abbey of Arvillae in Auvergne, he attracted the attention of Borel, Count of Barcelona. He returned with him to Spain, and is said to have visited Cordova during the reign of Al-Hakam II. It was in the schools of Spain that he studied the sciences of arithmetic, geometry, astrology, and chemistry, which at a later date brought him into dispute with Proclus. During the Presidency of John XIII. (963-973) he visited Rome in the company of Count Borel and Hatto, Bishop of Vieh. He then made the acquaintance of the Emperor Otho I., and was recommended by him to the notice of the archbishop of Rheims. By Otho II. (973-983) he was
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appointed Abbot of Bobbio. Driven from Bobbio by the neighbouring nobles, he returned to Rheims, where he taught the 'whole range of human science.' On the recommendation of Arnulf, he was made Archbishop of Rheims in 991. Forced to resign the see in 996, he took refuge at the Court of Otho III. (995-1002), and by his influence in 998 he became Archbishop of Ravenna. In the following year he succeeded to the Papacy. Thus by the close of the 10th century, the learning of Spain was introduced into France and Italy and the Imperial Court (Milman, Lat. Chr. iii. pp. 351-349).

2. The influence of Gerbert did not end with his death. His pupil, Fulbert of Chartres (1007-1052), carried on his work. Adelmann, Bishop of Breslia, in a letter to Berengarius, speaks of their joint studies 'in Academia Carnotensi, sub nostro illo venerabilis Socrate, nempe Fulberto' (Bar. Ann. Eccl. 1004, 6). The Schools of Berengarius in Tours and Angers to some extent carried on the tradition of Gerbert's and the theological controversy of the early Scholasticism of the 11th century. The tradition of the wide learning of Gerbert may be traced as one cause of the recognition of the philosophical studies of Spain in the 12th century. (Neander, Corpus Christianorum, ser. Lat. vol. iv. 285).

3. The fall of the Khalfate of Cordova in 1031 did not check the progress of learning in Spain. The kings of Seville, Cordova, Malaga, Granada, Almeria, Valencia, Zaragoza, Toledo, and Badajoz were visited with one another in the patronage they gave to philosophy and science. The studies of the former period were continued, and special attention was given to the natural sciences—medicine, chemistry, botany, and astronomy. The al-Bajari of Malaga made a large collection of minerals and plants, and under the Muwahhid Khalif Ya'qub al-Mansur (1186) the Giralda of Seville became the chief observatory in Europe. In philosophy, Averroes of Cordova (1126-1186) won a European reputation as the commentator of Aristotle and Plato.

4. The conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI. of Castile in 1085 was another step in the propagation of the Arabic learning in Europe. A school of translators was founded at Toledo which reached the highest point of its fame in the reign of Alfonso VIII. (1130-1150). Among those who were attracted to Spain were Hermann of Biala, a disciple of Hermann of Germany, Gerard of Cremona, the Englishmen Daniel of Morlay, Robert the Archdeacon, and Michael Scott (Rad. Altamira Crevea, op. cit. i. 454-514). It was in 1182 that Robert Castrensis translated the Liber de compositione Alchemie, associated with the names of Häid and Morenies. To the same period belongs the teaching of Alcin de Lille, known as 'Doctor universals,' who had been a monk at Clairvaux, and was afterwards Bishop of Aixerre.

5. Michael Scott was among the first to bring alchemy into prominence in Europe under the patronage of D. Frederick in 1219. He studied Arabic in Sicily, and spent ten years in Spain. At Toledo he translated Aristotle's treatise on Natural History from the Arabic, with the help of his pupil. In 1217 he translated an Arabic work on the sphere. This is a link with the studies of Gerbert, who in a letter to Remigius, a monk of Treves, excuses himself for not sending a sphere, owing to his time being occupied with civil business.

6. Albert the Great has the merit of having brought the study of alchemy as a branch of philosophy into touch with the scientific studies of the Middle Ages. The Great Chronicle of Belgium in 1480 speaks of him as 'magnus in magia, major in philosophia, maximus in theologla.' Born at Lausingen in Swabia, he studied at Paris and Padua, and in the early part of the 13th century, taught in the Schools of Cologne. In 1228 he was called to Paris, but after three years returned to Cologne. He was the most distinguished among the Dominicans of Germany. In 1260 he was summoned to Rome by Pope Alexander IV., and was made Bishop of Ratisbon. He resigned the see after three years, and retired again to his studies and his lectures at Cologne, where he died in 1280. He was the author of the Thomas of Canterbury, and the Preface to the translation of the Liber de Alchimia (Alb. Magn. opp. omn., Paris, vol. xxxvii.) is a practical treatise on the transmutation of metals, the structure of furnaces, and the various methods to be used in the alchemical experiment. This treatise is valuable as indicating the wide-spread interest which was then shown by all classes in the study of alchemy: 'Inveni multos predlices litteratos, Abbates, Prepositos, Canonicos, Physicos, et Historicos, qui pro oemde arte magnas fecerunt expensas atque labores, et tandem deficieban quotiam artem nec viderim' (ib.).

He persevered where others had failed: 'Ego vero non desperavi, quin facerem labore et expensis inutilibus' (Lib. de Acl., Præf.).

He considers it a true art: 'Probat artem Alchimiae esse veram (ib. c. 3).

He believes all metals can be transmuted into gold and silver, represented in astrological terms as Sun and Moon: 'Et ut breviter dicam, omnia metallia transsubstantiantur in Solm et Lunam' (ib. c. 19).

He speaks of the Elixir: 'De his quatuor spiritibus fit tinctura quæ dictur Elisir arabcic, ferendumen laticis' (ib. c. 10).

Fermentation and chemical reaction seem to be used as equivalent terms.

7. Thomas Aquinas was the pupil of Albert the Great, and afterwards at Paris. He, like his master, was a member of the Dominican Order. He graduated at Paris, and taught not only at Cologne under Albert, but at Paris, at Rome, and at other cities in Italy. He refused the Archbishopric of Naples, and died at the Abbey of Fossa Nuova near Piperno on his way to the Council of Lyons in 1274. Ferguson, in his Bibl. Chem., discusses the authenticity of the Thesaurus Alchimiae secretissimam ad fratrem Beatus, which is attributed to him, and leaves it an open question. The Summa contains one or two passages which directly or indirectly refer to alchemy, although the names are drawn from animal and plant life rather than from the mineral world. The principle of the transmutation of metals may be inferred from one of the earliest definitions of the Summae: 'Respondeo ob aliquid solus Deus est omnino immutabilis, omnis autem creatura aliquo modo est mutabilis. Scientia est enim, quod est aliquid quod non est aliud, et quod est aliud quod non est aliud. Cum aliquid per potentiam, quod in ipso est. Alio modo per potentiam, quæ in altero est' (Summae, pt. i. q. ix. art. ii.).

God alone is immutable: all else is transmutable, in different ways. In one place Aquinas refers to the relation that exists between the metals and the stars: 'Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod effectus aliquis inventari assimilari causae agenti dupliciter. Uno modo secundum
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9. The most prominent names among the alchemists of the last part of the 13th cent. are Raymondus Lullius and Arnold of Villanova. The former of these, the Raymond Lully of the later English alchemists, was born in Catalonia, and held, in his early years, a high position in the Court of Aragon. Disappointed in a romantic attachment, he renounced the world, and gave himself up to a life of study and mission work in Africa. His work witnesses to a remarkable combination of spiritual devotion and scientific research, with a passionate enthusiasm for the conversion of the Moors. He devoted himself at first to the study of Arabic. He undertook his first mission to Africa in 1271, but met with little success. He was at Paris in 1281, where he became acquainted with Arnold Villanova. In 1287 he visited Rome, and in 1291 Montpellier. During these years he did great works, the De Generalis six Magna and the Libri xii. Principiorum Philosophiae contra Averrois. In 1292 he went to Africa a second time, and was imprisoned at Tunis. In 1295 he was in Naples, and spending his time in study and Arthur was again in Paris in 1308, where he is supposed to have met Duns Scotus. In 1309 he made another missionary journey to Africa, and succeeded in converting seventy disciples of Averroes at Buns, the ancient Hippo, the see of St. Augustine. Once again, as an old man of eighty, he made a last journey to Africa, in 1315, to be stoned and maltreated at Bugia. He lived only to see the shores of the island of Majorca. When he was buried in a character, he was buried on one of his own estates. In his last will, the Codicillus sive Vade Mecum quo foantes alchemico artes et philosophiae reconditoris tractatur, he says that he had acquired 22 tons of quicksilver, lead, and tin into gold. The tradition that he was brought from Rome by Cremer, Abbot of Westminster, and that he coined the rose-nobles for Edward III., does not seem to rest on historical fact (Pertinax Bld. Chem., p. 95). Arnold of Villanova, his contemporary, was probably also a Spaniard. He was born in 1245, and died in 1310. He studied amongst the Arabs of Spain, and it is related, by the man of André, that he succeeded in the genuine conversion of iron bars into pure gold at Rome (Bibl. Chem. p. 95). At least these alchemists of the 13th cent. in their researches seem to have discovered the secret of a long and useful and strenuous life. Albert the Great died at the age of 87, Roger Bacon at about 78, Raymond Lully at 80, and Arnold Villanova at 65, at a period when the average life was not so long as it is now.

10. The most distinguished pupil of Lully and Villanova was Pope John XXII. (1316-1334), who also lived to the age of 90. He worked at alchemy in the Papal palace at Avignon, and is said to have left behind him 25,000,000 florins. At the same time he wrote a letter in which he censured the black magic which was practised in nostra curta by certain clergy,—Joannes de Leunovicis, Jacobus dictus systemator, and a barber-surgeon, described as Joannes de Amantio, medicus, or, in another place, 'barberius' (Raynal, Ann. Écl. 1317, 53).

11. The practice of the art of alchemy was continued throughout Europe in the 14th cent. on the lines laid down by the masters of the 13th cent. John Cremer, Abbot of Westminster, after studying the art for thirty years, worked at Westminster in the reign of Edward III. (1327-1357).
Rupecissa, or Jean de Roquetaillede, was a Franciscan of Avuricla in Aquitaine. He was imprisoned by Innocent VI. in 1356–1357. He quotes Gerber, Lullius, and Villanovan in Liber Isar, a treatise on alchemy, which was practised as the incubation of the philosophical egg whence issued the marvellous quintessence.' Petrus Bonus of Ferrara was the author of the Preciosa Margarita nova et divina philosophorum Lapid. It was written in 1330, and published at Venice in 1456. The term 'fermentum,' used by Albert the Great as the Latin of elixir, is applied by Petrus Bonus to the philosophical stone. It is also used as the incipit of perfecting it: 'Apud philosophos fermentum dupliciter viaticus dicit: uno modo lapis philosophorum et alios compositus compositus et completus in comparatione ad metalla; ali o modo illud quod est percutiens haec et ipsam complevit.'

The chemical reactions due to it are compared with the working of yeast: 'De primo modo dicitur quod sicut fermentum pasta visiit pastam et ad se convertit semper, ac et lapis convertit ad se metalla reliqua. Et si una pars fermenti pastis habet convertire partes pastis et non convertit, sit et hic lapis habet convertire plurimas partes metallorum ad se, et non convertit' (Petrus Bonus, op. p. Schittenberger, On Fermentation, p. 11). Schittenberger adds: 'This property of transmitting a force to a body from which it is withdrawn by the process was precisely that which ought to characterize the philosophical stone, which was so much desired.' Since these words were written, the discovery of radium has given to chemistry an element which also appears to have the property contained in the famous words: 'It is a stone, which by conversion plus metalum ad se, et non convertit.'

Nicolas Flamel belonged to the latter part of the 15th century. He was born in Pontoise about 1350, and died in 1418 at the age of 88. His discovery of the elixir of life in 1582 seems to have met with its reward.

12. Among the prominent names of the 15th cent. are Basil Valentine and Isaac of Holland. The former is considered the author of The Tripartite Treatise, but there is considerable doubt as to the facts of his life and the authorship of the works attributed to him. The chief fact is a record in an Erfurt Chronicle under the year 1415: 'Eodem aetate Basilius Valentins in Divi Petri monasterio vivit.' There is a similar doubt as to the identity of Isaac of Holland. The life of Bernard, Count of Treviso, covers the whole century. Born in 1406, he visited Paris in 1490 at the age of another instance of the secret of long life won by the alchemists probably by means of study, method, and application to work. He distinguishes between the results of the labour of the alchemists and their embellishing products of a sophistical nature. Here there is some echo of the phrase of Thomas Aquinas: 'aurum sophisticatum.'

England produced three prominent alchemists in this century. George Ripley was born about 1415, and was a Canon Regular of St. Augustine at Bridlington. He visited Rome in 1477, and returned in 1478 after having discovered the secret of transmutation. He is the author of The Compound of Alchemy, or the Ancient Hidden Art of Alchemie: Containing the right and perfected Way to make the Philosopher's Stone, Aurum potabile, with other excellent Compositions. His Twelve Gates of Alchemy give some insight into the methods of the art in England in the 15th century. They are: Calcination, Solution, Separation, Conjunction, Putrefaction, Conglutination, Ciliation, Sublimation, Fermentation, Conjugation, Multiplication, Projection. He died in 1490 at the age of 75. Thomas Dalton lived in the middle of the century, and received a powder from a Convent of Monks of Erfurt which he put to use until his death. Thomas Norton of Bristol wrote his Crede Mihi, or Ordinal of Alchemy, in 1477. He says: 'I speak also the Elixir of life. Which me bereft a merchant's wife.'

The quintessens I made also, With shorter secrets and many pyre. Which sinful people took me toro To my great pain and much more woe.'

13. The 16th cent. saw a further development of alchemy into the more exact sciences of chemistry, alchemy, and medicine. Paracelsus, in his student wanderings an alchemist, became by practice a physician, by experience a chemist. He was at once a great diseaser and a great teacher. He wrecked his work by his bombast, his life by his self-indulgence. At the same time, to use Browning's words, 'the tittle of Paracelsus to be considered the father of modern chemistry is indisputable.' Gerardus Vossius says of him: 'Nobilium hanc medicinae partem, diu sequitur avarorum etate, quasi ab orco revocavit Th. Paracelsus' (de Philosophia et Phil. sect., ix. 9). It appears also from his treatise de Philosocietia that he had discovered the circulation of the blood. Lavater says that 'though an astrological enthusiast,' he was 'a man of prodigious genius' (de Naturae Rerum, Holoferni's tr., vol. lit. p. 178). There is a reference to his use of seeds and on the evidence of his secretary, Opinnius:

'All illud quid in capillo habuit, ab ipso Azoth appellatum, medicinam solvit, praeterea quae crucem et liftavit Philosolphum putant' (Melch. Adam). Browning adds: 'This famous sword was no laughing matter in those days, and it is now a material feature in the idea of the knight. Azoth was simply 'landmann sum.' But in his time he was commonly believed to possess some kind of power to convert several kinds of contagious diseases and transmuting metals. Opinnius often witnessed, as he declares, both these effects, as did also Franciscus, the servant of Paracelsus. He describes, in a letter to Vindelicus, a successful projection at which he was present, and the results of which, good goldangles, were conformed to in keeping the characteristic.

Paracelsus, otherwise Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus ab Hohenheim, was born in Einsiedeln in 1493. He studied medicine under his father at Villach, and alchemy under Trithem, Bishop of Spalato, in 1535. He was a secretary, in 1535, of the Emperor Charles V. Paracelsus spent his early life in travel:

'Patris auxilio primum, deinde propria industria dociles docimatis vivos in Germania, Hispania, Gallia, Asia, qua maxima Europae regionibus, nactus est praecipius' (Melch. Adam, in Vit. Gerin. Mol.) The passage illustrates the wide interest in alchemy throughout Europe at the close of the 15th century.

Under the patronage of Sigismund Fugger, Paracelsus spent much of his life in mines of Bohemia, and himself speaks of his researches into folklore. He gives the name of the ancient alchemical term, 'aurum sophisticatum.'

Eoce anatome adolescentum difficilimis itineris haud pictum, ut venustam saltam puellam vel feminam apsicta' (Defensio septem advs. anatomi et al., 1573: 'de peregrinationibus et exilio').

In 1526 he was called to a chair of physic and surgery at Basel. Here he over-did his name of Avicenna and Galen made him many enemies. In 1528 his fall was brought about in the case of a canon of Basel named Liechtenfel. This man was cured by Paracelsus, but refused to pay the recognized fee. His refusal was regarded as a magistrates, and Paracelsus fled to Colmar. He was at Nurenberg in 1529, at St. Gall in 1531, at Pfeffers in 1535, and at Augsburg in 1536. He then visited Moravia, Arabia, and India. He died in 1538, when at Villach, he decryed his 'Chronicle' to the States of Carinthia, in gratitude for the many kindnesses with which they had honoured his father. He died at Salzburg in 1541, at the early age of 48. He appears to have been generous in the practice of medicine. His epitaph says of him: 'Bona sua in pauperes distribuenda collo-
canque erogavit.' A sceptic and fierce critic in alchemy, he appears to have been no less so in theology. Quenstedt says of him: 'Nee tantum nove medicina, verum etiam nove theologice auter est' (De Patr. Doct.). Delrio places among those who were partum atheos, partim hereticos' (Digniss. Magister, i. 3). At this same time, Browning is justified in the last words he places in the mouth of Paracelsus:

‘It is a dark and tempestuous sea, cloud. It is but for a time; I press God's lamp close to my breast; it splendour, soon or late, will pierce the gloom; I shall emerge one day. Can you understand me? I have said enough.

An inventory taken at his death shows that the only books he left were the Bible, the New Testament, the Commentaries of St. Jerome on the Gospels, a printed volume on medicine, and several manuscripts. His works were published by F. Bitiskius in 3 vols. fol. in 1558; the Hermetic and Alchemical writings by A. E. Waite in 2 vols. in 1594. Jules Andrues says of him: 'He is the pioneer of modern chemists, and the prophet of a revolution in general science' (Encyc. Brit. art. 'Alchemy'). Browning sums up his study of Paracelsus in the words:

'Midst it all, I have done well, though not well at all. As yet men cannot do without contempt; they are for their good, and therefore fit while shrewd than other wise, and I with other wise, rather than praise the strong and true, in me. But after, they will know me.'

(Paracelsus, 1835, and notes.)

The new influence in the 16th century is shown by the death of the fourth of the great wit was alchemist to the Elector Augustus of Saxony from 1556 to 1562, in the title of Libavius' great work published in 1595—Alchymia recognita, emendita, et aucta. It has been called the 'first text-book of chemistry,' a claim which he would have made on the philosopher's stone. In England, Thomas Charnock published his Breviary of Philosophy in 1557, his Exagium of Alchemy in 1572, and his Memora directorum in 1574. He was instructed in the use of gold-making powder by Bird, who received it from Ripley. It was only those who were well to do who could carry on these experiments. The furnace alone cost Charnock £2 a week. The Alchymia recognita was the first of the works of Exeter, the chief alchemist in the time of Elizabeth which has been published by James O. Halliwell (London, 1854).

There does not seem to have been much interest taken in the 'new learning' till the latter part of the century. The Day Book of John Donne in 1520 contains but few references to alchemical works. There is one copy of the Commentarius Arnoldi de Villanova (vol. 5. a. 1); there are three copies of a Chorourentia de natura (vols. 1. a. 1, 6, 12, 13, a. 1), and two copies of Albertus, de mineralibus (13. a. 1, 13. b. 2). There is also a copy of Theoricien PLANITARIORUM (15. b. 1) (Fletcher, Collectanea Oxf. Hist. Soc. vol. v. p. 71 ff.). In the catalogue of books belonging to William Grocy, drawn up by his executor, Linacre, in the same year, there is the same absence of such books (Mont. Burrows, Collect. Oxf. Hist. Soc. vol. xvi. p. 317 ff.). Oxford had at this time other interests, especially the new learning associated with the names of Grocy, Linacre, Foxe, and others. The training of Linacre, the founder of the English College of Physicians, the friend of Politian and Chalceldus, and the great Venetian publisher, Aldus Manutius, is in marked contrast to the restless wanderings of Paracelsus.

It was long before the new sciences cut themselves a fourth from the ideas of the alchemists. In the early part of the 17th century, the brotherhood of the Hermetic philosophers known as the Rosicrucians (wh. see) brought the occult mysteries of the earlier alchemists again into notice. The brotherhood claimed descent from Christian Rosencreutz in 1649; but no evidence for this exists beyond their own publications. The controversy centred round a work entitled, Chymische Hochzeit Christouis Rosencreutz anno 1489, written by Johann Valentin Ansbach in 1616, and published at Strassburg. Among the most prominent of the Rosicrucian brotherhood was Michael Maier, physician to the Emperor Rudolph II. (1570—1612). He published Examen secundum Pseudo-chymicorum in 1617, Atalanta fugiens in 1618, Symbola aurea mensae in 1617, and the Tripus aureus containing three treatises—the Basilii Valentini Practica ex Germania, the Crede et seu Ordinale of Thomas Norton, and the Testamentum of Cremer, Abbot of Westminster. Robert Fludd introduced the brotherhood to the notice of English physicians. Born in Kent in 1574, he matriculated at St. John's, Oxford, November 10, 1592, and took his M.A. degree in 1598. One of the three questions discussed by him for Inception in Medicine in 1605 was: 'Chymieum extractum minus molestae et periculo aferit quam quod integro et naturn ad Mirabilium, Univ. Oxf. p. 110. Nat. Soc. ii. pt. i. 193, li. 191, iii. 194). In the same year is discussed in Comitissi: 'Incanta-tio non valet ad curam morbi.' Fludd went abroad and studied the works of Paracelsus and the mysteries of the Rosicrucians. On his return he practised as a physician in London, and died in 1657.

The Hon. Robert Boyle, one of the first promoters of modern chemistry, and a leading member of the Royal Society on its incorporation in 1662, believed in the transmutation of metals. In 1659 he brought to Oxford 'the noted chemist and Rosicrucian, Peter Stethal of Strasburgh.' Anthony Wood began his 'Antiquities of Chemistry' under him April 23, 1663, paying 30s. in advanced, and the balance of 30s. at the conclusion of the class, May 30, 1663. 'A. W. got some knowledge and experience; but his mind was still busy after antiquities and music.' Among the members of this famous chemistry class at Oxford was 'John Locke, a man of turbulent spirit, clamorous, and never contented,' and 'Mr. Christopher Wren, afterwards a knight, and an eminent virtuoso.' In 1664, Mr. Stethal was called away to London, and became operator to the Royal Society; and continuing there till 1670, he returned to Oxford in November. (Clark, 'Wood's Life of Times, vol. xix. p. 290, 472). The Sceptical Chemist, by Robert Boyle (Oxford, 1659), contains the first statement of the molecular or atomic idea in chemical philosophy (H. C. Bolton, Catalogue of Works on Alchemy and Chemistry, exhibited at the Grolier Club, New York, 1891). He was made 'Dr. of Phisicro' in 1665, and died in 1691. The Rosicrucian ideas and alchemical methods survived to some extent at Oxford. Elias Ash-mole was the contemporary of Robert Boyle at Oxford, but as a member of Brazenose, and not as 'a sojourner.' In 1650 he edited a work of Dr. John Dee, who died c. 1608, of whom Wood says: 'I have heard some say that he was a mere mountebank in his profession' ('Wood's Life and Times,' Oxf. Hist. Soc. vol. xix. p. 308). In 1654, Ashmole wrote The Way to Blas in three books. 'The author says that motion is the condition of heat, and doth beget and purchase it of nothing, theorectically anticipating modern doctrines' (Bolton, Catalogue). Bk. ii. ch. ii. of the treatises of the Philosopher's Stone. In 1677 he offered a prize to the University, on the condition that it would build a Museum and Chemical Laboratory. The foundation-stone was laid September 14, 1679, and the building was finished March 20, 1682-1683.
Alchemy (European)

The inscription describes this first public laboratory in Oxford: *Museum Ashmoleanum: Schola Naturalium*; the different rooms of the three largest rooms public: *The supermum... Museum Ashmoleanum.* The middle room is the School of Natural History. Oxford alchemists, who are at present Dr. Robert Plot, reads three times a week. The lower room, a cellar... is the laboratory of several of the most distinguished men who have written on the subject. (Wood's Life and Times, vol. xxvii, p. 59).

It was thus under the direction of Ashmole, professor of chemistry at Oxford, that the study of chemistry was placed on a sound and public footing. Ashmole died in June 1692, a year after Robert Boyle.

In the 17th century, chemistry was actively pursued in the person of Dr. Price of Guildford, the last of the alchemists, a distinguished amateur chemist, and Fellow of the Royal Society. In May 1782 he proposed to transmute mercury into silver and gold in the presence of a select company. Some years later, he published an essay in verse addressed to George III., and Price was made M.D. of Oxford. The Royal Society then pressed him to repeat the experiments in their presence. He hesitated, refused, and only on the pressure of the President, Sir Joseph Banks, at last reluctantly consented. He withdrew to Guildford, prepared an ample amount of laurel water, and then began to manufacture his projection powder. On the 3rd of August, 1786, the Royal Society met at Guildford. Only three Fellows responded to the invitation. He received them, and then committed suicide in their presence.

In Germany, alchemy waslaughtered out in the person of Senner. He received the 'Salt of Life' from Baron Hirschen, and, treating it as the Philosopher's Stone, was surprised to find gold deposited in the crucible. Klaproth analyzed the 'Salt of Life,' and found it to consist of Clamber's salt and sulphate of magnesia. In the 'Salt' sent by Senner, however, Klaproth discovered gold, though not in combination. Klaproth again consented to analyze Senner's 'Salt of Life' when, instead of gold, he found a kind of brass called tombac. On further investigation, it was discovered that Senner's old servant, eager to humour his master, had slipped pieces of gold leaf into Senner's chemical mixtures. The servant entrusted the secret to his wife, that in his absence she might purchase the gold leaf as before. She, however, bought brass instead of gold, and spent the balance on drink. In this way alchemy was laughed out of Germany (Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 692).

The theories of the alchemists did not die out at once. They were still held by the adepts at the close of the 18th century. The Antiquary says that Dissertationes exhibits itself as a perfect charlatan—talks of the magisterium—of sympathies and antipathies—of the caulis—of the divining rod—and all the trumpery with which the Rosicrucians cheated a darker age, and which, to our eternal disgrace, has been adopted and used in our own time (School of Antiquity, ch. xii.).

The Lives of the Adepts in Alchemicall Philosophy was published in London in 1814, and the School of Natural History, a reproduction of Bulwer Lytton's *Zanoni* was written in 1827 as a study in the mysteries of Alchemests—George Eliot. In 1871 wrote *The Great Work* a most rigorous error vigorously pursued has kept the embryo of truth a breathing: the quest of gold being at the same time the search for a substance which chemists themselves are prepared for its soul, and Lavoisier is born (Middlenach, vol. ii. ch. xxvii.).

The discovery of the establishment of the Atomic Theory by Dalton in the beginning of the 19th century, as a working hypothesis in practical chemistry that set on one side the theories of the alchemists:... and his further experiments Multiples led to the idea that the elementary bodies are made up of indivisible particles called atoms, each having a constant weight peculiar to itself, and that they can be changed to another place by the juxtaposition of these atoms, 1 to 1, 1 to 2, 2 to 3, etc., a group of atoms thus united being called a molecule. This is the atomic hypothesis of Dalton (II. Wist, *Inorganic Chemistry*, 1855, p. 267).

Immutability has been the recognized law of the elements: 'Our molecules, on the other hand, are unalterable by way of the processes which go on in the present state of things, and every individual of each species is more or less the same in magnitude... In speculating on the cause of this equality, we are debarked from imagining any cause of equalization, on account of the immutability of each of them. It is evident, if we are to conceive of selection and elimination of identical varieties, that the same number of those eliminated molecules have gone to, if, as we have reason to believe, the hydrogen, etc., of the fixed stars is composed of identical molecules in all respects with our own?' (Clark— *Maxwell, Theory of Heat*, 1865, p. 321).

Thus, under the most advanced theory of Chemistry and Physics the 19th century, the transmutation of elements was inconceivable. Yet there were masters of chemical philosophy who entered a caution against the exclusion of possibilities.

Tilden writes: 'The molecular theory has been adopted in a somewhat rigid form, not by reason of any special conviction of its truth or of its power as a scientific hypothesis, but because I am satisfied by long experience that, whatever form it may ultimately assume, it is even now a most important and rigid aid to the discovery of chemical truth' (Clark— *Chemical Philosophy, London*, 1857, p. vii). In treating of the Periodic Law and the Periodic Table, the same author expresses the following remarks: "In the first place, there are some elements, as, for instance, copper, silver, and gold, for which a place cannot readily be found. It is undoubtedly allied, though not very closely, with sulphur, with which it is also connected with copper on the left hand and with mercury on the other. Gold again is unquestionably placed, while the platinum metals to which it is most nearly related exhibit even atomicity" (ib. p. 243). There still remained something beyond this, and this, too, in the important metals, silver and gold...
to have been people by one or two ancestors, who sometimes carried churinga.
2. The Urbunna, the neighbours of the Arunta on the other side, also have their mythic period, named Uluraka; thus it is described that the ethnic groups were semi-human and lived on the earth on their lower part; in it; they had superhuman powers. The ancestors of each totemic group at the present day were few in number, and there is no myth of the churinga being carried. The Urbunna are distributed widely from that of the Arunta and Kaiitsh, and comes near that of the Warramunga (see below). The semi-human ancestors wandered about the country putting mai-uri (spirit individuals) into rocks and pools, and these subsequently became men and women, who formed the first totem groups. These mai-uri are continually undergoing re-incarnation; as a rule, with the Arunta they inhabit different localities according to their totem; but in the Urbunna and other tribes those of two or more totems may inhabit the same place. Each re-incarnated individual is held to change his phratry, totem, and sex on re-incarnation; after death he goes down to the spirit place (see below) in the Uluraka, and this regardless of the totem to which he may for the time being belong. In the Wongkurganu tribe, north-west of Lake Eyre, the Urbunna belief prevails, with the exception that they accept the Arunta belief as to the inapertuer.
3. The Unmatjera hold that every totemic ancestor had his class as well as his totem; the totem changes in their belief, as in that of the Arunta, in successive incarnations, the class seldom or never.
4. The Warramunga, Walpari, Tjingili, and other tribes hold that every one is the incarnation of a Wingara ancestor; but these latter are regarded as having been primarily associated with individuals. These beliefs are shared by the Umbaia and Gnanji, but the latter hold that women have no moidna, or spirit part; consequently spirit female children, though they exist, do not take human form. The Birnbinga also hold that only the men of these tribes have an axe, the spirit child will enter her body. The ancestor began his travels under ground, and then came up to the surface; churinga are known in this tribe, but not associated with individuals. These beliefs are shared by the Umbaia and Gnanji, but the latter hold that women have no moidna, or spirit part; consequently spirit female children, though they exist, do not take human form. The Birnbinga also hold that only the men of these tribes have an axe, the spirit child will enter her body.
5. In the Arunta tribe at the present day a man marries a woman of his own or any other totem; in the other tribes totemic exogamy is enforced. Tradition says that in the Alcheringa times men invariably married women of their own totem; the classes, too, were originally non-exogamous, and the present regulations came down from the north. It seems clear that the progress of social changes from north to south corresponds with the facts; but there is much division of opinion as to the value of the remainder of the myths. They are treated as mere atiological myths by Andrew Lang and others, as genuine historical traditions by Spencer and others. It seems clear that some part of them cannot be historically true; as the totem groups are represented as living exclusively upon their totems; and some of these, such as grubs and plants, are not in season for more than a portion of the year.

LITERATURE.—Spencer, Gillen, Native Tribes, 1889, pp. 140-157, 287-295, etc.; Catalogue of the Australian and Torres Straits Tribes, 1904, pp. 145-175, etc.; FL. XVI. 425-435, gives the views of the Southern Arunta, remarks on the literature; cf. also Lang, Myths and Legends of the Aborigines, 1903, and Secret of the Totems; Durkheim's art. in Arch. de Sci. Hist. (1901) 20, etc.; see also Van Geenop, Mythology of Australia, 1906, p. xvi L.

N. W. THOMAS.
ALCOHOL.—The use of alcohol in some form or other has been familiar to man from a very early period in his race-existence; in all ages of which we have any records, one of the cardinal points in the social life of the tribes of the most varied degrees of culture, it has been and still is an agent with marked effects on the individual and the race. The name is Arabic in origin (al-kohl, 'collyrium,' the fine powder used to cause tears). Alcohol, as we know it in ordinary use, is properly named 'ethyl alcohol,' and is one of a series—distinguished in their properties from another by their boiling-points, of specific gravity, and their poisonous effect—consisting of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen. Their names and chemical formulae are:—Ethyl alcohol (C₂H₅OH), ethyl alcohol (C₂H₅OH), propyl alcohol (C₃H₇OH), butyl alcohol (C₄H₉OH), and amyl alcohol (C₅H₁₁OH). Ethyl alcohol is obtained from distillation of wood, and, being nauseous in taste, it is added to ethyl alcohol, so that the latter may be sold for industrial purposes without tax as methylated spirits. Fusel oil contains amyl and ethyl alcohol as well as other by-products of fermentation, and is usually present along with other analogous substances in distilled alcoholic liquors; but as their amount is small and their action subsidiary, they will not be further referred to.

Alcohol is formed from sugar by the action of the yeasts, a unicellular organism which excites fermentation in saccharine solutions. A molecule of sugar is thus split up into alcohol and carbonic acid (along with some collateral products). The term 'alcohol' is applied to the ethyl alcohol-sugar mixture of the alcoholic liquor which is thus formed (apart from the amount of sugar present); when alcohol reaches a strength of 16 p.c. by volume, it stops further fermentation. Most 'natural' alcohols, such as claret, contain only from 8 to 12 p.c. alcohol, as it is but rarely that the grape-juice is sugary enough to allow of the formation of alcohol to the highest possible extent. Stronger wines, such as port and sherry, are 'fortified' by the addition of alcohol. It should be noted that mankind has in all ages made naturally fermented drinks from any available material. By more complicated processes, beer or ale is produced either from barley-malt or some substitute, the strength in alcohol varying from 3 p.c. or less up to 8 or 9 p.c. The strongest drinks, such as brandy, whisky, rum, gin, and liqueurs, are manufactured with the aid of distillation.

1. Physiological effects of alcohol.—Alcohol is a poison for protozoon, that is, for the soft plastic material which is the essential constituent of every one of the minute cells that make up living organisms. The extreme limits of their sensitivity to the poisonous effect in very dilute solution is easily shown on lowly organisms (Ridge, Med. Temp. Reviev, 1898, vol. i. p. 148; Woodhead, 'Path. Observations on the Action of Poisonous Substances,' pp. 52-56), and the more finely organized cells are most susceptible (Overton, Studien über die Narkose, Jena, 1901). Let us briefly trace the effects of alcohol when taken into the human body in moderate doses.

(1) With the feeling of warmth in the stomach, there is an increased secretion of gastric juice such as is produced by any irritation. Of the two constituents of the gastric juice, it is not so much the pepsin as the hydrochloric acid that is thus secreted, and recent research indicates that the digestive quality of the secretion depends very largely on the nature of this substance. Hence it is probable that this secretion of the surplus acid will aid. By quickening the movements of the stomach and intestines, it helps the expulsion of gases. If taken in concentrated form or in too great quantities, it readily irritates the more delicate parts of the alimentary canal; and frequent repetition of such doses is apt to bring on gastric catarrh.

(2) Alcohol passes in about 15 minutes into the blood-stream. It dilates the blood-vessels, is readily diffused through the various tissues; it forms a compound with the colouring matter of the blood which takes up and gives off oxygen less readily (Woodhead, l.c. p. 57). Hence the normal changes in the tissue cells are interfered with, and this is one of the causes of the anaemia in certain alcoholics. The waste products are apt to be retained too long by the cells.

(3) The nerve-cells of the brain, the most highly organized and delicate of the tissues, are very early shown to the effect of alcohol. Many of the best observers of their own mental processes, such as Helmholtz and Huxley, have expressed themselves strongly as to the harmful effect of minute doses of alcohol on the brain, and it is a fact that the 'stimulating' effect is really due to paralysis of the very highest nerve-centres, so that cheerfulness, wit, and recklessness have freer play. Large numbers of psychometric experiments under conditions of the greatest accuracy prove that alcohol in small dietetic doses exercises a distinctly paralyzing effect on the working of the brain. Some mental processes are quickened for a short time, and then a retarding effect shows itself, which is prolonged and much more than ceases the apparent beneficial result. With the early facility there is apt to be loss of accuracy (Horsley, 'Effects of Alcohol on the Human Brain,' Brit. Journ. of Insane., Oct. 1886), and it is in a number of experiments, either of a slight intoxication may last from 24 to 36 hours (Fürer, Transactions of the Internat. Anti-alcohol Congress, Basel, 1906). The effect of the regular consumption of alcohol—say 1 to 2 litres of lager beer per day—is distinctly prejudicial to all kinds of intellectual effort (Kürz and Kraepelin, Psychol. Arbeiten, 1900); and in general the more difficult mental operations are more impaired than the easier. As for the idea that habituation produces a certain immunity to alcohol, this is probably due to a blunting of the nerves. Such a result is apt to be associated with a dangerous tendency to augment the dose in order to experience the agreeable effect, just as it is with morphine (Kraepelin, Mediz. Mediz. Woche, 17th April, 1906). Experiments on the sensory functions (sight, hearing, simple touch, etc.) show, from the first, diminution in accuracy and rapidity. The motor functions of the body are generally influenced with favour by alcohol at first (Frey, Alcohol und Muskelerkrankung, Leipzig, 1903; Schneyder, Pilger's Archiv, 1903; Destrec, Journ. Médi. de Bruxelles, 1887); the amount of work is increased, and is more easily performed; but after a brief period extending at most to 20 or 30 minutes, there comes a prolonged reaction, so that the total effect is distinctly disadvantageous. The popular belief that alcohol strengthens and increases working capacity is accountable for a vast amount of drinking among the working classes.

(4) The effect of alcohol on the circulation (Monro and Findlay, 'Critical Researches on Alcohol and the Cardio-Vascular System,' Med. Temp. Rev. 1903-1904; Abel, 'Pharmacological Action of Ethyl Alcohol,' Med. Temp. Rev. 1904-1905) is to cause first a dilatation of the small vessels, especially of the skin, showing itself in a redness of the face and a feeling of warmth. A slight acceleration of the pulse is frequently, but not always, produced by small doses, but the average for the whole day may be lowered. In the case of low blood-pressure, alcohol will not raise it. On the whole, experiments show that alcohol does not
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strengthen the heart, but rather the reverse. They may be a short stimulating effect through reflex action just after its administration. Large doses are strongly depressive.

(5) The tissues, we have seen, have their oxidation interfered with by alcohol. There is, further, increased loss of heat from the body, with lowering of temperature through the dilatation (paralysis) of the blood-vessels. Hence comes quickened and deeper respiration, so that alcohol is indirectly a respiratory stimulant (Binz, Therapie d. Gegenw.ter, 1899).

(6) The nutritive value of alcohol is still the subject of keen discussion (Rosenmann, Pfijifer's Archiv, 1901, vol. 86, also vols. 94, 95, and 100). All admit that large quantities of alcohol are poisons, and it would seem that the most minute doses that have any demonstrable effect act prejudicially on the nervous tissues. Still it is conceivable that in other ways alcohol may be serviceable to the body. In small doses, from 90 to 98 p.c. is oxidized; heat is thereby produced, and alcohol, it is said, can thus take the place of other materials, such as fat or carbohydrate (Atwater and Benedict, Experiments on Nutrition, 1894; Atwater and Benedict, Washington, 1898). The same may be said about glycogeen, or fusel oil (amylie alcohol), whose total effect is distinctly poisons. Alcohol can neither build up new nor repair the tissue and blood, as the action is that it has in producing energy is probably much more than counterbalanced by its poisonous effect, either directly or by means of intermediate products, while the tissues are dealing with it (Schäfer, Text-book of Physiology, vol. 1, p. 882). This conclusion of physiological science is in harmony with the experiences in actual life of army leaders, travellers, climbers, employers of labour, etc. The good effects of alcohol are similar to those obtained from other more or less dangerous stimulants and narcotics.

2. Acute alcoholism (Intoxication).—When enough alcohol is taken to produce intoxication, judgment, self-control, perception, and the other higher faculties are affected first. With greater facility in thought and speech, there is a certain disregard of the environment; a quiet person may become lively and witty, untamed connotations are given, and there may be assertiveness and quarrel-someness. Singing, shouting, and other noisy demonstrations indicate the free play of the emotions; then comes motor impairment, shown by irregular gait, staggering, deepening of the voice, muscular paralysis, and even coma may supervene; the temperature may become dangerously low, and in the worst cases respiration and circulation may be paralyzed. Short of this, after 6 to 12 hours the man awakens from his drunken sleep with furred tongue, loss of appetite, thirst, flushed face and eyes, headache, and mental confusion. These phenomena vary according to the amount, strength, and purity of the liquor, the time occupied in consumning it, and the stability or resisting power of the person imbibing. Persons with a special cerebral susceptibility may develop wild maniacal excitement or melancholy, delirium. Such persons may suffer from an insane or alcoholic heredity, epilepsy, injuries to the head, or antecedent insanity. An automatic dream-state, in which complicated, it may be criminal, actions are performed under unconscious influence. Such actions are induced by acute alcoholism (Sullivan, Alcoholism, pp. 41-45).

3. Chronic alcoholism.—Excess has been defined as the taking of an amount of alcohol which the body can completely dispose of in 24 hours, but a complete definition must include cases where any permanent mischief is produced during a lifetime. Since 1854, when Anstie declared 1 oz. of absolute alcohol to be the physiological limit, the tendency amongst scientific writers has been steadily towards reduction of this. Abel (loc. Sept. 1905, p. 275) concludes that the "moderate" or average permissible quantity of alcohol is represented by one, or at most two, glasses of wine a day.
mental tone, and loss of self-control may become so marked as to require asylum treatment.

The more forms of alcoholic inebriety, the more alcohol may be the exciting cause in various forms of mental disorder. It is probably the most powerful predisposing factor, after syphilis, in the production of mental abnormalities (Br. Med. J., April 1900) argues that 80 p.c. of cases of general paralysis of the insane occur if alcohol were eliminated from the world. The exact percentage of alcoholism to mental disease is somewhat difficult to ascertain, owing to varying ways of computing the probations for conclusions. In the past the patients' history. From 15 to 20 p.c. of the insane are thus accounted for. Of late years this per centage has tended to increase, especially in large cities (Clouston, Mental Disease, p. 483). The proportion of women to men thus affected is in Italy 1:1.5 to 1 (Dickinson, Journ. Nervous and Mental Disease, 1908, Year Book City 1 to 2, in Paris and Edinburgh about the same. Taking Great Britain all over, the proportion of women to men is about 1:2.5, significant evidence of the amount of drinking amongst women in this country (Hoppe, Tattonden, p. 274 ff.; Kovnatre and Sherwood, Temp. Problem, Appendix, p. 460).

Allowance must be made for the likelihood that many who succum to alcohol would in its absence break down mentally in some other way, in virtue of their unstable nervous system, and it has been noted that the habitual inebriates of the London police courts rarely become certifiably insane (Carwell, Scotted Med. and Surg. Journ., 1903, ii. p. 255). Genuine epilepsy may be produced by alcohol; if present already, it is likely to be made worse by drink. Not seldom one sees cases of epileptic convulsions coming on after a long course of inebriety; they are induced by a specially strong drink and are usually not severe. Not the least remarkable is the fact that other divisions of the nervous system, are very apt to be damaged by chronic alcoholism. Most characteristic is myasthenia gravis, in which the muscles are overstretched and advanced upwards if the cause persists, till a fatal result occurs. There are also changes in sensation, e.g., loss of the needless, pins, and economies, and diminished sensibility to touch; there is loss of power going on to complete paralysis, and there is mental deterioration. The disease may be brought on by alcohol in any form; it is often associated with the excessive drinking of wine. It is much exaggerated; small quantities of arsenic, as was shown in an epidemic which occurred recently in Liverpool, Manchester, and other towns in the north of England. The cause here was the excessive drinking of beer manufactured from invert-sugar, in which arsenic was found in greater quantity than in wine. The idea that acute cord affections are caused or aggravated by chronic alcoholism.

4. Tissue changes caused by alcohol.—Most of the disorders that we have been describing and the changes caused by the tissue itself, are associated with pathological changes, easily recognized through the microscope. The various parts of the body are able to recover from the poisonous effect of even a large dose of alcohol. And, so far, the functional disturbance in the cell eludes the best methods of examination that we possess. If, however, the poisons dose is repeated indefinitely, there comes a time when organic changes occur, and these are usually irremediable. The microscopic appearance, for example, may be found in the cells of the brain, cord or spinal nerves, in the heart muscle, the walls of the blood-vessels, the liver, kidneys, etc., at the same time that the same change is being made in fibrous tissue, 'the lowest structure in the body' (Woodhead in Kelyanck's Drink Problem).

5. The effect of alcohol on morbidity.—Besides the purely alcoholic forms of disease, such as cirrhosis of the liver and alcoholic neuritis, a large proportion of the illness found in hospital and in private practice is indirectly due to alcohol (Jacquet, Presse Med., 1899, p. 338). Not only are the diseases directly damaged, but the resisting power of the body to disease is greatly lowered by excessive drinking.

Pneumonia, for instance, is more apt to occur, and more likely to be fatal, in alcoholic persons. If the body is weakened in its resisting power, by starvation, by cold, or by a poisonous drug, by syphilis, by tuberculosis, or other microorganisms. As for tuberculosis, the great mass of present-day medical opinion is opposed to the view that alcoholism directly affects the development of the nervous system. Not only that, but alcoholism damages the entire body system is lowered in tone, alcohol greatly helps the development of various diseases. It is often found in chronic alcoholism (K. Jones). Amongst traders in drink, tuberculosis is 3 times more frequent in every organ of the body liable to it. Police courts figures for other occupations (Dickinson, Transactions of Path. Soc. vol. xi, 1870) give the same result. In all such occupations in which chronic alcoholism live, one cannot doubt that alcoholism is largely responsible for the widespread prevalence of tuberculosis. General diseases are very frequently acquired in the intoxicated state, when the lower passions become the ruling power of the body.

In the army they are much less frequent among abstaining soldiers than among drinking men. In the army the disease from alcohol is usually enjouyed. Syphilis is much more destructive among of the drunken than with the abstainers. In the view, the worst cases for operation are those of chronic alcoholism. They take anesthetics badly, their tissues do not heal well, and they are liable to irregular and frequent abortions. The general experience is confirmed by numerous experiments on animals; rabbits, guinea-pigs, frogs, etc., have been treated with alcohol in even moderate doses, to be much more susceptible to the germ of tetanus, spenic fever, tuberculosis, diphtheria, etc., than non-alcoholic animals. (Abbot, Journ. Path. Bact. 1902, p. 281)

Certain Friendly Societies in the United Kingdom consist entirely of total abstainers, and the amount of sickness amongst them is, to a marked degree, less than in Societies where abstinencc is not compulsory, although in both classes the men are medically selected, and show, by the very fact that they join those Societies, that they are prudent and careful. The average duration of sickness amongst them is less, and the amount of sickness is considerably less. (Sons of Temperance, etc.) is only from a half to a third that of other Societies. Alcoholics, when once put on the books of Trade Societies, whether through disease or injury, are notoriously slow in recovering.

6. Alcoholism and mortality.—The mortality returns of the United Kingdom give a very imperfect idea of the number of deaths due to alcohol (Vacher, Practitioner, Nov. 1929). Seeing that certificates of death are not treated as confidential documents belonging to the State, due to the increasing numbers of alcoholics, is the amount of death attributed to diseases of the liver, kidneys, lungs, or nervous system, instead of to their primary cause —alcoholism. The Swiss returns of mortality, on the other hand, are reliable, and they show heavy death rate from alcoholism, amongst men, of 10 p.c. or more.

In Swiss communities of over 5000 inhabitants, there lives between the ages of 20 and 40 every seventh or eighth man directly or indirectly from alcohol, and between 40 and 60 every sixth, and above 60 every seventeenth man (Hoppe, p. 290). It is estimated that in this country alcohol accounts for 100,000 to 120,000 deaths per annum (Kerr, Inebriety, p. 281).

Certain British Insurance Societies have separate columns for abstainers and non-abstainers. In both sections the members are drawn from the same class in an essential and important particulars, and the non-abstainers assured are good average lives. But the abstaining section in all cases shows a very much greater longevity. Thus in the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution the mortality in the general section is 9 per 1000, on an average, 26 p.c. in the temperance section (Whittaker, 'Alcoholic Beverages and Longevity,' Contemp. Rev., March 1924). Of course the general section represents in the United Kingdom, at the end of the scale men who are extremely moderate, and at the the other those who are alcoholic. In the United States the accepted standard of moderation, the class of 'moderate drinkers' mist suppear statistically.

7. Alcoholism and crime.—There is universal testimony as to the close relationship between excessive drinking and breaches of the moral law and the laws of the State. This is a direct consequence of the paralysis of the higher faculties, intellectual and moral, and the disposing free play given to the lower inclinations. Alcohol is not only a direct cause of crime, but it acts powerfully along with other conditions, such as hereditary nervous weakness or instability of the brain. Again, crime due to loss of work, poverty, and starvation, so often the results of indulgence in alcohol.

A distinction has rightly been drawn between the lighter and the grave violations of the law which are due to drink. It is fortunately true that the great majority are of the former class. To them, however,—in order to give some idea of the effect of excessive drinking, we must add the vast number of cases where similar offences are committed with impunity, escaping the notice of the police or of the public.' In certain cases the presence of friends. Moreover, these offences are so common that there is a disposition on the part of the police to be public generally, and not to take cases with regard to them with the utmost leniency. The large proportion of habitual inebriates charged with after a moderate degree of intoxication, petty offences are really due to chronic alcoholism plus a heavier than usual. In cases out of 10, they are also as the wife-beater, the beggar, the prostitute, or the thief. As for the grave offences, the bulk of crimes of acquisitiveness are not connected with alcoholism. On the other hand, alcoholism is probably the cause of some 60 p.c.
of homicidal offenses, and of a smaller, though still considerable, proportion of crimes of lust. Nearly always in homicidal crimes, and in many cases of rape and in sexual crimes, excessive drinking conditions which generate the criminal impulse are chronic intoxication and not casual drunkenness. (Sullivan, Alcoholism, 1906, ch. 14.)

Alcoholism in America. — Alcoholism is specially dangerous to children, as their delicate tissues are highly susceptible to the poison. Most disastrous results follow its administration in the early years of life. At two or three years of age, that is far from uncommon, it is quite safe to ignore. Besides the direct effects, such as stunting of growth, blunting of intellectual and moral faculties, and organic changes, we must attribute to alcohol the multi-faceted destruction of the healthy balance of the culture of drinking families. Hence the incidence of sickness and mortality in the families of parents who are one or both given to drink is extremely heavy.

A Report on Physical Deterioration (Saleeby, 1902) makes on the increase of drinking amongst women of the working-classes, with consequences extremely prejudicial to the care of the offspring, not to speak of the possibility of children being born permanently disabled. If the mother drinks heavily during the last three months of her pregnancy, much harm is done, and there may be present in it a certain amount of alcohol. Still more serious for the child is the drinking on the part of the mother during the suckling period. Not only is the mother nutritionally nourished, but alcohol is found to pass freely into its blood from the mother's. However degenerate and deplorable conditions a pregnant woman in abortion and premature labour; and if the infant is born viable, it is apt to be the subject of disease or deformity. There is passed over, however, what is a considerably more dangerous tendency to give way to drink sooner or later. While it may be true that the drinking is only indulged in while the children are born healthy, whatever the antecedent condition of the mother, it is highly probable that the first 10 or 15 years of life, even under the best conditions, would reveal tendencies that were present in a latent condition from the first. Notwithstanding the ancient and widespread belief that the condition of an infant in one or both parents at the time of conception has a malign influence on the germ-plasm, this cannot be said to be scientifically proved.

The preceding general view is that alcoholic characters cannot be transmitted from parents to child; but when poisons are taken in considerable quantities, for instance alcohol, it is practically certain that they have a modifying effect on the germ-cells (Saleeby, Heredity, p. 73). On the other hand, the tendency to degeneration through alcohol would be at once arrested by the removal of the cause, and civilized races would rapidly improve in physique. Races that have been accustomed only to their own fermented drinks, such as the North American Indians and the West Africans (Kilit, Archiv für Rassen- and Ethnolog, Biolog, li, 1905), have shown a tendency to die out when habitually taking imported distilled liquor. Previously there may be no improvement under conditions which had lasted hundreds of years, their relatively weak drink being obtainable only as special seasons of the year, and on special occasions. The process of degeneration in immi-grants to other countries is largely due, according to the best authorities, to alcoholism. Mott's investigations (Alcohol and Insanity, London, 1886) show clearly that alcoholism can also become insidious, and that the balance upset by an amount of alcohol much less than can be taken in an ordinary case of intoxication, may have the effect of stimulating the more stable nervous system. In such cases alcohol reveals some latent defect, just as in other cases the imbecile, the epileptic, or the degenerate characterized by marked susceptibility to alcohol, join the criminal classes. Suicide (Sullivan, Alcoholism; Pringling, Trauknacht und Selbstmord, Leipzig, 1893) has become more frequent in recent years in almost all civilized States, its rate being specially heavy amongst persons who are exposed to alcoholism. Great Britain has a larger proportion of women suicides than other lands, this being connected with the greater amount of female drunkenness. 20 p.c. of all cases of attempted suicide in England are alcoholic, while only 30 p.c. of cases of completed suicide are so classified. Alcoholic suicide may result from one of the disturbed mental states such as delirium tremens, melancholia, the automatic dream-state, or some other condition associated with hallucinations; or it may be caused by the poverty, misery, and indifference to life that alcohol is apt to produce. The association of alcohol with suicides of all sorts is brought about as by the daily newspaper, and otherwise, but no statistics can show the vast number of cases where lowering of the mental functions is without admitted excess, is responsible for some catastrophes. Many railway companies in America have an absolute rule against drinking on the part of their employes, and the 90 p.c. of all cases of suicide are taken by British companies. Comparatively slight improvements in the conditions of life, presence of efficiency in the railway servant may endanger hundreds besides himself. The more strict the rule against drinking on any particular railway, the better. Accident insurance societies often give alcoholics a discount of 10 p.c.

9. Alcoholism and poverty. — Drink, according to Charles Booth (Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age), is the best proof positive of pauperism, and it is the least necessary. From one-third to one-half of those who receive poor relief owe their position directly to drunkenness as the principal cause. (The cost of poor relief in England and Wales in 1905 was £195,000,000.) Alcoholism should be added a large percentage in which drink is the indirect cause of pauperism, through disease or injury; and besides this, just above the pauper class is the enormous amount of abstract poverty from misdirected wages, loss of working time, and general impairment of efficiency. It is calculated that at least half the taxes accruing from drink are expended by the State in preventing, punishing, and repairing the consequences of the social defect consequent upon the consumption of that drink. Of the £170,000,000 or so annually spent in this country on liquors, about £100,000,000 come from the pockets of the working-classes. Many working men spend 6s. or 7s. a week on drink, and some very much more. The average drink expenditure per head in 1905 was £3, 15s. 11d., and per family of 5 persons £18, 19s. 9d.; but it must be remembered that millions of adults drink no alcoholic liquor, and that over 15,000,000 of the population are children. Hence amongst those who take drink to excess the expenditure is enormous, and means such a deduction from an income which is little better than a subsistence, the living wages, which, with the cost of clothing, good housing, and the like, would help to solve the grave social and industrial problems with which we are confronted.

10. Treatment. — In dealing with acute alcoholism, the skill of the physician and the patient’s will is often severely taxed. Apart from purely medical measures, the main reliance is to be placed in complete withdrawal of alcohol, administration of liquid nourishment in abundance, and the procuring of mental and bodily rest. In chronic alcoholism the patient may be helped by full explanations of the action of alcohol on the body, by appeals to his better nature, by any measure that will strengthen the will power, whether religious, sublimating, or otherwise; or by being removed for a sufficiently long time (one to three years) from temptation. In the way of prevention much is to be hoped for from the wider diffusion of scientific knowledge, along with the spread of education (see ‘The Teaching of Temperance,’ by E. Claude Taylor in Kelynnack’s Drink Problem [a good bibliography of teaching manuals is given]). Improvements in housing and domestic cookery, higher rates of pay, and the consequent bettering of bodily, mental, and moral health, all favour temperance. Total abstinence should be enjoined on certain classes: those who are hereditarily predisposed, by being brought up in families or in grandfamilies, or through want of nerve stability; those whose occupations are closely associated with a heavy drink mortality; those who have given way to drink; persons who have suffered from diseases of the brain or nerves, or injuries to the head; and all children and juveniles. See also art. DRUNKENNESS, INEBRIATE ASYLUMS.

Literature. — In addition to references already given, the following may be consulted: A. H. Abderhalden, Biblioth. d. Alkoholismus, 1904; Amer. Assn. for the study and care of Inebriety, Disease of the Alcoholic, 1878; John Burns, Labour and Drink, 1894; T. S. Clouston, The Wealth of Nations (1776), Book IV, ch. IV; The American Temperance Movement and the Alcoholic, 1878; Dr. Hoppe, Die Alkoholfrunk, 1905; H. Hoppe, Die Alkoholfrunk, 1905; H. Hoppe, Die Alkoholfrunk, 1905.
ALEUTS.—1. The religion, mythology, and folk-lore of the natives of the Aleutian Islands is strongly influenced from Alaska to Beringchuka and the north of the long narrow peninsula of Alaska as far as the river Ugashik, are especially important, since their long isolation in a peculiar environment has caused them to develop in directions more than any other known branch of the Inuit (Esquima) stem, this being evident in their language, religious exercises, and certain details of handwork, social life, and weaving (Dall). The language is rich in verbal forms and has many peculiarities of vocabulary, but is, nevertheless, undoubtedly Eskimo in type, not transitional between the Esquimale and Eskimo (Henry). The harpoon attains in the southern portions of the Aleutian area a 'finness in structure and appearance nowhere else seen'; the arrow also is delicately complex, neat and beautiful, and the 'exquisite workmanship displayed in the Aleutian beach-grass work will compare with that of any basketmakers in the world' (Mason). The koyak, the characteristic skin-boot of the Aleuts, is but one of their minor treasures, and the height among the Aleuts, the lamp, which with the Eskimos generally is the analog of the fireplace, or the hearth, with many other peoples, is cruder and ruder among the Aleuts,—the nearest primitive lamps on earth to those of the ancient Aleuts; many of them are merely unmodified rock fragments (Hough). Yet the modern Aleuts use small lamps in their fishing boats at sea for warming chilled hands and bodies. They seem to have used the lamp mostly outside the house, preferring, when possible, a fire in the open air, though they are said to have done much less cooking in the Eskimo fashion in the past. When first discovered by the whites, both men and women among the Aleuts wore labrets, or lip-ornaments, a custom borrowed, perhaps, from the adjacent American Indians, and primarily confined to the female sex, but now almost entirely gone. The custom of wearing labrets as having died out within two generations (anec. 1875). Besides labrets, the Aleuts possessed masks, which figured in their dances and religious ceremonies, and which were also placed over the faces of the dead. In physical type the Aleuts differ somewhat from the Eskimos proper, being rather brachycephalic and of darker complexion; in facial expression also some difference has been noted. Their constant use of the koyak and the cramped position their founders were forced to assume in the basket have affected their gait and the condition of their limbs. In the management of these boats the Aleuts have been very skilful. Veniaminoff, the Russian priest who was among them in the early part of the 19th century, states that the Aleuts, riders of marine mares; they were bow-legged, too, like the famous horsemen of the Czar. The Aleuts have been in their present environment, into which they have been slowly but constantly expatriated, reported by the Aleuts (the probable scene of the primitive dispersion of the Eskimo race, or, at least, of a considerable part of it), for a very long time. Dall's investigations of the ancient village sites, shell-heaps, mummy-caves, etc., of the Aleutian Islands demonstrate the continuity of occupation of the region by this people, and their apparent progress through three periods of culture (hiltorial, fishing, hunting). The earliest forms of some of their art-objects (e.g., labrets) are preserved in the burial-caves and shell-heaps, and their variations are traced back to the times of the modern Aleuts and the advent of white influences, in consequence of which their ancient culture has tended more and more to disappear.

Like the Eskimos of continental Alaska, the Aleuts seem to have been influenced in several ways by the stories of native—indeed, the term 'story' is almost exclusively on weapons used in hunting, which, after being despatched, remain in the bodies of large game, and in each village the natives of a certain group—a boat's crew, family, house community, or any other social unit—use a certain decoration for their implements, which, in connexion with certain lines, forms their property mark. From the Russians, through the Siberian natives, and not from the Indians, the Aleuts acquired the knowledge and use of tobacco, according to Murdoch (Amer. Anthrop. vol. 1, 1888, p. 328). The modern Aleuts use nothing but civilized methods of smoking, and the great smoker and the absence of pipes are connected with the use of tobacco among the Aleuts, another evidence of the non-American mode of its introduction. On the other hand, the Aleuts have adopted something from the American Indian tribes, as, e.g., in all probability, the habit, just mentioned, of wearing lip-ornaments, some atlatl motifs, etc. The institution of slavery prevailed among them as it did among certain Indian tribes of the North Pacific coast. 2. The puberty-ceremonies and marriage-customs of the Aleuts are of special interest. When a girl reaches the age of puberty, she is isolated from the rest of the community in a small box—hoo, hoo, or horon, horon, or one, is permitted to visit her confinement. This confinement lasts seven days, and the breaking of the tabu by a man is the theme of one of the most wide-spread tales, which has many variants. The couple concerned are often brother and sister, and sometimes the woman is forcibly ravished, while at other times she yields consent. The belief in a horn of After which all the young people, and the young men and women among them, shave their heads and face the dead. In physical type the Aleuts differ somewhat from the Eskimos proper, being rather brachycephalic and of darker complexion; in facial expression also somewhat different has been noted.

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through the roof. The man, who dies from a fall on the rocks, turns out to be her own brother. She finds him dead on the floor of her own house, with all her mourning. Instead of taking part in the mourning herself, she sings a joyous song, the burden of which is, 'Get up, my brother, get up, and come with me into the house that is here.' Gradually movement returns to him; first, his toes wriggles, then, as the men and women approach him, he opens his eyes and starts to open his mouth. When the women have caught sight of again, they have become two, sea-otters, the first of those creatures known in the world. In another tale, the Aleuts were represented to be in no way inferior to the paramour (the nephew of her husband), with whom she has sworn to die. This is the legend of the Greenland Aleuts seems to belong, partly at least, to this cycle. It is curious to find among the Aleuts that improper sexual relations are connected with the violation of the tabus of girls at the age of puberty. The version of the legend with this theme is perhaps the oldest, as it is the most detailed form. The early Aleuts, Veniaminov informs us, looked upon incest with horror (later accounts disagree on this point), esteeming it the worst of crimes. Such intercource was believed to result always in monstrous offspring (children disfigured with the tusks and heard of sea-animals, etc.). They had no prejudice against the intermarriage of cousins.

The Aleuts had no marriage ceremony, apparently, though children were sometimes betrothed to each other. The recognition of the marriage came with the birth of a child. The parents, when the harvest flowed over their doors, then went to take wife a young woman from the next village (or one not his own), but not to set up house-keeping with her until she had borne him a child. Until that event happened, the woman remained at home with her brother, or was a frequent visitor of her husband, from time to time by her husband. Among the early Aleuts, girls, or married females, giving birth to illegitimate children, were put to death, and their own and those whose children conducted despided. Infanticide was regarded as something likely to cause great misfortune to the whole community. Wives were exchanged sometimes for food, clothes, etc., and were often lent as a mark of hospitality because they could also be divorced or sent home, when unsatisfactory to the husband. In some cases, the children were taken by the mother. The re-marriage either of widowers or widows was not permitted until some time had elapsed since the death of their consorts. Both polyandry and polygamy seem to have occurred among the Aleuts. With those of Unalaska, in cases of polyandry the husbands agreed amicably to share the same woman, or, if the first married was the chief husband, the second, and inferior, being 'a hunter or wandering trader.' Since polygamous families depended for their maintenance upon the wealth of a single husband, it appears to have been permissible for him to return his wives to their parents, if his fortune decreased to such an extent as to make it impossible for him to support them all properly. Wives could be obtained by purchase and by rendering services to the father; but, in the case of purchase, certain other relatives besides the father had to be compensated. Marriage by capture was rendered illegal by the close of the 18th cent. Among the natives of Unimak, the largest island of the Archipelago. With certain of the Aleuts (e.g. those of Atka) the man took the widow of his dead brother, such action being compulsory rather than optional. Among the Aleuts there seems great jealousy is said to have existed. From various parts of the Aleutian area the existence was reported of men who adopted the ways and habits of women, dressing like them, etc., and never marrying.

3. The burial customs of the Aleuts also deserve special mention, by reason of the great care often bestowed on the disposal of the dead. Most burial took place on the beach, lasting some days, were held, and, according to the details in the stories, slaves were often sacrificed. The bodies of the dead were sometimes hung up in the hut, or suspended in the open air from a pole to which they were attached. When the bodies were laid away in some hidden shelter, protective masks were often put over their faces to guard them from the too inquisitive glances of the spirits. The bodies of certain rich individuals and of those who might have been washed in running water after the entrails had been removed, then dried, wrapped in furs, grass-matting, etc., and hung up in some cave, or other place did tend sheltered from the rain. Some of these mummies are very old, being found with all the marks of great age. Sometimes the dead Aleuts were placed in these caves and rock-shelters in lifelike postures, dressed and armed, as if active in some favourite occupation—hunting, fishing, sewing, or the like; and with them were placed figures representing the animals of the chase, wooden imitations of their weapons, etc.

According to Elliott, the mummified bodies of celebrated whal-hunters used to be removed from their resting-places in the caves and dipped in the running water of streams, those about to venture forth on the hunt drinking of the water that contained the remains of the hunter, to strengthen his body and the skill of the dead. It is also said that sometimes the body of a celebrated whale-hunter, who had died, was cut into small pieces, each living hunter taking one, which, when carefully dried, was kept for the purpose of rubbing the head of the whale-spear. The Aleuts seem to have had other superstitious proceedings of a similar nature connected with the transference of the qualities of the great dead to the hunter. Famous hunters and mighty chiefs were especially honoured in this way.

4. The early Aleuts had very many songs, the old stories being nearly always accompanied by songs. According to Veniaminov and Golder, there were historical songs, songs of ancestors and heroes, songs used only on religious occasions (strictly religious songs accompanying the spirit-ceremonies, etc.), and songs dealing with the ordinary affairs of life. Very often songs were extemporized. Golder is of opinion that the democratic shamanistic régime which 'allowed any Aleut to think he could compose a song,' is 'a condition of degenerate times more than ever the real time when the making of the songs was more or less in the hands of shamans of distinction'; but this is hardly the case. As both men and women could be shamans, they were likewise both song-makers. There were numerous conjuring-songs for hunting, fishing, 'raising the dead,' calling and dispersing the spirits, etc. Songs were accompanied by the drum, the only musical instrument of the Aleuts. Stories were usually accompanied by one or more songs, but the Aleuts of to-day have forgotten the songs, though they continue to narrate some of the stories.

5. The early Aleuts were very fond of dances and dance-festivals, some of which were carried out by the whole village, with other villages as guests, or participants to some extent. After the evening meal the men are said sometimes to have danced naked until exhausted. Dances of naked men, and of naked women, from which the other sex was rigidly excluded on pain of death, and masked dances of various kinds were in vogue. Successive dances of children, naked women, and women in curious attire, which were followed by shamanistic incantations, feasting, etc., are also reported as having occurred among the Aleutians. The dances in which the opposite sex took part together are reputed to have been more decorous. Their most
The remarkable performance of this sort, however, was the great moonlight dance held in December, which had considerable religious significance. The men danced, and images of the sea, dogs or animals were set up, one for the women and one for the men. The sexes danced apart from each other, masked and naked, on the snow under the moonlight. The huge masks wore names in the occasion so that the wearer could look only at the ground, since to see or look at the images, upon which the spirits were believed to descend during the ceremonies, was death to the individual. The entranced dance was over, the images and masks, which seem generally to have been made for the particular occasion, were broken in pieces and thrown into the sea. Although mention is made of wooden figures carried from island to island, and associated with certain ceremonies, permanent 'idols' and 'temples' hardly existed. There were, it appears, certain 'sacred' high places, or rocks, where, with mysterious ceremonies, much high in the hands. While the youths (not being allowed to approach these spots), made offerings. Events like the casting up of a whale on the beach were the cause of dancing and other festivities. In some of the dances the participants, on horseback, paraded and paraded, while others in other dances danced naked, except for the large wooden masks, which came down to their shoulders, and often represented various sea-animals. The masks used in the ordinary dances were different from those used in religious ceremonies, the former being evidently copied from the Aleut type of face, while the others, when human faces are represented, seem to differ much from them. The dancing of some of the carved masks used in certain ceremonies were deposited in caves. Masked ceremonies were also connected with the spring-time festivals.

Besides their religious dances and like ceremonies, the Aleuts had others of a dramatic and educational nature. Myths and legends were acted out in pantomime and dance by the members of one village, who would invite the inhabitants of another village to witness the 'play.' On such occasions special songs would be composed and sung. In these 'plays' men and animals alike were imitated and represented. Similar events on a smaller scale took place in individual huts, the larger ones in the 'village-house.' Veniaminoff and Golder give an account of a performance called kugan apakh, or 'the appearance of the devils,' the object of which was to frighten the women into confessing if they 'keep them under' properly. The essentials of the performance were as follows:—When it was thought necessary to impress the women and girls, certain of the men left the village on a pretended hunt. At night, after they had been gone a few days, the men at home made believe some calamity was about to overtake the community, and, by pretending great fear, made the women under the impression that they were thus frightened, strange noises were heard, and the 'devils' arrived, against whom the men made the show of a valiant defense. After the 'devils' had been driven away, it was found that one of the villages was missing, and a woman who had been seen was never again heard from. The alarm agreed upon, was carried out as a rascal for him. By and by the whole started back. The man appeared dead. He was gradually revived by being immersed in water. There were others of kindred nature, such as stories of people being caught in small boats or houses by spirits, and the souls of the dead returning to take revenge. One of the stories of the Aleuts has been preserved,—of those recorded nearly all are due to Veniaminov (1850-1840), and Golder at the close of the century.

One of the Aleutian ancestor stories tells of the adventures, so disastrous to the people, of Chief Agafalgik Agus and his son Kayakalik. One of several stories concerning women, it is the tale of the woman, so renowned among the Aleuts as 'the woman fond of intestines.' One of the origin-legends ascribes the beginnings of this dog, some divine animal which can jump down from the sky in the form of a dog. Another version of this myth of canine ancestry, found also elsewhere in the Eskimo territory, makes the Aleuts descend from a female dog belonging to Unalaska and a great dog which swam over to her from the island of Kodiak. Still another account traces them back to the dog-mother, Mahbakh, and an old man named Nghladbakh, who came from the north to visit her. Another legend makes the ancestors of the Aleuts two cursed creatures, male and female, half-man and half-fox,—the name of the male being Angakak, the name of the female Angakak. Mention is also made of Man, the power to create human beings by throwing stones on the earth; birds, beasts, and fishes being made by throwing stones over the water, etc.

Golder calls attention to the fact that the Aleutian stories are very realistic, there being 'not a single story that could not have happened in real life.' There are many popular legends and stories in the Aleut language, and they are conductor, but they come in only at the end of the tale. It is, as Golder remarks, 'as if the gods were called in to help out the story-teller, when he gets into a tight place.'

8. As may be seen from their religious ceremonies and other practices, as well as from the evidence in their tales and legends, the Aleuts had much spirit-life. The shamans were able to obtain the assistance of spirits and supernatural beings, and the spirits (kugan) of power descended into the 'idols' during the great religious dances. The Aleuts believed that their dead relatives acted as guardian spirits, helping them out in all dangerous situations and trying conditions. They also relied much upon these spirits in their schemes of revenge, etc. Beliefs in amulets of various kinds was common,—the warrior, e.g., wore a belt of sea-weed with magic knots. Mention is also made of the thimble, a marvellous pebble, which all animals were unable to resist when it was thrown into the sea. The Aleuts of to-day have little of the rich mythology and folk-lore of their ancestors, the conversational speech of the Greek Chukches is still in place in the time of Veniaminov, and the course pursued by the Russian priesthood having resulted in the passing away of institutions and beliefs, ceremonies, customs, and habits of the old time. To this process the Aleuts appear to have taken what research, a fact which further hastened the disappearance of what was purely national and racial.


ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.
ALEXANDER OF ABONOTEICHOS

In Paphlagonia owes his fame to a treatise of Lucian, who was his contemporary. The piece is fully the minutest details of Alexander’s life. But Lucian makes no claim to the invention of the idea, for he drew his material from an unknown source, which he felt for one whom he regarded as a venal and impudent impostor, trading on the self-created superstition of an ignorant and credulous people. In his war against the enemy of his age, Lucian had undoubtedly all his art to blunder the character of one who seemed to him to represent its worst excesses of superstition. Yet, apart from the charges against Alexander’s morals, Lucian’s life of Alexander is probably more trustworthy than his life of Peregrinus.

Alexander was a Greek of Abonoteichos, with splendid gifts of mind and body, and a charm of manner which, Lucian admits, left on casual acquaintances the impression of a high and simple character. He began his career with a wizard physician connected with the circle of Apollonius of Tyana. On his death, Alexander formed a partnership in colours, bronze and silver, and during their travels in Macedonia, the pair, seeing the passion of the time for any means of forecasting the future, determined to exploit its hopes and fears by founding an oracle which should rival those of the ancient world. They brought a tame serpent from Macedonia, and in the precincts of Apollo at Chalcis they buried two tablets, predicting that Asklepios would come to Pontus with his father, and make his home at Abonoteichos. Alexander knew his countrymen. The promise of the epiphany soon spread, and the people of Abonoteichos at once began to build a temple for the coming god. Soon Alexander appeared among them with white tunic and purple cloak, and a scimitar in his hand, reciting an oracle which proclaimed him ‘the son of Perseus, dear to Apollo.’ Fits of prophetic frenzy still further raised the general excitement. One morning at dawn, almost naked and scimitar in hand, he bounded into the market-place in all the orgiastic excitement of a votary of the Great Mother, leapt upon the altar, and, with a strange jumble of Hebrew and Greek, chanted a liturgy of the god. He then rushed to a ditch which ran round the foundations of the new temple, fished up a goose’s egg in which a young snake had been hatched, and, carrying the shell, displayed to the awestruck crowd the nascent deity.

Multitudes thronged to Abonoteichos, and Alexander, sitting on a divan, held a levee, in which he displayed, coiled about his shoulders, the trained serpent from Macedonia, to which a very simple art had attached a human head. Crowds poured through the darkened room, jostling one another to see the new god so miraculously mature, so humanized so divine. The great miracle drew crowds from Bithynia, Thrace, and Galatia, and even from remote barbarian regions. Artists flocked to the spot to express the likeness of the new god by ivory or bronze. A statue of Glycon the third of the seed of Zeus, a light to men.’

Alexander had studied the system of the older oracles, and he determined to found a new one, while he carefully displayed a reverence for the ancient worship of Apollo at Didyma. For a small fee of 2 obols he received on stated days sealed packets, which he ceremoniously returned apparently unopened, with the needed answer. A hot needle and concealed shamanism. Though Lucian by means of an obstinate sealed once exposed the fraud. The oracle, like so many of the time, was mainly one of healing, and, skilfully managed, with an army of officials and intermediaries, the confidence of the people to spread the fame of its efficacy throughout the Empire, it gathered in a revenue of nearly £7000 a year. Its fame spread to Rome, and great nobles like Severianus the governor of Cappadocia, and Rutilianus, one of the most experienced statesmen of the age, were attracted to the oracle, and with the participation of a dangerous political curiosity put to him, which would not bear disclosure. Rutilianus, at the mature age of sixty, even condescended to marry Alexander’s daughter, his boasted offering by an amour with Selena, who had been captivated as by another Endymion.

In the great plague of A.D. 167, a magical verse, dictated by the new oracle, was inscribed over the doors of houses throughout the Roman world. Even the circle of the philosophic Emperor yielded to the imposture. When the Marcomannic war was at its height, an oracle from Abonoteichos was received at headquarters, ordering two lions to be thrown into the Danube. The ceremony was followed by a disaster to the Roman arms, which was glibly explained by classical precedent.

Alexander, with all his daring and ingenuity, was scrupulously conservative and adhered to ancient forms. He crowned his achievements by establishing mysteries on the approved model, from which Christians and Epicurean freethinkers were excluded under a solemn ban. The ceremonies lasted for three days, and on the third day of the sacrifice the mysteries were presented with striking effect—the labour of Leto, the birth of Apollo and Asklepios, the epiphany of Glycon, and the celestial origin of Lucian. Alexander known to him, as a great Greece, to the new oracle, and strove to convict it of deceit. For his own scornful incredulity, Lucian once nearly paid with his life. And Alexander, by the mouth of the god, ordered that the blasphemies of the atheists should be punished by stoning. He finally triumphed over all opposition, and rose even to divine honours. His statue was an object of worship at Parium in the time of Athenagoras. Inscriptions of this kind, written by the same hand, are scattered widely in the extent of his influence. In the third century, the religion of Glycon still flourished at Ionopolis, the new name which Alexander had given Abonoteichos, and so struck the same spot, scattered all its organs, and adorned the device of the serpent with a human head.

Lit. Add.—Lucian; Alexander; Athenagoras, Legatippi epistula Christi~iae, ch. 20; O. L. III. 1291 f.; Ep. Ephes. Epigr. in O.L. suppl. ii. 501; Renan, L’Epigen christi~ienne (1853), 453 f., and M. A. Strabon (1898), 50; Gregorovius, Hadrian (1884), II. ch. 18.

S. DILL.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The life in the history of religion and ethics.—I. Synopsis of his reign.—Alexander III., afterwards surmounted the Great, was born at Pella, B.C. 356. He was the son of Philip II., king of Macedonia, and Olympias, a Molossian princess. In 336 he succeeded to the throne, and two years afterwards set out on his Eastern expedition. S.W. Asia was subdued by his victories at the Granicus (B.C. 334) and at Issus (B.C. 333). His attention was then turned to Egypt, and in the course of his next campaign occurred a visit to Jerusalem, which may perhaps be regarded as historical. Alexandria was founded in B.C. 331. Campaigns against the northern provinces of Baetia and Sogdiana were followed, and, generally all the districts in which the kings of Persia exercised sovereignty were subdued. Alexander then forced the Khyber Pass, or, more probably, another pass 80 miles to the northeast, crossing the rugged Pass of Panjâb; but his further designs were thwarted by
the discontent of his army, and in 323 at Babylon his brief and meteoric career was brought to a close.

2. Preparations for Alexander's work.—Alexander's greatest work was the spread of Greek influence, less for the preservation of a result of his methods of recruiting his armies and organizing his conquests, and in ways that made this influence permanent and controlling. The conception of such spread may be found before his day as part of the intellectual theories of men who were feeling the defects of the various kinds of autonomy prevalent within Greece, or were eager for a fuller and richer life than was possible there. Isocrates in his letter to Philip of Macedon transcends the limits of city patriotism, and contemplates the spread of Greek culture, possibly also of the Greek race, by means of conquest. The school of Socrates was familiar with wide views, and impatient of parochial strife and politics. Xenophon was one of his disciples, who never ceased to be a Greek, but yet considered travel and military service abroad, with eventual settlement in some district where he taught orals, or cities, cities of which he wished his influence to spread, and disseminate his own views, as the natural career for a man of ambition or leisure. The employment of Greek soldiers as mercenaries by Eastern sovereigns was an ancient practice in the days of Cyrus; and, while that of the peopled districts formed the more numerous section, there were Included also adventurers from the leading cities, who were men of parts as well as enterprise. Whatever their treatment was at first, they had ceased before the days of Alexander to be regarded merely as means of defending a weak satrap or adding to the dominions of a strong one. To Cyrus and his associates and successors they were friends to be courted; to a Persian policy was attached the desire to have Greek settlements coincided with the increasing Greek demand for expansion. Emergence from the narrow area and narrower interests of the little native cities was becoming a necessity. Agesilaus might have effected it but for the dissections and rivalries that showed the impossibility of Greek overlordship on any large scale. And in political theory on the part of thinkers, both as a practical means of escape from the impasse into which the affairs of Greece had been brought, and as the continuation of a process that had been going on for several generations, a preparation for Alexander's schemes of empire, at least in the minds of the younger thinkers, could be traced. The Greek states were, in some cases, the direct result of the efforts of Antimachus the Cynic to get possession of the Greek world at the head of a federation, and in the collection of the taxes, and in the training of recruits. As opportunity served, this temporary arrangement was supplemented and made effective by the foundation of new cities or polities, cities of which was designed to serve as a centre of defensive power. Seventy such cities, ranging from Kandahar to Alexandria, were founded by Alexander himself, and claim in various dialects to perpetuate his name. Some of these were Macedonian and partly Greek,—veterans, discontented troops, camp followers,—with natives swept in from the neighbouring villages or transported from remote and inaccessible lands. Some of these cities were intended to be outposts or garrison towns; others were placed as convenient mafts upon the great trade routes; but all were invested with the privileges of partial autonomy. In military affairs the Macedonian command was reserved for Greeks. The Greek campaigns of Alexander were the last of the Macedonian wars.
by the disturbance of earlier beliefs is an unwelcoming diversion when the mind is bent on activities. Pyrrho's importance in this period is twofold. He scattered seed, of which the fruit was late in appearing; but, when it did appear, the crop was plentiful. And even the influence upon or attraction to Pyrrho interested in every form of thought but captivated by none, became a not infrequent product of the Hellenistic genius. And he illustrates the reflex influence of a great thinker on the complications of the districts which Alexander traversed or visited. That Pyrrho learnt his theories in Persia or India rests upon the statement of an early writer, whose name alone is known, and is probably incorrect (Diog. Laert. ix. 81). With more confidence it may be asserted that his natural equanimity was raised by his Eastern experiences into the worship of imperturbability. The Greek joyousness was transformed into a carefree immobility, upon which in part may well be based the fatalism of various later creeds and the independence of external circumstance which the Stoic coveted and the Cynic mingled with bitterness.

It is to be remembered that only schools of philosophy that could be regarded as of appreciable present value were the Stoic and the Epicurean, of which the former, especially, gradually became identical with the Hellenistic culture of the East. Epicurus was a dozen years younger than Alexander, but, according to his own account, he entered seriously upon his philosophical studies at the age of fourteen. He claimed to be independent of his predecessors, but was certainly influenced by the teaching of Democritus, and he articulated in a system conceptions and tendencies that were floating in the air and creating the intellectual climate of the Greek world in Alexander's days, for he was born younger than the great king; but his teaching also links itself on to that of Socrates and the Cynics, and, as developed by his immediate successors, it soon became the standard of Greek ethical and religious culture. The Stoic, on the other hand, had an elementary theology as well as an ethic. Other knowledge was held to be attainable than that given by the senses. The so-called gods were manifestations of a Supreme God, who ruled over human lives and ordained for each man the part he should play in the world. Happiness was to be reached indirectly by the discharge of duty, without much consideration of conditions or consequences. Wisdom and peace lay in keeping touch with the Divine ruler and plan of life; in which case a man became, whatever his outward circumstance, royal and free.

Such philosophies were not entirely foreign to the fusion of all distinctions of creed or race or custom, and was exactly appropriate to a period when civilizations also were fusing, and a rule of life was in request that could survive national decay and still serve for guidance in any change of fortune. Stoicism may be regarded as the leading philosophy in the Greek culture that became cosmopolitan. It succeeded in establishing itself at length on the banks of the Tiber, and penetrated even through the thick shell of Hebraism, affecting the thought and the phrases of St. Paul himself.

6. Alexander and the Jews.—Although Alexander possibly visited Jerusalem, according to the tradition preserved in the Talmud as well as by Josephus (Ant. ix. viii. 3-6), and though he enrolled Jews in his armies, granted them special privileges, used them as an intelligence department, and settled many favorably in his new towns and colonies, there are no indications of any direct or immediate influence upon their creed or practice. Alexander opened or reopened the channels of communication by which the East and the West were brought into contact both with one another and with Egypt and Coele-Syria. Alexander's interest, in some ways, was subsequent ages, came teachers from India and Persia as well as from Greece; but the Hebrew did not readily assimilate any foreign belief or custom. The cause is to be found in the strictness of his monotheism as well as in the exceptional solidarity of the race. The Greek language was tolerated and even adopted in the course of time, but Greek culture was regarded with abhorrence in the inner circles where Jewish traditions were most sacredly preserved; and the complete coalescence of Hellenism with Hebraism proper has not yet taken place.

LITERATURE.—Freeman, Hist.', Eboys, 2nd ed. (4th ed. 1892); Essay V discusses the sources of Alexander's history. For the Rabbinical traditions see Dersenburgh, Hist. de la Fal. (1871) 41 ff.; Hamburger, Der Fal. (1883) 44 ff.; and W. Mahaffy, Hist. de la Fal. (1891) 67 ff. Droysen, Gesch. Alex. des Grossen (1857) and Gesch. d. hellen. des Romans (1877) 2nd ed. 1889. W. D. Krag, Greek philosophy (1894), is brilliant for some of the philosophical relations of the Christian schools, but contains much later material. For the influence of Jainism and Buddhism on Hellenism see Jones, A. E., 'theie (1900), and Story of Alexander's Empire (1900) (elementary, but well supplied with maps); Beyer, Versuch über die d. Philostr. (Leipzig, 1896); and Susemihl, Lit. der Alexandrinereit (1896).

K. W. MOSS.

ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY.

(W. R. INGE).

Scope of the Article.—Some of the best-known histories of 'Alexandrianism' or 'the School of Alexandria,' have been called the 'School of Neoplatonism. This is a mistake. Neo-Platonism, which will be dealt with in this Encyclopaedia under its own name, is the latest stage in the development of Greek thought. Its connexion with Alexandria is less than is commonly supposed. In this article the local limit will be observed.

Secondly, this article will deal with theology, not with philosophy. Although Neo-Platonism was essentially a form of philosophy, it is only a philosophical religion, if it is possible to maintain the distinction. And we may speak of an Alexandrian theology, though not of an Alexandrian philosophy.

Thirdly, the Hellenic schools of religious thought which flourished at Alexandria are omitted, as belonging rather to the precursors of Neo-Platonism than to our present subject. The justification for omitting them lies in their subordinate position of positive religion to philosophy, which was almost an axiom among the Pagans; e.g. Galen expresses surprise that some Christians, who cannot follow philosophical arguments, 'have progressed as far in self-control and the ardent pursuit of virtue as genuine philosophers.' Moreover, in spite of the resemblance in metaphysical and especially in ethical principles between their philosophy and that of the Christian Alexandrians, their attitude towards Greek tradition and culture is decisive. There is a great cleavage in this respect even between Clement and Plotinus. In reformed Paganism it seems to have been a matter of good taste not to mention Christianity, and Judaism was regarded with equal contempt. It is very doubtful whether the Jewish-Alexandrian theology had any direct influence upon Neo-Platonism. In fact, Judaism and, still more, religious prejudices counteracted the cosmopolitan tendency of thought which began under the successors of Alexander. In spite of the common parentage of many ideas, and the parallel of development under similar conditions, the separa-
tion is sharp between the three forms which religious
philosophy assumed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries: (1) Jewish and Christian Platonism, both of which
stand on the basis of Jewish monotheism; (2) the
Hebraic philosophy, which the best representative is Plotinus; (3) the barbaric Platonism
of the Gnostics. In these all systems or schools
there appear the following characteristics, though
observed with certain modifications: (a) an almost
absolute notion of God as the transcendent, absolute Unity,
(b) a tendency to call in intermediary powers (the
Logos, spirits, etc.) to bridge over the chasm be-
tween God and the world, (c) a tendency to connect
matters with the evil principle, (d) self-discipline as
a means to clearer vision of Divine truths. But
the emphasis which was laid on these several
documents differed widely in the three classes above
named.

This article deals only with the first—Jewish
and Christian Platonism, as developed at Alexandria.
And the three representative names, round which
our discussion must range, are Philo, Clement,
and Origen.

1. Precursors of Philo.—It was inevitable that
the Judaism of the Diaspora should diversify
further and further from the Palestinian tradition.
In Egypt, for example, the Jewish population formed
nearly half the population of the country, and were numer-
ous throughout the country, a vigorous independent
life was sure to appear in all departments of mental
activity. The Egyptian Jews could not maintain
an attitude of aloofness from the secular culture of
the world around them. To say that they were
Hellenized is only to say that they were not self-
excluded from the civilization of the period, for
Hellenism was a factor in all the Jewish philos-
ophy, and ethics of the lands where Greek culture
penetrated. But when we speak of the Hellenizing
of Judaism, we mean more than the pervasive
influence of the secular civilization. There was a
definite attempt made by the Jews to interpret
their own religion in a form acceptable to the
Greeks, from which cannot be separated an attempt
to interpret Hellenism to themselves by stretch-
ing it upon a framework of Jewish orthodoxy.
This latter design was rendered necessary by the
rapid decay of faith in the statutory Judaism
among the educated, a decay which was exhibited
both by increasing irreligion and a spiritualizing
of the really religious, and by the increasing ex-
ternality and hypocrisy of the cult among the
official class. In the Diaspora, a liberal Judaism
seemed capable of merging with a Unitarian
Judaism with strong ethical convictions. The old dream
of a theocracy was forgotten, and Messianism
aroused no interest. The Greek doctrine of
immortality was given a moral turn by conceiving of
the future life as primarily the scene of rewards and
punishments; and the national hatred of Rome
(after the Roman conquest of the East) was gratified
by the belief in a day of universal destruction,
ushering in the great age. The statutory basis
of this religion was furnished by the Old Testa-
ment, which was asserted to contain the sum-total
of all Divine and human wisdom. The 'books of
Moses', in particular, were treated with unlimited
reverence.

The Septuagint is perhaps our earliest specimen
of Jewish-Alexandrian literature, for the traces of
Greek influence in Sirach are very disputable.
Philo, however, not only freely borrowed and
frequently modify the naïve anthropomorphism of the Old
Testament, substituting, e.g., the 'power' for the
'hand' of God, and His 'glory' for His 'robe' in Is
60. Philo especially, were among those who
introduced the Platonic distinction of matter and form, and in
Ps 51:9 the Stoical ἡγεσία ἑαυτῆς intrudes itself.
The third book of the so-called Sibylline Oracles, which
probably dates from the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.,
is a remarkable proof of growing respect for Greek
thought and religion, since the unis object of the
composition is to prove the righteousness of Jewish
national hopes, under the form of heathen
prophecy. But the characteristic features of Alex-
andrianism, enumerated above, are not prominent
in the Sibylline Oracles. Neither allegorism, nor
eschatology, nor the dogma of the Logos, and the 'Spirit', is
also half-personified, being, indeed, only 'Wisdom' itself
under a slightly different aspect. The
'Word,' on the other hand, is used, as in the Old
Testament books, for the expression of the will of
God; there is no approximation to the Philonic
use of 'Logos,' even in 1848-96, where there is a
poetical personification. On Messianic hopes the
author is silent, like the other Wisdom-writers; the
book which is so-called, but was not accepted by them as Scripture. The influ-
ence of Greek (Platonic and Stoic) philosophy
appears chiefly in the conception of a harmonious
and beautifully ordered world directed by an im-
manent power, and in the lack of the old deviation from orthodoxy is to be found in the
document of pre-existence, which is clearly stated in
8:1-10. I was a child of comely parts, and had
obtained a good soul; or rather, being good, I entered
into an un-bodied life.' This can only mean that
the soul has displayed goodness in a previous state
of existence. The body is thus no essential part of
the personality, a view which leads easily to the
notion that it is, if not the source of moral evil,
but yet the "muddy vesture of decay" which presses
down the soul. The eschatology is vague. There
will be no bodily resurrection; but the souls of
the righteous will be rewarded, at the 'inspection,' with
everlasting felicity, while those of the wicked will
be excluded from their true life, and cast into
eternal darkness.

2. Philo.—Passing by the Letter of the pseudo-
Aristeas, a manifest forgery, and the fragments of
Aristobulus (a Jewish Peripatetic who lived in the
middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.), which have also been
suspected, we come to Philo. Philo (born about
20 B.C.) was a member of a well-known Alexandrian
family, being brother of Alexander the Alabarch,
the head of the Jewish community in the Egyptian
capital. Philo himself lived a life of retirement
and contemplation, mainly engaged in Jewish fanatism;
founded by the Roman govern-
or Ptolemy, led to his being sent to Rome with a
deputation from the Jewish community (A.D. 39-40).
He was then elderly, and had already written most
of his books.

Philo believed himself to be, and was accepted
by his contemporaries as being, an orthodox Jew.
He is an apostate, who wishes to defend Judaism
against all the heresies, and schismatics. More
particularly, since Judaism for the Alexandrian
Jew was a book-religion, he was concerned to prove
that the highest forms of revelation and of human
wisdom were contained within the compass of the
Old Testament, and in respect to the New. In his
opinion a crime of the deepest dye: he knows
of an impious man who, after laughing at some
story in Genesis, soon after hanged himself for no
reason, 'the unhappy spirit.' Philo gives some
particulars from the number 10, paragraph 8 (Nom.
Xom, 8). His theory of inspiration is that God
speaks through the prophet, who is merely a pas-
tive instrument. This inspiration takes place when
the instrument is so excited that he is able to
utter what he himself has experienced. His mind suddenly be-
comes full of images, and ideas pour forth from it,
while he is insensible to all externals (de Migrat.
ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY

Abrah. 7). The description resembles Böhme's account of his manner of writing. At the head of all the prophets is Moses, who alone had seen God face to face. In his writings the sum of human wisdom is contained.

This conception of revelation, as given once for all in its entirety, led Philo into great difficulties. If he had been content to argue that the more spiritual faith of his day was contained implicitly, in germ, in the literal religious instruction which he received, he might have made out a good case. But the doctrine of development, even in the limited application afterwards made by St. Paul, was unknown to him. He can admit no inferiority in Genesis as compared with Isaiah. And since the OT, understood in its natural sense, contained many things which could not but shock the conscience as well as the intelligence of a cultivated Alexandrian acquainted with Greek philosophy, the expoundment of allegorism was necessary (see ALLEGORY). This method was no invention of Philo, or of his contemporaries. Greek moralists had long treated Homer in this way, quoting lines from him as we quote verses from the Bible, to reinforce the unreasoning and even tyrannical system warped by the Sophists, and still more by the school of Aman-goras; but it is rejected by Plato, who will not admit unedifying myths into his State, either with or without some degree of humanized superintendence. It is not for a certain extent this kind of exposition is justified. In the higher kinds of literature, the perception of some sort of allegory or double meaning is almost necessary. The more literal or grammatical sense cannot satisfy the student of any poetry or science, either in the study of nature or men, or of the spirit of the ancients. Exegesis is a fatal obstacle to understanding the religious books of mankind—a task in which we cannot succeed unless we realize that the thoughts of the past are relative to the past, and are better interpreted by it. Philo himself calls it the method of the Greek mystics. In these rites everything was represented as being at once a thing and the covering of a thing, an outward sign and an inward truth.

Allegorion, then, is simply the sacramental method applied to history and literature. It was becoming the common property of all the higher religions, and was the easiest refuge for educated men who wished to belong to an established religious body, without forcing themselves to accept immoral or absurd beliefs. The general view was that all revelation is a Divinely-contrived means of conveying the double purpose of concealing the truth from those who are unworthy to receive it, and of magnifying it, for the choicer spirits, by an indirect and mysterious mode of presentation (ἡ σχέσις ἡ μυστικὴ τῶν σημαδίων).

The following summary of Philo's principles of exegesis may give some idea of the method in practice. (1) When nouns are represented by personal pronouns, the meaning is indicated as 'man.' (2) A non-human verb, e.g. ἀνάγω, 'man,' shows that what is meant is not the man possessed of body and soul, but he only who is possessed of virtue. Similarly, personal pronouns are significant. In Gen 15: 15-18 (Μεταμφιάζω) means that Abraham was delivered from the tangles of the flesh. There can be no doubt about St. Paul and the Apocalypse, and no work of divine writing can be interpreted without this meaning. If Moses says 'shepherd' in one place, and 'keeper of sheep' in another, be means to distinguish between a good and a bad kind. (2) Places on which no question, e.g. ἔρχεται, 'comes,' is meant to indicate δέρκεται, and πρᾶπτων to indicate πράπτων. (3) Double verbs are the highest meaning, e.g. since 'ribs' is sometimes used for 'strength,' the words about Adam's rib mean that the ἄναγω φρονεῖ the sense of the Pauline passage fourth out of the five meanings. (4) Numbers are always countable; one is the number of God, two of the creature, three of the body, four of potential completeness, five of the sensuous life, and so on. (5) Animals are symbolic: the camel of memory, the ass of the irrational nature, the snakes of lust. Inanimate objects are created in the same manner. (6) The proper names of Scripture are allegorically interpreted, e.g. the Pentateuch are allegorized according to their fancied etymological affinities. Philo speaks of allegorism as the 'moral,' as opposed to the 'natural' interpretation. It is plain that the principle of allegorism offered great temptations to evading the letter of the Mosaic law. This misuse of the method is condemned by Philo, who protests against those who 'spiritualize' the literal mosaics of the Pentateuch (of de Migrat. Abrah. 16). He also distrusts the symbolic study of nature, as raising more problems than it solves. We shall learn more by studying our own minds, and the sacred literature.

In considering Philo's theology, we must expect to find the Greek and Hebrew elements imperfectly fused. It would surpass the genius of any man to harmonize the logical, analytic thought of the Greeks with the vague, indefinite intuitions of Hebrew prophecy. But the way had been prepared for him by approximations from both sides. The Jews of Alexandria had universalized Jehovah till He had lost the clear characteristics (Leg. ad Deum of the God of the Hebrews; and, on the other hand, Greek thought was now more favourably disposed to the transcendence of God than when Stoicism was in the ascendant. Philo, in explaining the anthropomorphisms of the Pentateuch as mere accommodations. God is, in truth, not a Being who can feel anger, jealousy, or repentance. He is without body, invisible, the most universal of beings, above all understanding, above even the absolute Good and Beautiful. We apprehend His existence partly by analogy: as we have an invisible mind, which is sovereign over the body, so must the Divine have a supreme mind, which is God (de Mundi Opif. 23). Also, the world shows traces of design; but the principle of causality cannot reside in matter, which has nothing noble in itself, but only the potentiality of becoming all things (de Mundi Opif. 5).

A higher mode of apprehending God is by spiritual intuition, which under certain conditions culminates in knowledge of Him. But, since like cases are not met in the past, we are precluded by the limitations of our imitute from forming an adequate conception of the mind of the Universe. We cannot get out of ourselves, and undesired existence is incomprehensible to us. We must first become God, which is impossible, in order to be able to comprehend God (Fragnn. ii. 654). We approach most nearly to the truth when we strip off from our idea of God all that is characteristic of finite existence. This process still leaves Him with the attributes of goodness, freedom, and activity. Creative activity (τὸ θεωρεῖν) is as characteristic of God as receptivity (τὸ παρέχειν) is of the creature, and God 'never ceases working.' The complete negation logically leads to a God who is without qualities (ἄρσεν*); but Philo here takes refuge in agnosticism. (1) God has revealed his nature to none, and we cannot say that the First Cause is material or immaterial, with or without attributes (Leg. ad Deum, iil. 73). The bare fact of His existence (ὁ Θεός ἐστιν) makes Him omnipotence, omniscience, and the like, which can be applied only to the Supreme Being; and such attributes as goodness, etc., in their full meaning can be applied only to Him. (2) Those things which among men are called truth and justice, are symbols only; but those which are

* But properly ἄρσεν means not 'having no attributes,' but 'inexplicable of being classified': God does not belong to any class or order of being, but is above all classification, being unique.
so with God are prototypes or ideas.' God is 'the most generic' as excluding nothing; but He transcends even the highest genus, τὸ ξυλίκιον. He is 'older than the monad'; by which Philo means that God is the original of all men and negations, not of plurality, but that His nature is the archetype of the mathematician's unity.

One of the most difficult parts of Philo's system is the doctrine of the Divine 'Powers'. These Powers are now generally appreciated only by pure Intelligence; to us they are revealed in their action. They are not, however, exhausted in the created world, for they are infinite, like God Himself. Their function is to give to matter those forms in virtue of which we are able to say that things exist. In themselves, the Powers are the eternal forms of God's thought; their activity is stamped on the whole order of nature, which is the result of their latest expression in the creative ideas. These Powers, or ideas, are not of equal rank. The highest of them is the Logos, which stands nearest to the Godhead, even as the reasonableness of man is that part of him which reaches most nearly to the Divine.

It has been usual with critics of Philo to condemn with great severity this conception of 'Powers'. It is said that he uses these dividing ideas as a device between the unrecognizable God and the world, and that the contradiction reappears, in no way resolved, in the ideas assigned to the dividing agencies. The Powers are sometimes identified with God, and sometimes separated from Him. They are (it is said) a transposed device to bring God into contact with the finite, from which He has been jealously excluded by another line of argument. It is perhaps worth considering whether any theistic system which regards God as something more than a finite spirit among other spirits, has succeeded in explaining an apparently immaterial, omnipotent, and omniscient being can really exist at all time. Philo is possibly not more successful than others who have attempted to reconcile the idea of an infinite being and a fair estimate of his teaching will acquire him of the puerile expedient of creating substitutes to act in God's place. 'God, having outside creation, has none of the less fulfilled us. He may be called Wisdom ('Φιλός'); He may be called Omnipotence (εὐρύχωρας Κύριος); and it is not an isolated acknowledgment of the Divine immensity in the world. He 'extends' His Powers over creation just as man is said to 'extend' the energies of his soul to God. It is true that we read that 'the Blessed One must not come into contact with inordinate matter,' and this is why He used the inanimate Powers, whose real name is ideas, that every great idea may be taken possession of by the greater idea. But surely this merely is to assert the transcendence of God, without denying His immittance. The notion of the Powers as subordinate persons is quite alien to Philo's philosophic method, and cannot even be discussed without wandering far from his standpoint. Dekalogos means, as a very appropriate form, 'subjective Logos.' The 'Logos, as it were, in all creation, outside of the whole in His essence, but in all things by his powers ... containing the whole world, and being the Logos, and in all respects with his Father, and Him only.' Both in Philo and in the Gospels, the three persons of the Godhead are distinguished by different energies and powers. The Logos, which is the opposite well understood to be metaphors. In the same way, when the Powers are symbolized as the agents and mediators of God, the names denoting His whole personality have been misunderstood as a literal statement of fact. Philo is extremely fond of personification; e.g., for him 'all the virtues are virgin, just as, par revanche, the wives of the patriarchs are 'not women but virgins.' Nothing can prove more strongly that Philo did not ascribe personality to the Powers, than the fact that he everywhere distinguishes them from the angels (in spite of Zeller and others). The angels are incorporeal souls, created, finite, and localized; they are 'powers,' no doubt, doing God's will, but they are entirely different from 'the Powers' of divine Ideas. These latter are the active manifestations of the essence of God, which give to creation all the reality, as well as all the ordered, individual, and special character.

In the hierarchy of Powers, the Logos of God is, as already remarked, second to God Himself ('Leg. Alleg. ii. 21). The name Logos comes from Stoicism, and the content of the word Philo is more indebted to Plato. The Stoical notion of Logos as active and quickening force is less prominent than the Platonic expressions 'idea of ideas' and 'archetypal idea.' The 'Logos of Philo, in fact, coincides with the Logos in Plato, and the idea of the world is the mode in which he assumes in creating: 'in the Logos are inscribed and engraved the constitutions of all other things.' As the principle of orderly development in the natural world is called the 'Catter' (τροαιρετής). The inferior ideas, gathered up in the Logos, constitute the multiplicity in unity of God's creation. A difficult question is raised by the distinction between the inward (ἐστιατος) and the uttered (ἐγερθήκης) Logos in man, which corresponds to a distinction in the universal Logos. The Logos is tumble both on the universal and the nature of man ('Vit. Mos. iii. 13). The 'seal' of the Logos upon matter—the expressed thought of God—is not called the 'uttered Word'; but the inward Logos seems to be between the thought of God in itself and the same thought made objective.

Another problem is the relation of the Logos to the half-personalized 'Wisdom' of the early Jewish-Alexandrian literature. Philo disliked the gender of 'Wisdom'; and though he explains that 'its nature is masculine, not feminine,' he found the word less dignified as well as less plastic than Logos. 'Wisdom' is chiefly used by Philo of the Logos as informing the human soul hardly ever of God's creative power. The word 'Spirit' is sparingly used of the Logos or Wisdom inhabiting the soul of man. The question as to the personality of the Logos is rather undiscussed. For instance, it is no

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of any Greek cared to define personality, a concept which has no name in the Greek language. He sometimes speaks of 'Logoi' in the plural, with a sense of repetition than when we speak indifferently of 'the Logos.' For this very reason he employs poetical or mythical personification quite freely. The Logos is the constitutive principle of human individuality; he is not himself an individual. The Logos of Philo is therefore nearer to what, in Christianity, became Monarchianism than to the Arianism with which it has been compared, or to any other orthodox view. See, further, the article Logos.

As the Logos of God is the archetype of human reason, the mind of man is nearer to God than any other created thing. The human soul is the only worthy temple of God; those in whom God dwells may justly be called His sons. Knowledge of God, gained by imitation of Him and likeness to Him, is the highest good for man. Evil consists in separation from God, and ignorance of Him; the cause of the head of moral evil is selfishness (ψυχή), especially when combined with arrogance and conceit (μεγαλοπρεπεῖα). To speak, like Epicurus, of "my birthright" and "my blessing," is proof of a boundless impotence, and is inconsistent with- the position for it belongs to God alone to say 'Mine' ('Leg. Alleg. iii. 70). Philo does not identify evil with ignorance; for he clearly teaches that sins committed in ignorance are pardonable; but he is careful to distinguish between the ignorance which we cannot help and that which is due to pride or selfishness. The corruptible body always tends to press down the soul; not that it is evil in itself, for matter has no moral significance, good or bad, apart from our use of it; but, as a matter of experience, the bodily needs and appetites are a dog upon spirituality. The powers of sense, though Divine gifts, are irrational, and may even lead us to their own gratification without thought of consequences; but to make this gratification our object is wrong and ruinous. The passions (πάθη) for the most part operate in opposition to reason, and are therefore bad; but some are made manifest by the existence of such passions πάθη as pity and love.

The great helper of mankind in the ascent to God is the Logos; and here Philo tries to unite the Jewish notion of the Torah with the Logos idea and the idea of God with his Platonic idealism. His description of the virtuous life is on the whole very modern in sentiment. Self-discipline is not an end in itself. Such exercises as running, swimming, dancing, reciting, bath, and sleeping on the ground are useless and unprofitable labours, which injure the soul as well
as the body (Quod. det. pot. 7). It is true that we have a war to wage, 'the most difficult and troublesome of all wars,' against our bodily appetites, and that in practice we must often regard our bodies as mere 'narcissus,' but there is no need to withdraw from the world. 'The serpent, pleasure, bites us in the wilderness;' it is safer to live in the world, to accept responsibilities and dignities, and show how such men can be followed without contamination and to the good of others. Those who assume a squalid and melancholy appearance, and say that they despise glory and pleasure, are hypocrites. Unworldliness is to be gained only by knowledge of the world. At the same time, such luxury as was prevalent among the wealthier classes in Egypt is wrong. The good things of the world should be used sparingly, that the soul may not be entangled in the corruptible elements. Truthfulness in speech is strongly insisted on, and taking oaths is deprecated as needless for an honourable man, whose word ought to be sufficient. This is the same and truth the only sacrifice (Quod. det. pot. 7); ceremonial observances and rich offerings do not make a man pious. Piety and justice seem to share the throne as the chief of the virtues. The soul can be rewarded or punished in a future state for its life here; but Philo discourages this line of thought; virtue and vice are their own reward and punishment; heaven and hell are within us. To enjoy an innocent and quiet mind, free from unrighteous passions; to feel the presence of the Holy Spirit of Wisdom within us; to share at last in the peace which passes all understanding, and to see God as He is—this is the goal which Philo sets before himself and his readers. The climax of blessedness is to stand steadfastly and steadily in God alone. A resurrection of the body has no place whatever in his creed.

Philo has been very variously estimated as a thinker. Duhé treats him with contempt; Zeller thinks that his whole system is vitiated by a fundamental contradiction—the attempt to achieve unity with a being whose very notion makes such union impossible. Such a scheme, he suggests, could be the creation only of a consciousness at discord with itself and the world. Vachérot emphatically declares it to be a dream from beginning to end. Plato and now from the Stoics, the result being an 'incoherent syncretism' dragged into the service of Judaism. Siegfried is impressed by his complete abandonment of the old Jewish religion, which nevertheless he affects to defend in words. 'No Jewish writer contributed so much to the dissolution of Judaism. The history of his people becomes in his hands mainly a didactic symbolic poem, by which he inculcates the doctrine that man attains to the vision of God by mortifying the flesh. The God of Philo was an imaginary Being, who, in order to gain power over the world, had needed a Logos, to whom the glory of the Law and the humanity of Israel, the unity of God, was sacrificed.' E. Caird, criticizing Philo's whole system from the Hegelian standpoint, shows that he had no conception of a historical process of evolution, and objects that his God is not related to the God of the world. (For a consideration of this criticism, which affects Plotinus more than Philo, see the article on Neo-Platonism.) A more favorable view is given by Drummond, whose exhaustive treatise takes rank, with Siegfried's book, as the most valuable exposition of Philo's theology. No sane critic could place Philo in the same rank as a great original thinker. He is, however, of infinite importance for our knowledge of the early Christian Church in the Egypt of the Ptolemies. The very existence of a church in Egypt is due to the efforts of the Logos, as interpreted by Philo. All that has been learned about the first two centuries of the Christian Church must be based on the work of this primitive organization, there grew up into importance,
in the later half of the century, the remarkable Catechetical School, the earliest διδασκαλίας in close relation to the Church. (The schools of the Apologists—Justin, Tatian, etc.—were private ventures.) The oldest Gnostic school was in Egypt, and the Christian Catechetical School may have been modelled partly upon these and partly upon the Jewish high schools (cf. Euseb. HE v. 10, παραμετροί διδασκαλεῖς ἔκ προφητικοῦ νόμου ἀντίκεινται στρογγυλάτους). The school emerges from darkness under Pantænus; but we know very little about its management either under him or under Clement. There were no classes or collegiate buildings. The head of the school gave informal instruction in his own house, sometimes by lectures, sometimes by conversation classes (Orig. c. Celts. vi. 10). The usual course was three years (Comment. Eccl. Egypt. iii. 42). No fees were charged. The lecturer was supported by free gifts from rich students. The education was on much the same lines as that advocated by Philo. The aim was the acquisition of γνῶσις, knowledge, or illumination. The preparation consisted partly of moral discipline and partly of the study of philosophy, to which must be added the art of expounding, in accordance with the principles of allegorism, the books which contained the prophecies. Pilgrims were replaced Greek philosophy and the Old Testament Scriptures side by side as propedectic to the higher knowledge; and among philosophers, the Platonic and Stoic schools were most studied, none were excluded except the ‘godless Epicureans.’ The commentaries of Origen show that Biblical study held a very important place in the course. The list of Heads of the School is given as follows:—Pantænus, Clement, Origines, and Heracleas, Dionysius, Pius, Theognostus, Serapion, Petrus, Macarius (?), ... Dîlymos, Rhodon. (Arius, according to Theodoret (HE i. I), was catechist; but it is very unlikely that he was ever Head of the School.) The Catechetical School lost its importance during the Arian controversy, and was further weakened by the attacks upon Origen’s orthodoxy. It was destroyed in the unhappy struggle between Theophylact of Alexandria and the barbarous orthodoxy of the Egyptian monks.

(a) Pantænus, the first Head of the School, is said by Eusebius to have been a Stoic, by Philip of Side a Hellenist, and by an Athenian an Aphantist. In any case, he was learned in Greek philosophy, and, according to a doubtful tradition, visited India as a missionary before his appointment at Alexandria. The notices of his teaching indicate that he led the way in the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. His work seems to have been more catechetical than literary, and the most interesting fragment of his teaching has been preserved in the form of question and answer. ‘Pantænus, being asked in what manner Christians suppose God to know reality, replied, He neither knows sensible things by sense, nor intelligible things by intellect. For it is not the intellect that He who is above the things that are to apprehend the things that are according to the things that are. We say that He knows things that are as acts of His own will’ (τὰ ἔργα θεοῦ, Maximus Conf., Schol. in Greg. Naz.). Clement was present certainly at the assembly of Pantænus (not vice versa, as Philip of Side says); and it is highly probable that Pantænus is the ‘Sicilian bee’ whom Clement discovered ‘hiding himself’ in Egypt. (HE viii. 12, 22.)

(b) Clement of Alexandria. —Titus Flavius Clemens was born about A.D. 150, not at Alexandria; perhaps at Athens (Epiphanius). After many years of travel in Greece, Asia Minor, and the East, he came to Alexandria, where, about A.D. 200, he succeeded Pantænus as Head of the Catechetical School. In 202 or 203 he was compelled by the persecution under Severus to quit Alexandria, probably for Palestine and Syria. He was still living in 211, but dead in 216. We do not know at what period of his life he was converted to Christianity, or what were the stages of his conversion.

The works of Clement are—

1. (The Δόγμα or Παραπόγια ἒρμ. Euseb. an exhortation to the Greeks (not ‘theological’; Jerome mistook the title for pagan). This treatise was probably written about 190. 2. The ἔναθρωρος, written after the last-named, a practical instruction dealing with the conduct of life. The ‘Tutor’ is Christ Himself, the great Instructeur of all mankind. (Clement is the first writer [title in full: ἐν Κολλησία τῶν ἔρημων παρά δογματικῶς τοὺς μικράς τιμίας ἐκκλησίας] of the Middle Ages, Jerome, and the Church.)

The Miscellanea, a much longer treatise, in seven, or eight, books (Photius, Jerome) books. (The fragment of a logical treatise called Book vii. does not seem to belong to the Miscellanea, and the end of Book vii. promises another treatise rather than another book: as ἄλλος ἅρα παραμετροὶ τῶν λόγων. The Miscellanea, which is issued in ‘studied disorder,’ that the mysteries of knowledge may not be made too plain to readers who are unfit for them, exposed the principles of a reasonable and philosophical faith. The treatise was probably designed to lead up to another, which Clement intended to be called Διδασκαλίας. (This intention is implied in Prot. ii. 76, iii. 97, and other places.) This would have completed the series begun in the Hippolytus and continued in the Hadrapa, as the principal to the higher γνῶσις. But Clement probably intended that he would profit by such a well-established principle of reserve in communicating religious truths. Some have identified the Στρογγυλέος with the pretended Νεκρογνωστικός, but de Faye and Vat. show that several apocryphal gospels were filled in the Strognul, and that the work has no appearance of reality. It was probably a sort of summary of the original schema. 3. Τιμοθαίνημα or Ορθολογία, in eight books. These were notes and comments on the Old and New Testaments, including, as Eusebius, c. St. Peter, c. St. Paul. The New Testament notes were adopted by Eusebius and Jerome, in which Clement, he says, teaches that ‘matter is timeless,’ that the Son is a creature, that there were many worlds before Adam, that the Devil is a Λόγος, of which the Logos, or Word of God, is a Power or Efficiency of the Divine, was incarnate; together with metaporphysis and docetism. 4. Τὰ τοῦ Αἰωνοῦ koινοτοῦ, still extant, an instruction sermon, ending with the well-known story of St. John and the robber. 5. Several other treatises are mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, and (as subjects on which he intended to write) by Clement himself.

The view adopted above as to the character of the Miscellanea and the non-fulfilment of the design for a Διδασκαλίας is of great importance for the understanding of Clement’s theology. In Strom. iv. 1 he announces his intention, after dealing with other subjects, of introducing his readers to the ‘true gnostic science of nature,’ initiating them into the lesser mysteries and to the greater mysteries. But from such initiation he carefully refrains in the Miscellanea, for, as he says, to put everything into a book is as bad as to put a sword in a child’s hand. It is safe to conclude that Clement has suppressed what he considered the highest part of his teaching. It is safest, he says, to learn and teach such things orally. What was this esoteric teaching? It is safe to guess that it was mainly connected with Biblical exegesis. Clement believed in an authoritative tradition of interpretation, handed down from Christ Himself through Peter, and James, and St. John, and Paul. It probably allegorized narratives which the simpliciores treasured as bare facts. Besides this, the ‘Gnostic’ doubtless allowed himself to develop a mystical philosophy of religion, which could not be fully imparted or even made intelligible to the public.

The conception of the earthly life of Christ as a grand symbolic drama or Divine mystery-play for the enlightenment of humanity; the vision of the Quattuor Evangelist (Alexandrian philosophy). And though no objection was taken to the supernatural element, as such, in either the OT or the NT, the esoteric teaching undoubtedly was that certain details in the text were only symbols which were not to be taken as a symbolical truth. With regard to the philosophy of religion in its wider aspects,

* The critical problems raised by this fragment, the Euseb. and the Esoteric Church, have been discussed with difficult results by Zahn, Ruben, von Armin, and de Faye.
it is seldom necessary to read between the lines in Clement. He was not a profound thinker, but a well-read and able man, who accepted in an intelligent manner the syncretist philosophy popular in learned circles at Alexandria. He has been called clever and rationalistic, and has been accused of taking his quotations from anthologies of elegant extracts. But the obscurity is rather than of arrangement than of thought, and the rhetoric is not often obtrusive. In Clement an ardent and imaginative presentation is thrown over the essays so as to hide a clear intelligence. In fact it is worth observing, in view of the often repeated statement that rhetoric, 'the evil genius of Greece,' Infected Greek Christianity, that Minucius and Tertullian are much more 'rhetorical' than Justin or Clement.

Clement, as a Christian philosopher, is aware that he has to encounter prejudice and mistrust. Gnosticism, at this time, was much more dreaded in the Church than fifty years earlier, when it was really a formidable intellectual force. At the end of the 2nd century the Christians were better educated, and the growth of rationalism and speculation in the Church is apparent. Talking of Clement, we are inclined to argue, that, since 'heresies a philosophia subornantur' (Protrept., 7), philosophy should be banished from the Church; and Clement is well aware that the majority agree with him. Philosophy,' he protests (Protrept., vii., 10), 'can never come to terms with us, as the vulgar think' (Strom., vi. 10). It is not the privilege of the few; 'with us, philosophers are those who love Wisdom, the Author and Teacher of all things' (Strom., vi. 7). But he feels that the obscurantists, with their cry of ψεῦδος και φάλα πίστεως (Strom., i. 43), are formidable: he must even indicate his right to publish a book at all! Must literature be left only to pagans and atheists?, he asks. 'We are not,' he says, 'a modus moriendi: Our doctrine is not his own, but handed down from the Apostles; and, lastly, people are not obliged to read him. Such a defence throws much light on the Christian distrust of culture even at Alexandria.

To turn to Clement's theology. God is a Being (οὐδείς), but above space and time, 'beyond even the One and the Monad,' and strictly nameless, though we are invited to give Him a Name. In a doubtful fragment (on which see Bigg, Bampton Lectures [1886], p. 64) he has been thought to deny to God consciousness of the external world; but probably not. Clement, like Origen, conceives God as a reality not as external to Himself. He certainly does not teach that the Father has no consciousness except through the Son. God takes pleasure in our salvation, and in that only (Strom., vii. 3; Protrept., 94, 95, 116): His nature is profoundly moral: He is good because He wills to do good, not like fire, which radiates heat automatically (Strom., vi. 42, and esp. Strom., vi. 104, επειδή ὁ Θεός ἀραὶ λίγη τίτλην ἀγαθόν οὖσιν, τοιαύτα μὲν μαθεῖν καὶ λάβειν... τοιαύτα δὲ λίγωσιν ἀγαθά, τοιαύτα δὲ καὶ πάριθα ἄγαθα δὲ). Such passages must be considered as well as those in which he tries to outdo Philo in the representation of God.

Nevertheless he insists that no man cometh to the Father except through Christ, the Logos. He rejects the Stoic pretension to 'resemble God' (cf. however, Strom., vi. 113, quoted below), and quotes very frequently the saying of Christ Himself, 'It is enough for the disciple to be as his master.' His Logos-doctrine, which is the basis of his Christology, is less metaphysical and more religious than that of Philo. Although he shows a dependence of Clement on Philo, as regards his conceptions of the Logos no less than in his principles of allegorism, has been conclusively established by Siegfried, it is plain that, while Philo is mainly preoccupied with the desire to explain the formation and government of the universe, Clement is much more interested in religious psychology.

In the 150 years which elapsed between the two writers, the centre of gravity in 'philosophy' had changed from metaphysics and cosmology to religious ideas and ethics. "God, the God of the Stoics," Clement says, has now more thought of than the Platonic "Father" of Ideas." Clement's attempt to combine the two conceptions marks the passing of the Philonic, and the ascendency of the Christian. The Logos was taught 'two Logoi.' Or perhaps Clement was perplexed by problems about the Father's consciousness while the Son was incarnate. But the 'two Logoi' do not appear in his extant treatises. The Logos in Clement is the instrument in creation (He is often called 'creator'); He introduces harmony into the universe, of which He is the 'pilot.' He created man in His own image. He is spoken of as 'the Will of God,' a power, or energy, of God, and in particular as 'Saviour,' a term to which, we think, there is no parallel in Philo. He was a 'lover of mankind,' from the beginning. He is the Word of God (Strom., vii. 10). His doctrine is not to be initiated; He revealed Himself in the OT theophanies. Since the Incarnation, He has been the 'Saviour,' 'Tutor,' and 'Teacher' of Christians, of those, that is, who have been 'initiated' by the laver of illumination. His doctrine, as we learn from the statements of Clement, is that the church of the second century, which accepts a syncretistic theology, baptism is decidedly more prominent than redemption by the blood of Christ. Very characteristic is the presentment of salvation as an educational process, by the side of the other conception—equally characteristic of the period—of salvation as the acquisition of immortality.

Of the Third Person of the Trinity, Clement says but little. The Alexandrians, in point of fact, hardly noticed such a person as the Holy Ghost. Clement does not mention the Son of God as the Consolation of the World-Soul, the Third Person of the Platonic Trinity and the God of the Stoics, were discharged by the Logos in addition to those of the Platonics, Nous, and the Sophia. There is no close resemblance between the Holy Ghost of Christianity and the Neo-Platonic Psyche. Clement makes the orthodox statements about the Person of the Holy Ghost, and, for the rest, puts the subject aside as a θάνατος μυστήριον. The third is evident to him, but he does not accept it. "The doctrine of Plotinus, and the συνεργεία of medieval mysticism. But Clement ascribes so much Divine inspiration to the rational soul that the tripartite classification seems hardly necessary. Origen is right; it. Clement guards himself against the common tendency to associate evil with matter. The body is not naturally evil, he says, nor is the soul naturally good. Rather the soul is that which wills, the body that which acts. On the existence there is no definite statement. It was regarded as an open question in the Church, and probably Clement, like Origen, was inclined to believe it, though he was not an exponent of the Platonic doctrine of metempsychosis. He admits no hereditary guilt. God punishes only voluntary sins; the sins forgiven in Baptism are actual transgressions; infant Baptism is not mentioned (Bigg, p. 81).

The most distinctive feature of Clement's ethics is his doctrine of the Two Lives. This classification is common to most of the religious and philosophical teachers of the day. Clement, like Plotinus, makes the excuse for Platonic philosophy into an absolute difference by the Gnostics. Clement is as much opposed to Gnosticism as he is anxious to utilize and harmonize Plotonic and Stoic doctrine. Faith and knowledge, the principles of the lower and higher life respectively,
are necessary to each other, and closely related. Faith is defined as 'a voluntary anticipation (προ- λογία) of things unseen,' 'an uniting assent to an unseen object,' 'the foundation of rational choice.' 'Righteousness was intended to signify the first condition of understanding it.' Unless knowledge is based on faith, it remains merely intellectual assent, and is neither stable nor effective. The motive powers of faith are hoped-for filial awe and 'righteousness, because it is merciful.' Faith, however, must go hand in hand with inquiry (ζήτησι): it is the nature of living faith to develop into knowledge (γνῶσις). The perfect Christian, therefore, is the 'Gnostic,' a word which Clement will not abandon to the sectarians who at last monopolized it. The portrait of the Gnostic is given in Strom. vii. It is of supreme importance for the understanding of Clement as a theologian, because it anticipates the final part of his scheme, which was never executed. He does not expound his Gnosticism, but he does show us its fruits. The Gnostic is the man whose character has been formed by his own spiritual development, for which the earlier books of the Stromataes are a preparation only.

The aim of the Gnostic is to become like God. The visitation of God is a climax. Clement uses a Greek saying that ἀνὰ τὸν ἄνω θεὸν (Strom. vi. 113). The Divine attribute of which he is thinking in such expressions is the higher knowledge, that which has for its object the 'intelligible world.' 

In one place (Strom. iv. 48) he says, in more Christian language that the highest contemplation is knowledge of God, which is inseparable from likeness to Him. In Stoical form he says (Strom. iv. 30) that Gnosis is the purification of the ruling faculty of the soul; and everywhere the necessity of moral even more than intellectual training is insisted on. In the seventh book the 'canons' of the Gnostic character are said to be 'gentleness, kindness, and nobility of service.' Also the achievements of the Gnostic faculty are 'to know what is right, to do what is good, and to help others to do it.' 

'He is the true athlete, who in the great stadium, this beautiful world, is crowned for the great victory over all his passions.' He is persuaded that for souls that have chosen virtue, progress is always towards something better; till they are brought to the Great High Priest, in the vestibule of the Eschaton, and the entrance is given to the two words ἀνάθεσαι and ἀνέθηται, the former of which is the perfected work of temperance, when the passions are no longer even felt: οἵτωσιν ἰδρυμέναι τις ἀνέθηται (Strom. vi. 73); and still stronger (Strom. vi. 75): and the latter is the climax of the whole Christian life, the end which, like the beginning, faith, is not matter of teaching (τά ἀκροατέα διδασκόμεν) but THEOLOGY:

The statement that Clement ex., because the intellect above the affections is unavailing. The words κωμίστημα πάλιν ἐπιτύπτως ἀνέθηται (Strom. vii. 68) are typical. The 'intellecual love of God' affords perfect satisfaction to all our faculties, and unifies the entire personality. 'Christian love follows knowledge as surely as the shadow the body.' The will is not neglected. Faith in the first instance is an affair of the will, and is the necessary foundation of knowledge, which follows (Strom. vii. 2, vii. 55): 'but both are Christ, the foundation and the superstructure too.' Faith exists in a higher and a lower form—εἰς τιμωρίαν ἐπιφανείας and εἰς ἀθέατην ἑπεξεργασίαν (Strom. vii. 62). As a thinker, Clement is most important as the author of a syncretistic philosophy of religion, fusing Platonism and Stoicism in a Christian mould. In Stoicism he found a natural religion, rationalism, moralism, and the spiritual sympathy or affection, of which the literal facts are the lowest range (cf. J ohn. i. 20).
The metaphor would blind us to do justice to the literal meaning first. But Origen, like Philo, at times expresses almost contempt for the literal narrative. 'What man of sense,' he asks, 'will wait for the first and second day, and the evening and morning, existed without a sun and moon and stars? Or that the dove walked in a garden in the day, and then Adam hid himself under a tree? Or that the devil took Jesus into a high mountain, whence He could see the kingdoms of the Persians and Scythians and Indians?' (de Princ. i. 10). All such passages are valuable only for their higher meanings. 'There are many things,' he adds, 'which are true, but absurd and impossible' (de Princ. iv. 15). So 'some of the laws of Moses are absurd and others impossible.' Moses orders the sacrifice of an animal (the bœthoth) which does not exist in nature. 'I should blush to admit that God has given such commands; they are inferior to nothing in the remembrance.' Scripture contains an unhistorical element, borrowed with the history, in order that the worthlessness of the latter may drive us to seek the spiritual meaning.

We may wonder that Origen did not make more use of the theory of a progressive and gradual revelation, which he asserts in several places. But his main object was to save the OT (which was attacked and ridiculed by the Gnostics) for the Church, while at the same time repudiating the obligation to obey the Law, which was still press on Christians by the Jews. The allegorizing 'mystery' (en Ἰωσ. ii. 6. 10) is not to be remembered that the 'homily,' as established by custom at Alexandria, necessitated a very plastic treatment of the text. The preacher or lecturer was not only to express his personal thought in the context of the OT, extracting something edifying from each chapter. What could he say about Joshua but that the Canaanite kings were 'non tam reges quam vitctorum nomina'? The tone of these interpretations is often half-bred, though the moral lesson is pressed home with all seriousness. His treatment of NT difficulties shows even greater boldness, and is quite startling. The discrepancies between the four Evangelists are, for him, as natural to their credit unless we look for their truth in the 'spiritual sense.' There is (so Jerome makes him say) an Eternal Gospel, of which the actual Gospel is only the shadow. We must separate the ἀληθή εὐρέταρα εὐρέταρα from the ἀπόκρυφα καὶ ἀποκρυφάμενα. Thus he interprets the Fourth Gospel as a symbolic treatise, much as Loisy and others do now. But in his eyes all this exegesis was not the work of human ingenuity, but the gift of the Holy Spirit. 'Much of that was tradition; Clement seems always to copy, not to invent, his allegorisms. Origen, without making any boastful claim, believes himself to be illuminated.

Divine of God.—As 'Spirit' and 'Light,' God is a simple intellectual nature, in whom is no greater nor less, higher nor lower, the Monad, Unit, Mind, and Fountain of all Mind' (de Princ. 1). As against 'the Christian Stoics, he asserts that God is incorporeal, and he is more careful than Clement to avoid Stoical phrases savouring of materialistic pantheism. God is spaceless and timeless, 'everywhere and nowhere,' 'nature identical to That of the body.' Being was unchangeable. He cannot feel anger, hatred, or repentance. Punishment is not His work, but the necessary consequence of sin. And yet He is long-suffering, merciful, and pitiful: He has 'the passion of the body', and is affected by the sight of suffering. His body is not infinite, but self-limiting (in Matt. xiii. 569). His almightiness is limited by His goodness and wisdom (e. Oe. iii. 490). Origen has not solved the problem of the relationship between them and the Platonic transcendence; for a fine but vague passage on the subject see in Num. Hom. xxii. 2. He has less confidence than Clement in the existence of nomen as a path to reality; the most intimate knowledge of God is gained only by instruction, but by direct revelation; grace is implanted in the soul αὐτοῦ εὐρέταρα εὐρέταρεν. On this side he is 'more of a mystic than Clement. Moreover, by contrast, his theism is not chargeable with many hinges (ἀρέσχεια) rather than that of self-existent Being, he gives the idea of God a richer and more ethereal content.

But the doctrine of God in Origen involves at every point the problem of the Trinity. The Som or Logos is the centre of his theology. He is co-eternal and co-essential with the Father, and can have been a time when He was not. For when was the Divine Light destitute of its effulgence? Let him who dares to say there was a time when the Son was separate from the Father, considered as a man, do the same as to say there was a time when Wisdom, the Word, and life were not' (de Princ. iv. 28). But we must distinguish between those attributes (εἰρημένα) which belong to the Son essentially, and those which are assumed for the purpose of recompense. To the former class belong Wisdom, Word, Life, Truth; to the latter, Firstborn from the dead, Propitiation, Light, Shepherd. The former class are εἰρημένα, the latter αἰρημένα. 'Happy are they who need the Son of God no longer as Physician, Shepherd, Redemption, but as Word, Wisdom, Justice, and the other perfect attributes' (in Joh. i. 22). He is willing to identify the Logos with the Platonic Eidos. In this union it was saved from all the Néos προφορικός of God; He ζωή (not 'became') with God,' as St. John says. He is absolute Truth, Righteousness, and Wisdom; but the text, 'none is good save one, that is God,' forbids us to call Him the absolute Good, though 'in regard to us He is the absolute Good.' Prayer may be addressed to the Son or to the Spirit, but the highest prayer is that which is addressed to the Father in Christ's name.

The charge of subordinationism in Origen's Christology cannot be maintained. It is unlikely that he used the word ηὐσιος, in the Nicene sense, of the Son, because for a Platonist it is hardly correct to speak of the ζωός οHostname God, though 'in regard to us He is the absolute Good.' Prayer may be addressed to the Son or to the Spirit, but the highest prayer is that which is addressed to the Father in Christ's name.
the Spirit of the Son is one and the same' (in Rom. vi. 13). He understood St. Paul well enough to observe that no distinction is made between the Spirit and the Son (de Princ. i. 3). But in one remarkable passage (in Joh. ii. 6) he raises the question whether the Spirit came into being through the Word (δι' τοῦ λόγου ἐγένετο), or whether 'like the beginning' but not identical with it, as inasmuch as the beginning is the desire for a perfection which is only implicitly contained in the scheme, as designed by perfect Wisdom. God created the world 'out of nothing': matter, the lowest of the creatures, was created by Him immediately after the 'fall of the souls,' to prevent the world from being dissolved (de Princ. ii. 1). God is neither the whole nor a part of the whole: the former conception contradicts His simplicity, the latter His sovereignty. His Spirit is no all-pervading subtle element, like the Stoic 

ιάνεψα. The world is distinct from God; it is His creation. It is eternal in the sense that it had no beginning in time; the entire scheme that we know is only a brief phase in an innumerable series of worlds. The original creation, Origen teaches, was of innocent spirits, who shared 'accidentally' or precociously the perfection which God possesses 'essentially.' Their fall from perfection was voluntary. Some (the angels and the stars, to which Origen attributes souls) remained in their first estate; others (sinful men and evil spirits) fell in various degrees, and the latter were subjected only through the discipline of suffering. This world is constructed as the appropriate scene of their training, affording scope for the treatment proper to every degree of guilt. The fall of the souls was thus antecedent, but Origen teaches no metaphysics. The story of the Fall in Genesis he is disposed to treat as mere allegory (c. Cels. iv. 40). The most succinct statement of his doctrine is in de Princ. ii. 8, ending ἐν τοῖς ἐν οἷς γενέτο ψαλή, καὶ ψαλή πανδηλομένη ἡ πρώτη σκέλος, which throw light on his psychology. 'Soul' is 'mind' in a fallen state; it is an adventitious principle, intermediate between 'flesh' and 'mind' or 'spirit.' In reality his psychology is chthonic, though out of respect to St. Paul he preserves in words the distinction between 'soul' and 'spirit' (see esp. in Joh. xxxii. 2; in Lect. Hom. ii. 2).

The discussion as to whether Origen teaches the immateriality of the soul has been often mistaken on wrong lines. The soul for Origen is certainly immaterial, but it implies a body. 'The spirit,' he says, 'is that as a master and director, associated with it to remind it of the human, and to accuse and punish it for its faults. If the soul is disobedient and obstinate in revolt, it will be divided from the spirit after it leaves the body' (in Rom. ii. 9). The soul which is exalted by following the spirit, and not only following but being transformed, is made part of the body as a nature as soul, and becomes spiritual (de Orat. 10). The spirit 'spirit' resembles the impersonal νοῦς of Neo-

Platonism; but the question whether it belongs or does not belong to our οὖς can be answered neither for Origen nor for Platonism. It is an essential part of his teaching that the existence of God and other fundamental truths of religion are 'sown in the soul' as matters of immediate apprehension (αἰθήματα). 'So long as we keep them, the Logos never leaves us' (in Joh. xix. 3). This θεία αἰθήματα is made to cover such sensible experiences (of sight, hearing, smell) as the later Catholicism accepts under the name of mystical phenomena (c. Cels. i. 48); but such communications, though from a Divine source, are only externalized by our minds; 'God never speaks to us from outside' (in Psalm. xxvii. 1). From these 'seeds' spring the flowers and fruits of Divine knowledge, Christ revealing Himself under various aspects as the soul is able to receive Him. Corresponding to this psychological dispensation is the historical economy which, after the partial theo-

phanies of the ancients, is completely fulfilled in the Incarnation. The two are parallel aspects of the same Divine plan; it is meaningless to ask whether the historical Incarnation is the 'causa' of the soul's restoration. At first sight it will be thought that Origen has a less firm grasp of the ideas of progress and development than Clement. He gives too much importance to the 'fall of Adam,' and in consequence his philosophy of history is both gloomier and more incomprehensible. To be sure, that view of secular culture is also much less sympathetic.

Eschatology.—Clement had represented men in the future life as placed in different grades according to their moral deserts. The wicked will be subjected to disciplinary punishments till they are forced to own their guilt. Origen developed further the notion that all punishment must be dis-

ceptacle, since 'God can hate nothing,' and it is no part of His nature to render evil for evil. Moreover, immortal spirits (υπερανθρώπων) cannot be con-

gined to perdition. Here it is proved that Origen encountered great difficulties in reconciling his philosophy with the traditional Church teaching on the resurrection, last judgment, heaven, and hell. It is clear, he says, that the human soul cannot be understood as a 'spiritual soul' for there existed 'spiritual souls' could not 'fall from heaven' upon the earth, for they are much larger than the human soul. Our material souls are dispersed among other organisms, cannot be reconstituted in the resurrection. Can we suppose that the damned will literally 'grasp their intelligible soul' (he says); it is not a 'spiritual principle, which survives, and will make a new abode for itself, the resurrection body. Even when the soul becomes pure spirit, it will need a kind of body, for God alone is incorporeal spirit. Fugition must continue after death; 'even Paul or Peter must come into that fire.' But will any remain in torment for ever? Origen hopes and thinks not, but will not dogmatize; he re-

members the guest who was cast into outer darkness, with no promise of pardon. There are passages in Origen which imply at least a ψυχη δανίη never to be made good; but he would him-

self have dispensed any certitude on the subject. Only he in-

sists that promises like 'love never fadeth,' 'God shall be all in all,' must somehow be fulfilled. Even the devil might find salvation, as a spirit made in the image of God, though, as devil, he would be destroyed (in Rom. v. 3). The final con-

summation is 'perfect love' like 'God shall be all in all'; i.e. He will be all in each individual (de Princ. v. 6). Then there will be no more diversity, when all shall have reached the highest degree of perfection.

Ecclesiastic Theology.—Origen believes that the Logos enlightens all men according to their capa-

cities. Can anything be more surprising than that the average man can assimilate. It includes mythical

stories, which exist both in OT and NT; it offers rewards and punishments as inducements to virtue, and

punishments as deterrents, in varied forms and images. But it is not a matter of indifference what symbols are presented to the 'common man'; it is the religion of Christ alone which must be accepted by
all, though under different aspects. The Gnostic
learns that the objects of religious knowledge have
only a supermundane history: the 'eternal' or
'spiritual' Gospel 'places clearly before man's
mind the divine reality of the Messianic
idea,' both
the mysteries shown by His words, and the things
of which His acts were the riddles (in Jok. i. 9).

Such passages have been hardly interpreted as implying that:
the teaching of the Gnostics is nothing more than a
reproduction of the historic Christ. But this is true only in the same sense in which it might be said of St. Paul—in other words, the statement is quite misleading. The innate
knowledge of God, which he asserts, is the work of the Logos-
Christ, who, though concealed, supplied himself with
Incarnation.
On the actual effect of the death of Christ, as a transaction
Origen suggests various views, already current, in a tentative
manner: among others, the idea of a ransom paid to the devil,
which was popular at this time. He certainly did not regard the
historic work of Christ as a mere appearance or exhibition,
though, for the Gnostic, Christ is as far more important than
Christ for us.

**Influence of Origen.**—The double achievement of
Origen (carrying on what Clement began) was to
destroy Gnosticism, and to give philosophy a recogni-
tized place in the creeds of the Church. The
second was the price which the conservatives had to
pay only to advocate acceptances which they were
sessed a theology and a philosophy of religion which
were far more attractive to the educated mind than
the barbaric Platonism of the Gnostics. It was, of
course, not only in the domain of his philosophical
work to the masses, for whose benefit the
Catholic system, with its apparatus of cultus,
mystery, and sensuous symbolism, was developed
side by side with the progress of scientific theology. In
this new system of consensualism, a synthesis
mark a stage in a conflict which ended in a com-
promise. The great Gnostics of the 2nd cent. had been
unable to maintain their footing in the Church.
Clement succeeded in doing so, though not without some
suspicion; Origen, after much hesitation, was con-
demned. The Cappadocians endeavoured to re-
concile faith and knowledge by mutual concessions,
a process which was completed, after a fashion, by
Cyril of Alexandria, in the Theological controversies of the
6th century (Harnack, Hist. of Dogma, il. 5).

The first conflict in which Origen's theology was
deeply involved was against Sabellianism.
Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in attacking the
Monarchians fell under the charge of Trithesism.
The Roman see pronouncing against him, and laying
down a via media between the Alexandrian and the
Sabellian doctrines. This condemnation had no
snare for the young Origen; and eventually
Origen, in his two important works, the
Contra Sabellium and the Contra Cyprian,
flourished almost unchallenged till the end of the
3rd century. Modifications, however, were intro-
duced, involving a doctrine of submission in the
Trinitarian side of the Neo-Platonic type, and upholding
contendence as the great original con-
tribution of Christianity to ethics. Gregory Thau-
matarius (who is said to have called the Son a
Logos) taught the Trinitarian doctrine of Origen in
a form nearer to Monarchianism than to Tri-
theism.
The first serious attack on Origen was that of
Methodius, who, however, in spite of his bitterness,
seemed only to advance a comparison between his
Teaching and the rule of faith. In the controversies
that followed in the 4th cent., which need not be
described in detail, we mark a gradual hardening
and final dualizing of theological thought under the
influence of Athanasius. Origen's teaching was
disintegrated, selections being made from it
without regard to consistency, and he himself was
at last condemned as a heretic. After Athanasius
the Logos doctrine could only be denied in impotence,
as the notion of an economic and relative Trinity
gave place to that of an absolute Trinity. The
Identification of the Logos-Christ with the spirit of
the cosmic process fell more and more out of
sight. This change may also be described as part
of a transition from Platonism to Aristotelianism
in the Church. The school of Antioch led a revolt
against the Alexandrian exegesis of Holy Scripture,
and founded a more critical method, in which the
literal sense was always at least considered, and
which the mosaic of the mosaic in the minia-
tures, then so vivid, of Origen's idea of pre-existence had still many sup-
porters in the 4th cent., but was more and more
discarded, till it was finally condemned at Con-
stantinople in 381.

The doctrine of the Fall of Man, based on Genesis, resumed its
importance when the theory of an extramundane Fall was excluded. The question whether Christ
would have become incarnate if Adam had not
sinned is never, we think, discussed at length
except by those who answer it in the negative;
but the idea of an Incarnation as an essential part of the
Divine plan is certainly in accordance with
Alexandrianism, and has been revived by modern
thinkers (e.g. Westcott), who are in general sympa-
thetic with Christian Platonism in principle—the teaching of Pelagius, and may have been
discredited on that account.

One of the most important of Origen's contrib-
tions was his theory of theocracy, which combined rather than reconcile
the notions of expiatory sacrifice—of a propitiatory
death of God vanquishing the death decreed by
Him—of the revelation of a redemption really
effective in the eternal world. Both ideas were
familiar to the Greek mysteries. The idea of
substitution could not be emphasized by an Alex-
andrian; the Logos-doctrine makes it meaningless,
but after Cyril it became part of the Alex-

In the long Arian controversy the name of
Origen played a curious part. The Adoptionist
theory of a Jesus who gradually becomes God
was totally at variance with Origen's doctrine;
but Arius found in the Neo-Platonic cosmology
a support for his theory of a mediating Logos,
between the inaccessible Father and the world.
But in denying to the Logos any essential
identity with the Father he abandoned decisively the Alex-

Andrian Christology. 'With Arius, Christ belongs
in every sense to the world of created things'
(Harnack); with Athanasius He belongs in every
sense to God, the cosmical aspect being virtually
shelved. Athanasius was, in turn, attacked by
the restatement of Alexandrian theology, necessitated by his labours, fell to the Cappa-
docians, of whom Gregory of Nyssa is most in

Aristotelianism with Origen. This writer avoids some of the most obnoxious speculations of his master,
but on the whole reproduces his teaching, which in
this way has found and maintained a footing in the
Catholic Church, for Gregory of Nyssa has
never been condemned.

But the growing power of 'tradition' had already
begun to kill religious philosophy; and the pro-
gressive degradation of Christianity into a religion
of cultus affected Christian Platonism in precisely
the same way in which Neo-Platonicism suffered
between Plotinus and Jamblichus. Dionysius
the Areopagite is the representative of this application
of Alexandrian Platonism to ritual and liturgy.
The first voice of this extraordinary writer co-
incided with a reaction in favour of Origen.
Among later developments of Christian Platon-
ism, which owed some of their inspiration to the
Alexandrian theology, it is necessary to men-
tion only the philosophical mystic of Eckhart
and his successors, the 'Cambridge Platonism'
of the 17th cent., and in our own day the theology
of F. D. Maurice, Westcott, etc., among philoso-

ers, Leibniz has many points of resemblance to
Origen.
LITERATURE.—Redepenning, Origines (1841-1846); Denis, De la Philosophie d'Origine (1844); Westcott, art. Origines in Diet, Christian Biog.; Harnack, Dogmatische Theologie; Bigg, Christian Platonizers of Alexandria (1880); text: Lommatzsch (1831-1847).

Permanent value of the Alexandrian Theology.

Was the attempt of the Alexandrians to Christianize the current philosophy of their age legitimate? The question has been variously answered. Writers like Dussmann, Wernle, and Hatch, and the Ritschelian school generally, regard the 'Hellenizing' of Christian doctrine as an alien graft upon the enthusiastic revivalism of primitive Christianity. Theorized in Christian Schleiermacher, the 'secularizing' and 'depoestionization' of the religion which they ascribe to the influence of Alexandria. On the other side, it has been pointed out that, unless we ignore St. Paul's Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Fourth Gospel, there is much of 'Hellenism' in the NT; and also that philosophy in the first two centuries had ceased to be 'secular' and had become religious. The later Stoics and Platonists were 'not far from the kingdom of God,' and were by no means inclined to undervalue strictness of conduct. Moreover, the fusion of Greek and Jewish thought was so inevitable that to deplore it is to take a pessimistic view of the world-forgetting idealism. Finally, it is in its nature a brief phase; an intellectual system must follow it, or the whole effects of the movement must disappear. The Alexandrians satisfied the legitimate need of their age by providing 'a scientific doctrine of religion which, while not contradicting the faith, does not merely support or explain it in a few places, but raises it to another and higher intellectual sphere, namely, out of the province of authority and obedience into that of clear knowledge and inward intellectual, assent emanating from love to God' (Harnack, History of Dogma, Eng. trans., vol. ii., pp. 324 f.). This recognition, from a writer whose view of religion is strongly anti-intellectualist, is remarkable, and it does no more than justice to the great constructive effort of Clement and Origen, by which the best of Platonism and Stoicism was incorporated into Christianity. The permanent value of their syncretistic schemes will always be differently judged when men continue to be 'born either Platonists or Aristotelians'; those who would soon metaphysics from theology can receive but scanty sympathy with the Alexandrians. But if speculation on Divine truths is permissible or even necessary, no Christian theologians deserve a higher place than Clement and Origen, who made a serious and not unsuccessful attempt to combine in their creed the immanence and transcendence of God, universal law and human freedom, the universal and the particular in revelation, a lofty standard of practical ethics and a theory of knowledge that would. Had not more of Clement's contribution to Christian theology been quoted. Westcott says of Origen, 'We have not yet made good the positions which he marked out as belonging to the domain of Christian philosophy' (Red. Thought in the West, 292).

W. R. INGE.

ALGONQUINS.

ALGONQUINS (Eastern).—1. Divisions.—The existing representatives of the Algonquin or Algic race may be separated linguistically into three divisions: the Blackfeet of the extreme western part of North America, whose idiom differs most from that of the other Algonquin tribes; the Cree-Ojibwas of the middle west, whose language embraces a number of closely allied linguistic variations; and the so-called Wabanaki races of the north-eastern American coast, with whom the present article is especially concerned.

The term Wabanaki or Oibonaki means both 'land of the dawn or east' and 'man or person from the east.' It is applied to five distinct clans; viz., the Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, Canadian Abenakis or St. Francis Indians, Miomes, and Delawares, all of whom are plainly descended from one common family which probably first established organized tribal relations along the Canadian and New England north-eastern coast. There is no reason to consider that the term Wabanaki — or Abenaki — has any meaning going farther back than this into the origin of these peoples, who, in all probability, came eastward at a comparatively early date from some unknown western habitat. Unless modern Americanists are driven to accept the impracticable theory that the eastern tribes crossed from Europe by way of some long since vanished land-bridge, the theory of a western origin for all the Indian coast-races is literally conclusive. It will be seen, therefore, that the name 'Wabanaki = Easterner' must have served us a geographical rather than a racial-historical signification.

(1) The Passamaquoddy Indians of Pleasant Point, Maine, now numbering about 500 in all, are identical with the Micmegeet or Etchemins of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Canada. The name Passamaquoddy is a purely local term, meaning 'speakers of pollock-fish' (poumaquoddi). The correct form is Poumaquoddy, which has been corrupted by the whites into Passamaquoddy. These Indians are by far the most interesting remnant of the Wabanakis, as they still retain an unusually extensive oral literature, including love poems, legends, and historical tales of considerable value. It should be stated that the nucleus of the material relating to the primitive religious conceptions of the Wabanakis has been collected by the present writer from the Passamaquoddies primarily, and secondarily from the Miomes.

(2) The Penobscot Indians of Maine now number not more than 350, most of whom live at the Indian village of Oldtown on Penobscot River near Bangor, Maine. These people still speak a dialect which is more closely allied to the idiom of the Abenakis of St. Francis, near Pierreville, Quebec, Canada, than it is to that of the geographically nearer neighbours of the Passamaquoddy, the Passamaquoddies. In short, there can be no doubt that both the Penobscot and the Abenaki dialects are sister idoms which have sprung from a common original at a very recent date (cf. the present writer in Kulukakpik the Master, p. 30).

(3) It is well known that the Abenakis of Canada are the direct descendants, of course with some admixture of French and other blood, of the majority of the savages who escaped from the great battle of the Kennebec in Maine, when the English commander Bradford overthrew their tribe on December 3rd, 1679. Many of the survivors at once fled to French Canada, where they established their habitation at their present village of St. Francis, near Pierreville, Quebec. Others again may have wandered into Canada at a slightly later date. There can be no doubt that the Indians now called Penobscots, whose name is really identical with that of that name, are the descendants of those of the early Abenakis who eventually submitted themselves to their English conquerors. The Canadian Abenaki is the only name of this Wabanaki clan which has been uniformly given by the comprehensive name Wabanaki (Kulukakpik, p. 31).
(4) The Micmacs are the easternmost and by far the most numerous to-day of the Wabanaki remnants. They are to be found in various places in the Canadian provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, and New foundland. Their grade of intelligence is much lower than that of the other members of the same family, but they still possess a vast store of folklore and legends for the perishing few of interested collectors. Their language differs so greatly from the dialects of the Passamaquoddies, Penobscoets, and Abenakis, that the members of these clans always use French or English when communicating with their Micmac neighbours, while an intelligent Passamaquoddy can without difficulty be understood by a Penobscoot or Abenaki, if the dialect is pronounced slowly.

(5) The story of the enforced westward wanderings of the ill-fated Delawares or Lenape has been told in detail by a distinguished authority, the late Dr. D. G. Brinton, in his comprehensive work, The Lenape and their Legends, pp. 122-130. At the prior or dry, the both benevolent, and many, of a certain glamour of romance has been cast by the well known American author, Peninore Cooper, in his Leatherstocking Tales, is scattered literally to the Delawares, which, therefore, is a true story, of the Delawares, clans, the Missisquoi, the Unami, and the Unalachtigo, who were once the dominant native race in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and parts of New York State, are now represented by a few bands living in Indian Territory, in Western Canada, in the叙述，Ontario, Canada. The Delawares of Indian Territory, numbering about 500 persons, have quite lost their tribal identity, as they have been incoporated by the Cherokees nation, by whose chief and council they are considered; there are only about 300 in all; 100 situated at Hagerville on the Reserve of the Six Nations (Iroquois), 100 at Machiney town, and the same number at Moravian town, which is the seat of a Moravian mission.

2. Religious conceptions. — All the Wabanaki clans at present existing save only the Delawares, are, with very few individual exceptions, of the Roman Catholic faith, a fact which is most fortunate for students of comparative religion, as the Catholic priests have made little if any effort to stifle the ancient ideas regarding witchcraft and spiritism which is the basis of the earlier shamanistic faith. For this reason, nearly all our material, upon which this and other studies of Algonquin religious ideas are based, comes from the Catholic tribes, and not from the Delawares, who are all Protestants, belonging for the most part to the Church of England or to the Moravians.

The religious system of the primitive eastern Algonquins was, as already indicated, purely shamanistic, viz a faith, which, although admitting in a vague way the existence of a Supreme Being, laid its chief stress on the government of the world by an indefinite number of secondary spirits or gods, as beings always to be invoked in all transactions with man. These beings, in whose hands lay the real power, had therefore to be propitiated by all sorts of magic rites and spells, which gave rise to a caste of conjurers and wizards, who were themselves endowed with preternatural powers. In the lore of the Wabanakis, the general principle of good may be said to be represented by the rather clown-like being known to the Passamaquoddies as Kukkaskap and to the Delawares, as Minaskekeebe, who, as Mr. Leland has aptly put it, personifies the principle of good nature rather than of goodness. Kukkaskap's twin brother, Mulasum the wolf, was the evil genius of the Indians, and may perhaps be called the Algonquin Satan. Hence the headstrong Western Algonkins, whose nature is this almost too dignified a term. It is highly interesting to notice that these twins were born from an unknown divine mother, the good Kukkaskap in the natural manner, and the evil wolf through the woman's side, a method which he maliciously employs in order to kill his mother, in spite of his name, which means 'the liar,' the tendency of Kukkaskap was essentially benevolent (op. cit. p. 34). He was called 'the deceiver,' not because he deceived an injured man, but because he was clever enough to lead his enemies astray, the highest possible virtue to the early American mind.

Kukkaskap was at once the creator and the friend of man, and, strangely enough, he made the Indian (or man—the terms are synonymous) out of the ash tree. The present writer, in collaboration with the late Charles Godfrey Leland, has published a work entitled Kukkaskap the Master (New York, 1862), which gives in translation a number of songs and narrative poems relating to this being's career and exploits. In this collection, which gives the history of Kukkaskap almost in epic form, it will be noticed that the hero or demi-god is born to a man, mother, and that he is the creator of man and all the animals, a special poem being devoted to the origin of the rattlesnakes, who were primitively had no tongues, and to the animals, and discovered that man was the lord of them all. Traces of Christian influence are so evident even in the titles of these poems as to need little elaboration. It will be noticed, however, that although the general outline has undoubtedly been affected by the teachings of the missionaries, the details remain distinctly native. Kukkaskap then became the kindly teacher of man, who came into the world an absolutely ignorant being. When man was first created, he asked his aged parent the god's first act was to bring about the 'daybreak and the dawn.' Here again we see Biblical influence. Kukkaskap at once proceeded to instruct man in hunting, fishing, and dressing, and in the arts of building huts and canoes. 'He showed man the hidden virtues of 'plants, roots, and blossoms.' He taught him the use of weapons, and even the names of the stars, and the origin of the planets. He recounted to his aged pupil all the wonderful stories and the very old traditions, thus becoming the Indian father of history. He was prodigal in magic gifts to his special favourites, and became, in short, a veritable demigod, whose special care was the welfare of mankind.

The epic, if so loosely connected a series may be so called, concludes with a number of tales relating to the magic power of the god, who, although almost omnipotent, was on one occasion conquered by an unusual enemy—the baby! When the god was boasting of his powers to a certain woman, she replied: 'One there still remains whom no man has ever yet overcome in any strife,' indicating her baby who sat upon the floor in baby peace profound, sucking a piece of maple sugar sweet; greatly content and troubling nobody.' The Master then proceeded to attempt to seize his child from a man, using at first all his blusterishments. When these failed, for the baby remained immovable, he had recourse to sorcery, 'and used the awful spells, and sang the songs which raise the dead, and fright the devils wild, and send the witches howling to their graves.' But the baby 'peacefully as ever kept his place' (op. cit. p. 107). This story, which seems to be a genuine native production, is a good illustration of the Indian name Kukkaskap, which, contrary to popular opinion, is very highly developed.

In the end, owing to the evil ways of man, Kukkaskap sailed away over the water, the shifting waves of Minaskekeebe, Boontekish, and Mr. Godfrey's Leland, until they could see him no more. Yet when they had
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ceased to behold him they still heard his voice in song, the wonderful voice of the Master! But the sounds grew fainter and fainter and softer in the distance, and when ever they heard them all was silence, till a wonder came to pass: for all the beasts, which before had used but one common language, now talked in different tongues! Here again we seem to be in the position of the missionaries. After Kuliskap had left the land, the bird which had loved him most, the Great Snowy Owl, ‘went far into the North, into the deep dark forest, where to this day his children sing to the hills,’ which means in our language ‘sorrow, sorrow, sorrow.’ And the loons who had been his huntsmen go back and forth over the waters, seeking in vain for their master, the lord whom they cannot meet; ever waiting, waiting sadly, because they find him not’ (op. cit. p. 216). Micmac tradition in various forms still associates Kuliskap (or Glossap, as he is there called) with Cape Blomidon, a bold head projecting into the Bay of Minas, Nova Scotia.

It will be evident even from the above very brief sketch, that Kuliskap, as he at present exists in the memory of the old inhabitants, is a mixture of traditions. The element of the Christian God has entered very markedly into this lore, curiously compounded with what are undoubtedly native elements. For example, it is quite clear that all the stories of the exploits of the demi-god are based on the conception that he was a supernatural Indian and the father of all the conjurors, a class which still exists among the Catholic Wabanakis. This same culture-hero appears in the legends of the entire Algonquin family, although often under another name. It is highly probable, therefore, that the idea of a great Divine man was brought by these eastern Indians from their primitive western home.

The Wabanakis saw a spirit in every tree and waterfall, and a malignant or benevolent influence in many animals; and, in order to propitiate these beings, the class of sorcerers because, of course, a positive necessity. These people, who are called by the Passamaquoddies mécédominik, ‘drum-bearers,’ from their methods of exorcism, had very peculiar powers. We see from the tales that the conjuror could transform himself into an animal at will; that he could cast a spell on an enemy, even though the latter might also be a mécédominik; that he could violate the laws of nature so far as to make the Sick one well, or to amputate the ankle or knees at every step; and, finally, that the wizards could communicate with each other telepathically. One need hardly comment on the first two or the fourth of these wonders, as they are common among all shamanistic conjurors; but the third phenomenon, the power to sink into hard ground while walking, seems to be characteristic of American. Rink states that this is not an unusual feat among the conjurors of the Greenland Eskimos, who frequently sink into rocky or frozen ground ‘as if in snow.’ The trick is probably done by some peculiar method of stooping, or else is merely suggested by means of hypnotic influence. Leland compares here, however, the Old Testament revelations regarding their wizards, who occasionally sank into the ground, and who had power to pass through earth with the same ease as through air and water (Algonquin Legends, p. 342). It seems hardly permissible to draw a parallel between the ancient Norsemen and the northern Indians on this account, as the case Leland cites is that of a conjuror who disappeared in the ground, whereas the Norsemen are found not only among other stocks of North and South America, but also in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Polynesia (cf. MacCulloch, The Childhood of Fiction, London, 1886, pp. 283-299, 294-297).

without any apparent means of performing the wonder. On this account, the theory of suggestive hypnosis seems the most acceptable one.

Religious education, however, has been said to have existed among the Wabanakis. In one tale, the wizards cut their murdered comrade, evidently with the idea of absorbing into themselves some or all of his power. As it was willed, so it was that the New Zealand Maoris often ate their enemies with the same object in view; viz., to become as brave as the fallen foe had been. All authorities tend to show, however, that cannibalism was extremely rare among the American races, and that it is resorted to only in isolated cases such as the one here noted. In one Delaware tale, the wizard, who is also an evil spirit, desires to devour a very old worn-out man. This seems to be a role from primitive times, when it was probably not unusual to devour the aged, perhaps for a double purpose: both to get rid of them, as was the case until recently among the islanders of Tierra del Fuego, and also possibly to absorb some of their power. The living members of the family the essence of the dead parent, whose soul is thus prevented from becoming entirely extinct.

Especially in connection should be called at this point to the remarkable ideas prevalent among the Wabanakis regarding the cohabitation of women with serpents (Kuliskap, p. 235). Such a conception may seem strange, coming as it does from a land where there are no serpents large enough to warrant such a superstition. Although running the risk of seeming fanciful, the present writer deems it not impossible that we have in these beliefs some relics of far distant pre-historic days when huge serpents were not unknown. It should be added, moreover, that in every case of such sexual relations between serpents and human beings among the Wabanakis, the serpent was always a woman in disguise,—a fact which shows that, in the later superstition at least, the unusual character of such monstrous serpents was fully appreciated.*

It will appear evident from this sketch of the religious ideas of the Eastern Algonquins, that the legends of these people are well worthy of preservation, from the point of view both of primitive poetry and of science. Mr. Leland, in his preface to Kuliskap the Master (p. 14), remarks on the very common reproach of Europeans, that Americans have a land without ancient legends or song. He adds: ‘We bewailed our wretched poverty of song, when, with casual hand, we grasped at which we would not take the pains to open.’ The fact is that almost every hill and dale of New England has or had its romantic native legend, its often beautiful poem or curious myth. Many of these fancies have disappeared for ever through the deliberate ignorance of the average white settler, who even to-day, when the Indian has almost vanished from the land, is inclined to preserve the old feeling that ‘there’s only good Indian in a dead Indian.’ Band’s Legends of the Micmacs (New York, 1894), Leland’s Algonquin Legends of New England (Boston, 1885), Kuliskap the Master, and the present article must perhaps suffice, then, to present an interesting and characteristic specimen of the religious traditions of the rapidly disappearing race of the Wabanakis,—a race which, fifty years since, was, in all probability, the only single living representative who shall know its language or lore.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE.

*It may be noted that similar marital relations between men and women are found not only among other stocks of North and South America, but also in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Polynesia (cf. MacCulloch, The Childhood of Fiction, London, 1886, pp. 283-299, 294-297).
ALGONQUINS (Prairie Tribes, viz. the Kickapoos, Potawatomies, Sac's, and Foxes).—These tribes, together with their Algonquin allies, the Chippewas, and their Siouan friends, the Ojibeways and Menominoes, hold an important position in the Indian world, and are generally reckoned among the most warlike, industrious, and agricultural. As early as the middle of the 17th cent., the Jesuits endured every sort of hardship and danger to convert these peoples, who, at that time, were living along the shores of Lake Michigan (Parkman, L'A Selle and the Discovery of the Great West, p. 34), and they had some reason to believe that they had succeeded. In 1673, Father Marquette wrote that, when he and M. Joliet went among the tribes of the Green Bay Indians, he was rejoiced to find in one of their villages a great cross set up, adorned with white skins, red girdles, and bows and arrows, as votive offerings (Marquette, A Discovery of Some New Countries, touching the Northern America, printed as an appendix to Hennepin's America, p. 323)—a proof to him of the success of the mission of Allonez and Dalbon, established in 1689-70. Hennepin, the Franciscan friar, had, however, not much confidence in these conversions. He avers that these 'salvages' would 'suffer themselves baptized six times a day for a Glass of Aque Vite or a Pipe of Tobacco' (America, pt. I, p. 56), and adds this statement as to what they really did believe: 'Some of'em acknowledge the Sun for their God. . . . Others will have a Spirit that commands, say they, in the Air. Some among'em look upon the Skie as a kind of Divinity, others upon the Earth, and some upon the Roads of evil. . . . Dreams with them supply all other defects, and serve instead of Prophecy, Inspiration, Laws, Commands, and Rules, either for undertakings in War, Peace, Trade, or Hunting. Nay, they are a kind of Oracles in their Eyes. You would say, to see 'em at their Devotion, that they were of the Sect of the Pretended Inscript. The Belief they have in their Dreams imposes upon them a kind of Necessity of believing likewise, that they are forewarned by an Universal Mind of what they ought to do or avoid. Nay, this In- tuition prevails upon'em so far that if they were persuaded in their Dreams to kill a Man, or commit any other Enormous Crime, they would immedi- ately do it with the greatest alacrity, and make Attonement for it by the means which we shall hereafter relate. Parents' Dreams generally serve for the Observation of their Children, and Captains for those of their Villages. There are some among 'em as pretend to interpret Dreams. . . . When they meet with any great Fall of Water, which is either deep or rapid, they tell their Dreams, or throw into it a Beaver's skin, Tobacco, Porcelain, or the like, by way of Sacrifice, to appease and engage the Deity that there presides. . . . There is no nation among 'em which has not a sort of Judges or Buithe, that judge of the scalp-lock, the spirit land to the holder of the scalp. Then the voice

bewitch'd of these Juglers, though they so plainly and frequently appear to deceive 'em. These Impostors cause themselves to be revered as Prophets which fore-tell futurity. They will needs be looked upon to have an unlimited power, either of the boast of being able to make it Wet or Dry; to cause a Calm or a Storm; to render Land Fruitful or Barren; and, in a Word, to make Hunters Fortunate or Unfortunate; they have a strange Physic and apply Medicines, but which are such that they have little or no Virtue at all in 'em. . . . It is impossible to imagine the horrible Howlings and strange Contortions that these Juglers make of their Bodies, when they are disposing them- selves to Conjure, or raise their Enchantments.

. . . They will do nothing without either Presents or Hire. But however 'tis certain that if these Impostors have not skill enough to procure them- selves Credit, or to find something to say in case of a Failure in their Art by their Patients' Death, 'tis ten to one but that they are killed on the spot without any further formality.

These poor blind Wretches are, moreover, engaged in several other Superstitions, which the Devil makes use of to Ensnares 'em. They believe there are many living Creatures which have Rational Souls; whether they have any generation for certain Bones of Elks, Bevers, and other Beasts, and therefore never give them to their dogs, but lay 'em up in Repositories with a great deal of Care: These they never throw into Rivers but with great Believacy. They say that the Souls of these Animals observe how they deal by their Bodies, and consequently advertise both the Living and the Dead of that kind thereof, so that if they treat 'em ill, they must not expect that those sorts of Beasts will ever meddle themselves to be taken by them either in this or the other world (America, pt. ii, pp. 56-60). In addition, there are scattered through the two parts of the book descriptions of the various feasts and dances for the living and the dead, which might have been written to-day, so little change has time wrought, and on p. 112 the author says of the 'medicine' or fetish: 'These people admit of some Sort of Genius in all things: they all believe there is a Master of Life, as they call him, but hereof they make various Applications: some of them have a lean Raven, which they carry along with them, and which they say is the Mentor of their Lives; others have a Bone or Sea-Shell, or some such thing.' He also details at some length the story of the woman who fell down from Heaven and bore two sons, one of whom, after a time, retired to Heaven. This, of course, is a fragment of the legend of Hiawatha, Manioboso, or Nanabush (all names of the same supernatural personage).

The revival of the old religion, either modified by contact with Christianity or else having always had observances which had escaped the notice of the missionaries, was brought about by the Chippewas. According to their story, a band of their people was surprised by the Sioux and exter- minated. From the setting of the sun till its rising all lay dead, but when its beams fell on the Woman —her name is too sacred to be spoken—she revived, and heard a voice saying to her, 'Get up and take the drum, hit it, and, with the drum, and twelve drumsticks beside her. She took a stick and began to beat on the drum, and immediately the other sticks and the drum fell into her hands. At this point, their strength was restored, and her scalp-lock, which had been torn away, was renewed, —a most important miracle, as the soul is sup- posed to be in the small bulb which lies at the root of the scalp-lock, the spirit land to the holder of the scalp. Then the voice
spoke again, 'Go to the other band of the Chippewas and to all who will be my friends'; so she set out, travelling night and day, feeling no need of food or rest, and listened to the communications of the Voice. Thus she travelled for eighty days, at the end of which time she reached her people, called them together by the roll of her drum, and told them that Geechee Manitou wished them to take leave of their white people, politely, and turn again to him. He desired a dance house built for him, and a dance, to be called the Remembrance or Religion dance (Oue-west-seech), to be performed in it by young girls, to expel physical blemish, who had practised, prayed, and denied themselves all pleasures for eighty days. This dance was to continue four, seven, or twenty-one days, to the accompaniment of the drum and songs of praise to the Manitou (pronounced 'man-te-wi', by the Indians), while all the people feasted and made offerings of the smoke of tobacco and the steam of cooked food, beginning with the offering of a roasting-pig, and in addition to the old customs were to be revived, and an effort was to be made to induce all other Indians to conform to them again. When the people had purified themselves by fasting and by being sweated in the sweat-house, the young girls, being instructed by a man that it is heated and then drenched with cold water to produce a vapour in which the devotee stands naked to have the devils that produce disease or wickedness sweated out of him while he recites his prayers; and after they had built a dance house, and had honoured Geechee Manitou by prayers and praises, she taught them the Religion dance, put them in mind of some forgotten beliefs, and then disappeared, no one knew whither; nor did she ever return. At once the Chippewas was a great revival of old practices, to which they invited their relatives the Pottawatomies, who in turn practised the Kickapoos and their friends and neighbours, the Osages, Sac, and Foxes. A little later the Sac won over the Iowas and Otoes, but in spite of strenuous efforts they have never been able to add any other Sianian tribes to this coalition.

Besides Geechee Manitou, these tribes believe in three great gods. He is the first, the creator, and he lives in a golden boat, which we call the sun. Meechee Manitou is the god who lives in the cold, wet, slippery cavern in the souls of the wicked wander and shiver for ever. He is not now very active in mischief, but he is the father of an innumerable number of devils that produce war, pestilence, famine, scrofula, gout, and all other ills of body and soul. Some of these are the offspring of witches with whom he has consorted; others sprang from his breath, his sweat, his saliva, even his words and the scent of his foot-steps. The Brothers, 'twin sons of the woman who fell down from heaven,' spend their time, one in ruling over the happy hunting-ground, or place of rest, and the other in a travelling in the road of the ghosts go out, at the point where it divides, his business being to show the good their way to the happy hunting-ground, and the bad their way to the cavern of Meechee Manitou. These Brothers lived a long time on earth, destroyed many devils and wizards (some tribes were in the world before these two gods, and had become very wicked), received additional physical and spiritual power from the Great Manitou, and the Fox when they took their way—one to the spirit land, the other to the road that leads to it. The occasion of their leaving the world was this: on account of the good works of the Brothers, the devils and wizards endeavoured to destroy them, and succeeded in killing the younger, Cold Hand; but when the elder, Hot Hand, moured so terribly as to flood the earth with his tears, and draw it, which had hitherto been flat, into hills and valleys by his sobs, the devils and wizards, terrified by the commotion, worked four days and nights with their enchantments to 'make the dead alive.' When he was made alive, he went to his brother, but Hot Hand was not pleased. He said he was ashamed, because he had been good, to mourn so terribly; and he went into his wigwam and shut Cold Hand out. Presently he thrust forth a kettle, fire-sticks, tobacco, and a whistle to call ghosts. Cold Hand took these things and went away. He sat down on the edge of his house a while; but having got out of his dream, he thought a place for good souls. Before that they had no place; they blew about in the wind. Since that time, death has been better than life' (M. A. Owen, Folk-Lore of the Musqueaski Indians, p. 15).

The totems are patron saints. Each clan or subdivision of the tribe is named from the giant animal from which it is supposed to be descended. Judging from the old legends told by tribe historians, all the tribes at one time had many clans, each with its clan Secret Society which did homage to its totem, as its shaman or medicine-man directed; but so many devils were exterminated by their wars with white and red men having long continued, the totemic system is only a memory, and in others there are many more sticks to the sacred drum than there are drummers to hold them—each clan having but one drummer playing at a time.

The hereditary chief is the high priest of the faith, nominally, but he does nothing without first consulting the shamans, who are presidents of the totem societies, prophets, physicians, and exorcists all in one, being also the priests of other tribes (referred to by Hennepin). When it is understood that the earth and air are supposed to be peopled with an infinite number of malignant devils and sprites, as well as vampire ghosts, which are always on the alert to do mischief except when rendered torpid by extreme cold, and that all the shamans know the secret of casting them out or spell-binding them, it will be readily comprehended that, so long as the ancient beliefs prevail, the shamans will be the real autocrats of the tribes. Generally a son succeeds his father, as in the case of the chiefship, but sometimes the son is not clever enough to be a shaman, and then another son may be selected to be trained, thus keeping the succession in the family, as everyone in the clan is related. Sometimes, when an especially clever boy is found in another clan, the shaman takes possession of him, and, in rare cases, a boy has been brought from another tribe. In the latter case he is adopted by a member of the shaman's tribe who has lately lost a son of about the same age.

The white witches of the tribe are the 'women with-spots-on-their-faces.' These spots are round faults of vermillion, and each one stands for a Religion dance given for the woman-with-spots-on-her-face, at pulsery, by her father. These dances and the severe usage to which she is subjected from a very early age, make her a healer and a bringer of good fortune. She insures safe delivery to women in childbirth, not by being present, but by chanting and praying at a distance and refusing to hear all entreaties to be present; she names the newborn infants after something that belongs to the father's clan (this is the real name, not that given by men, nor the nickname given from some exploit or peculiarity); she heals the sick, and interprets the confused dreams of the women; any one with whom she is friendly is lucky, any one with whom she is unfriendly may look for misfortune.

The ceremonial of the faith may almost be described by a word—'dancing.' There are fasts,
prayers, and hymns before dancing, and feasts, prayers, and hymns during dancing; these are parts of the same thing. There are dances for planting and dances for harvest, dances to bring rain and to cause it to cease, for peace, for war, for days of rest, to restore health, and to honour the dead, totem dances, and dances for every great event in the life of the tribe and individual except birth, marriage, and funeral.

Kickapoos.—The Kickapoos consider themselves foreigners. 'This is the only tribe among all our Indians who claim for themselves a foreign origin,' says Thomas L. M'Kenney, formerly of the Indian Department, Washington, U.S.A., speaking of the Shawnee tribe, of which the Kickapoos is a division.

'Most of the aborigines of the continent believe their forefathers ascended from holes in the earth; and many of them assign a local habitation to these traditional places of the nativity of their race; resembling, in this respect, some of the traditions of antiquity, and derived, perhaps, from that remote period when barbarous tribes were more migratory, wandering from place to place on the earth. The Shawanees believe their ancestors inhabited a foreign land, which, for some unknown cause, they determined to abandon. They collected then in some beautiful and happy land, perhaps a kind of Eden. Here various persons were selected to lead them, but they declined the duty, until it was undertaken by one of the Turtle tribe. He placed himself at the head of the procession, and walked into the sea. The waters immediately divided, and they passed along the bottom of the ocean until they reached this 'island' (M'Kenney, North American Indians, vol. ii. pp. 263-264). This writer goes on to state, what the traditions of the Kickapoos confirm, that the child of the sun was the power, divided into twelve tribes, and these again into families, such as the Eagle, the Turtle, etc., each named from its totem or ancestral animal; and that the two of the tribes were annihilated, six were merged, and four kept their names and tribal government. These four were the Kickapoos, Pekaways, Chilicothes, and Makostrakes.

It is not known exactly when these people were driven by the Iroquois, southward to the Savannah river, nor is it known when they left that region and separated the tribes. In 1673, Father Marquette found the Kickapoos on a river, which he called the Kickapoo (in the Green Bay of Lake Michigan), or, as it was then called, the Lake of the Illinois), and he refers to Father Allouez as having a mission among them. He adds that, in comparison with their neighbours, the Miami, they are poor (Marquette, A Discovery of Some New Countries and Nations in the Northern America, in Hennepin's America, pt. ii. p. 225). On Hennepin's map, published in 1698, they are north of Lake Winnibago, but, in his account of the retreat of Tonti when he was endeavouring to lead his little company back to M. La Salle after the destruction of Fort Crévecoeur (A.D. 1680), he speaks of their houses as being on the west side of the Bay of Puans (Amer. Jour. of ch. 75, headed 'The Savages Kickapooes muchter Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, a Recollect Missionary'), though bands of their young men were wandering in the north-east in the hope of surprising small companies of their enemies, the Iroquois. Hermann Moll's map, published before 1716, shows them on the west side of the bay. In 1763, when Father Marquette visited Kickapoo, or Pontiac to form a federation of all the Indian tribes with the intention of preventing the encroachments of the whites or destroying them, they were living on the Miami and Scioto rivers (Parkman, Compendious History of Lewis and Clark, vol. ii. p. 130; Colonel Bouquet reported, when he had forced the Indians to sue for peace (1764), that the Kickapoo had three hundred warriors and a total population of fifteen hundred. He placed them on the Ouabache (Wabash) river (20th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 110). On May 29, 1804, Captain William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, wrote as follows: 'This tribe resides on the heads of the Kaskaskia and Illinois rivers, on the other (eastern) side of the Mississippi river, and now are in the middle of the land.' (Elliot,- Cones, The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, vol. i. p. 7); but this could have been but one band of them, for, in 1808, the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos gave to Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, a tract of land in Indiana, lying along the Tippecanoe river.

These two most distinguished Kickapoos, Tecumseh, or Flying Panther, and the Prophet Tens-kwau-taw-wa, endeavoured to form a confederacy like the one Pontiac projected, and, in 1811, became engaged in a war with the whites, which terminated disastrously for the Indians at the battle of Tippecanoe, much to the surprise of the red men; who had believed that the incantations of the Prophet had rendered them bullet-proof. In the war of 1812, Tecumseh and his people joined forces with the British (Eggleston and Seelye, Tecumseh, the Indian Chief, p. 206). Captain Clark, in his people in Illinois in 1831, but his map, printed in 1840, shows them on the west side of the Missouri river. During the Civil War, one band, with a band of Pottawatomies, went to Mexico, but have since returned. Southwest Report, pt. ii. p. 185, states: 'Kickapoos at Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha Reservation, in Brown County, Kansas, August 20, 1898, 235. Kickapoos, Mexican (mixed band with Pottawatomie), Indian Territory, 346. The number is much smaller, so that the report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs for 1901 gives the number of Kickapoos in Kansas as 190, and of Mexican Kickapoos in Indian Territory as 221. It is a dying people.

The Kickapoos are sickly, melancholy, and severely religious. In addition to a dance house, they have a house of silence—a wooden structure, from which was built, as a chief was communed in a dream, in silence and fasting. It is used for prayer and praise, but not for dances. Another revelation of late years causes them to flock to a religious mission which, though unknown in other tribes, where children are whipped only at puberty as a trial of endurance. A flogger is chosen once a year by lot, and his duty is to make the rounds of the wigwams every Saturday with a lash over his face. In consequence, no one is at home on Saturday but the culprits; the rest of the family sit among the bushes on the river bank and weep. The culprits do not weep during this (supposedly) religious exercise. These people have but one council-fire and three totemcs. This refers to the Brown County Kickapoos, not to the Mexican, who prefer to be considered Pottawatomies. They pay no reverence to the Red Indian and the other Indians, and this may partly account for their sickness, as their reservation is so infested with venomous reptiles as to render cattle-raiseing almost an impossibility. In consequence of which their staple flesh diet is water. (It is well known that the bite of a serpent has no effect on a hog). As an antidote for themselves and their ponies, they make use of a tea and wash in a mixture of infused leaves and water, known as the arrow-leaved violet (Viola sagittata). Violet was once a maid, sister to Rattlesnake, and as good as he was wicked; whomsoever he poisoned, she healed. In rage at this he killed her. Geocheet and the Kickapoos cow were befriended, changed her into this healing plant. It grows wild
in great abundance all over the reservation. Another cause of their inferior physique may be the dietary contraries to the religious scruples of most other Indians. Their tribal name means 'smooth,' and undoubtedly refers to some stream by which they have lived, and which they called Green Bay.

Pottawatomies—These people have no legend of ever having lived anywhere but in the North-West. The French missionaries and fur traders found them, during their explorations from what is now the State of Michigan, early in 1600. The Pottawatomies were occupying the lower peninsula of Michigan, in scattered bands, whence they were driven westward by the Iroquois, and settled about Green Bay. The French acquired much influence over them, whom they joined in their wars with the Iroquois (Smithsonian Report, 1885, p. 135). The Jesuit Relation, 1608, refers to them as being the nearest tribe to the settlement of Ste. the members of this fraternity Bay. A band of them accompanied Marquette when, in 1674, he set out to found a new mission, the Immanculate Conception, at the principal town of the Illinois; and, according to the word of this family of Indians, that in 1676, carried the bones of Marquette to St. Ignace in a grand procession of thirty canoes, and took part in the funeral scenes of the Jesuit's death. This recent discovery of the Great West, (pp. 68-71). It is evident, therefore, that they were considered Christians; but when they joined in Pontiac's conspiracy, nearly a hundred years later, reliable witnesses declared that they ate the bodies of their most valued enemies. Again, in the war of 1812, they were guilty of the same practices. One of the best attested instances is that of Captain Wells, who was killed after the capture of Chicago in 1812. This man, who had been a long time among the Indians, having been taken prisoner by them at the age of thirteen, had acquired a great reputation for courage, and his name is still mentioned as that of the bravest white man with whom they ever met. He had almost become one of their number. At the commencement of hostilities he sided with his own countrymen.... Wells was killed.... His body was divided, and his heart was shared as being the most certain spell for courage, and part of it was sent to the various tribes in alliance with the Pottawatomies, while they themselves feasted upon the rest.... Mr. Barron has seen the Pottawatomies' bodies and those of both white men and Cherokees, which they were about to devour.... Among some tribes cannibalism is universal, but it appears that among the Pottawatomies it is generally restricted to a society or fraternity, whose privilege and duty it is, on all occasions, to eat of the enemies' flesh; at least one individual must be eaten. The flesh is sometimes dried and taken to the village. Not only are they credited with great virtues, but it is said they can impart them, by means of spells, to any individual they wish to favour (W. H. Keating, Keating's Narrative, pp. 102, 103).

Since Keating's narrative was written (1853), missionaries have again laboured among these people, and many considerable successes. Green Bay, though still clinging to life there are Methodists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, as well as worshippers of the Manitous; but it is impossible to tell what proportion of the tribe have been converted to the efforts of Christian teachers, as some appear to participate in the exercises of both religions. Another reason for the apparent predominance of the heathen element is that the Christian contingent leaves the tribe and is lost among the whites. This is the reason it appears so small, never numbering quite fifteen hundred. From the Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha Reservation, Kansas; while possibly three hundred are in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. When the tribe disappears, it is supposed, the internal strife would be at an end. The fact that these extraordinarily keen traders do not care to hold their goods in common. Their boast is that they have followed and bartered with the whites from the time they met the first French fur-traders, and always to their own advantage, except when they sold the site of the city of Chicago. Briefly put, trading brings segregation, segregation civilization, civilization Christianity, an inexorable conversion, but one likely to be permanent. The name Pottowatun-see signifies "those who make-or keep-a-fire," and refers to their having started a council-fire for themselves when they and the Ojibwas, or Chipeways, separated from the Ottawa. They held them in ghastly awe, and the old people recite folk-tales which indicate that there was a time when they possessed them, and a few have claimed that they are descended from a dog. This would be seriously, as they partake of the dog feast, and no Indian eats the animal named from his totem.

Sacs and Foxes.—These people are classed as one tribe in Government reports, very much to their dissatisfaction. They have never been under the same chieftainship, but have kept up their separate council-flames, and have a different number of totems (the Sacs have one that the Foxes consider unworthy of any descendants by women, the Tree or Dryad totem). Their traditions of migration from the Atlantic seaboard to the region of the Great Lakes are about the same, and so are their accounts of reverses at the hands of the Iroquois on the east and the Sioux on the west; but the Foxes have a legend of a mysterious white buffalo leading them to join forces with the Sacs, which the latter ridicules. The Jesuits found them living as distinct tribes in the neighborhood of Lake Michigan. They refer to having been even more successful and the Hurons and Illinois. In 1712 the Foxes, or, as they were generally called, the Outagamies or Musquakies, with their allies, attacked the French at Detroit, but were defeated with the loss of both the Sac and the Huron. The Foxes, the Sacs, and the Illinois and the tribes (Parkman, A Half Century of Conflict, pp. 279-286). In 1732 another determined effort was made by the French and their Indian allies to destroy these terrible fighters, and it was so nearly successful that, about 1756, eighty warriors and their families joined themselves to the Sacs, these being all that were left of this scourge of the West, as they had long been called. Jonathan Carver, in 1766, found the two tribes in neighbouring villages on the Ouisconsin (Wisconsin) river. He describes the Sackie town as the best Indian village he ever saw, having nine houses, each large enough for several families, well built of hewn plank, and having sheds before the doors. The streets were wide, he adds, and the land round about so well cultivated that the traders must have been astonished to find them spending so much energy on so small an object. The principal business of the warriors was to engage in forays among the Illinois and Pauwnees for the purpose of procuring slaves. This appeared to them at the time to be the most profitable occupation. The situation was so perilous that it never in numbers more rapidly, for their adversaries quickly retaliated. The Outagamie or Fox town was almost deserted (Carver, Travels, pp. 46-49). Both tribes were too busy fighting the Sioux and Chip...
pews to take part in the war of the Revolution, but the Foxes and part of the Sacos were on the side of the British in the Revolution of 1812. The Sac division took place in the Black Hawk War (1831–32), when the band of Sacs under Keokuk refused to fight the U.S. There are at the present time between four and five hundred Sacs in Indian Territory—of whom about a hundred are under Keokuk (Keokuk) died in Aug. 1903, and about two hundred on the Pottawatomi and Great Nemaha Reservation, in Kansas, under Margrave, a Pennsyl- vania-born agent, they serve the function of the hereditary chief, deposed for drunkenness. The Foxes are at Tana, Iowa: a small, rich tribe, numbering scarcely more than three hundred, if we exclude visiting Pottawatomies. As to this division, the agent wrote, Aug. 1834.

Indians, the Sacs and Fox of the Mississippi, dis- claim any connexion whatever with the Sac tribe, and claim most earnestly that they are Foxes only. Later, the Foxes to the midwest. The Sacs are more agreeable than pious, the Foxes more pious than agreeable. The Sacs are great lovers of fun, the Foxes great sticklers for dignity. The Sacs are stalwart, and with a leaning toward the Scotch-Irish, while the Foxes, though such a profound regard for the wisdom of their ancestors. The Sacs have eight totems from which they are descended; the Foxes have seven totems from which they are not descended, since they trace their lineage to a boy and girl, one of whom came from the shoulder of one of the Brothers, the other from the side of his twin. Staubie is said to mean 'yellow clay,' while o-wa-wwik means 'mouth of the river,' and the name of a chief is related to the English word 'treacle,' the name by which the Foxes call themselves, means 'fox.'


MARY A. OWEN.

ALLAH is the proper name of God among Muslims, corresponding in usage to Jehovah (Yahweh) among the Hebrews. Thus it is not to be regarded as a common noun meaning 'God' (or 'god'), and the Muslim must use another word or form if he wishes to indicate any other than his own peculiar deity. Similarly, no plural can be formed from it, and though the liberal Musul- man will admit that Christian or Jews may call upon Allah, he could never speak of the Allah of the Christians or the Allah of the Jews. Among Christians, too, a similar usage holds. In the current Arabic Bible versions, 'God' (الله) is uniformly used, and 'God' (الله) occurs, it is rendered αρραββαλλ- λαθον, 'the Lord, the Allah,' whereas 'the Allah' is an uncontracted form, retaining its force of a common noun. As a result, 'the Allah' has been shortened through usage. The Muslim, too, who usually derives and explains Allah as meaning 'worshipped,' uses it and its plural Alaha in the broadest way, of any god, explaining that such is possible only through a sort of mythological and theological interpretation—it has room for a priori theories or dreams of a wonder-working Name. Allah is a contraction of di- alaath, and has come to be used as a personal, descriptive epithet, and not a common noun in origin. A number of possible derivations are given with examples of each of the possible derivations. It is evident, however, that the concept of Allah in itself, taken without reference to some other thing, real or imagined, is unintelligible to mankind, since it is not indicated by a separate noun, but is often even especially revealed to his saints, as ar-Razi suggests; nor does derivation from a root revolve about in the same way, just as it has been in another; it means only that the two expressions have part in a common idea and formation. The Syriac derivation is more intelligible. Other commentators give modifications only of the two atti-
tudes of ar-Razi and al-Baidawi. Thus Abu 'Abd-Str'id (d. A.H. 982 = A.D. 1574) paraphrases and elucidates al-Baidawi. The former, however, states (margin of al-Kashf al-tabib, l. 19) shows how far this interpretation could attain: "Know that what is meant by the negation of the creed of the Prophet is that he is the rightly worshipped One, and the sense of that article of the creed is, "No rightly worshipped individual exists except the rightly worshipped One."" Similarly, Nizam ad-Din al-Naisaburi (d. circa A.H. 710 = A.D. 1311), writing at the Khurasan of the Fergana, says, the difference as verbal (al-ghaib) only, a hard saying (margin of at-Tahab's Tafsir, l. 53 ff. and 63 ff.). All these are generally accepted and respected commentaries. See art. God (Muslim).

LITERATURE.—There is little in Western languages on this subject. The earliest are the larger part of the verses of the Jumna and the other rivers.—Klcimre Leben der Menschen, i. 296 ff., ii. 33; Palmer's Qur'an, i., ii. B.Xvi.; Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, a.e. "God." 'Ithbaw': Grime, Mohammed, ii. 96.

Allâhâbâd.—An important Indian city, capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The original Hindu name of the place is Prâyâga, 'the place of sacrifice,' a name which is applied to three other sacred laithing-places on the Alakamand (wh. see), one of the upper waters of the Ganges. Allahâbad is specially holy to the Hindus. It was proposed to be the triple junction (trîyâcî) of three sacred rivers—Ganges (Gângâ), Jumna (Yamnâ), and Saraswati, the last being supposed to have an underground connexion with the others. The river ALLâHâBAD, 'abode of Allah,' was conferred upon the place by the Emperor Akbar, who in A.D. 1572 built his fort commanding the junction of the two rivers, and named it Alâhâbâ, which was changed to Allahâbad by his grandson Shahjâhân. But the place had been regarded as sacred from the very earliest times. It first appears in history as the site where Asoka erected one of his edict-pillars about B.C. 240. In Hijjat, the Buddhist pilgrim, about A.D. 414, he found it included in the kingdom of Kosala; and the name Prâyâga appears in the Travels of his successor, Hînê-Tsang in the 7th century. He found Buddhism prevailing here side by side with Brahmanism, and he notes that in the midst of the city was a famous temple of the latter faith, in front of which was a large tree with wide-spreading branches, which was said to be the dwelling of an anthropophagous demon. This tree was surrounded by human bones, the remains of pilgrims who, according to immortal custom, were in the habit of sacrificing their lives by jumping from its boughs into the holy stream. This tree is now also a beauty of the place, for instance, by its successive spectators—the Akshaya Vâta, or 'eternally Banyan-tree,' which is still one of the chief objects of Hindu worship. It stands in an underground temple, probably part of the edifice described by Hînê-Tsang, or built on the same site. This building is now within the Fort, and owing to the accumulation of rubbish the whole of the lower part has been filled up. Early in the 14th cent. the historian Roschild-ed-din mentions the sacred tree of 'Prâg' at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. About the time of Akbar, 'Abd al-Qadir speaks of 'the tree from which people come to take bath,' and it is from these accounts it is clear that in the interval between the time of Hînê-Tsang and Akbar the rivers had cut away the land near their junction so that the sacred tree, which stood in the centre of the city, had been brought close to the water. This accounts for the fact that, except the famous Pillar of Asoka, no relics of the Buddhist and Brahmanical monuments described by the traveller of the 7th cent. exist in Allahâbad.

The chief lathing fair at Allahâbad is what is called the Mâgâ-Mela, Magh (Jan.-Feb.) being the month in which it is held. The chief lathing day is celebrated in the month of the fair, which is held in the sandy bed at the river junction, which is left dry at the close of each rainy season. Every twelfth year here and at Harîlîwar, when the sun is in the sign of Kumbha or Aquarius, bathing is specially efficacious, and enormous crowds of pilgrims flock from all parts of India. To these are added large numbers of ascetics, and beggars who display their infirmities to the charitable parties of bathers. Specially remarkable is the massed throng who extend one arm or both arms above the head until the muscles become withered through disuse, and the akâsân-kâxin, who keep their necks bent back looking at the sky. To these are added numbers of cultivators, of the poorer sort, who supply the wants of the pilgrims. The maintenance of sanitation and the prevention of outbreaks of epidemic disease are in the hands of a special European staff. This is the chief danger resulting from gatherings of this kind, the attendances at which has greatly increased since the railways offered facilities to the pilgrims. The people are so orderly and law-abiding that little work falls upon the police force. The bathing at these fairs is controlled by a body of local Brahmins, who take their name, prayâgâci, from the place, and have a bad reputation for insolence, rapacity, and licentiousness.

LITERATURE.—Cunningham, Archaeological Reports, i. 296 ff., abstracted and supplemented by Führer, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 127 ff.; Imperial Gazetteer of India, s.v.

ALLEGORY. ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION.—The word 'allegory' is derived from the terminology of Greek rhetoric, and means primarily a series of metaphors ('Iam eum fluxerunt continuas planas trahentem, aha plane fit oratio, tuaque genus hoc Graec appellant alλαγγγια'). Cicero, Orator, xxvii. 94; cf. de Oratore, iii. 160. Seeing that the later classical poets studied in the schools of rhetoric, it is not surprising that Horace, in the ode in which he compares the State to a ship (Od. i. 14), had an allegory in view, as is recognized by the rhetorician Quintilian (viii. 6, 44). Thus we see that the conception of allegory as formulated in rhetoric, and, owing to the close connexion between all parts of rhetoric and hermeneutics, as used also in explaining a work of literature, has a rather narrow range. The term is by no means applied in that wide sense which it has to-day when we speak, for instance, of the allegorical art. On the contrary, we must keep in view in the case of allegory that a form of representation which a reader believes himself to find in a piece of writing which is more or less in need of interpretation. As such an interpretation, however, is in reality justified only where the author of the writing, as, for instance, Horace, or Goethe in the second part of Faust, had a secret meaning in mind, the rule comes to be that in allegorical interpretation an entirely foreign subjective meaning is read into the passage which has to be explained. In this way allegory is almost always a relative, not an absolute, conception, which has nothing to do with the actual truth of the matter, and for the most part springs from the natural desire to conserve some idea which, owing to its age, has come to be regarded as sacred.

These remarks are necessary for the proper understanding of allegory among the nations of antiquity. It is a misus of the word to find in Homer and the poets of the subsequent period unconscious allegorical ideas (D'Herbelot, e.g., Histoire et critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs des origines au temps de Plutarque, p. 279 ff.). The use in Homer (II. ii. 420), in Archilochus (Fr. 19, 12), or in any other ancient poet of a fire is neither allegory nor a conscious substitution of the god for his name (Plutarch,
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Quam. adol. poet. aud. deb. p. 234b), but a direct identification of the god with his earliest form of earthly manifestation. Hephaestus is here, to adopt Ueber's terminology, the 'divinity of the moment' (Eitelmayer, p. 279 ff.). A similar explanation must be given of the Cyclopes—Brinton, Steropes, Arges (Hesiod, Theog. 140), and of Scamander, which in Homer is both god and stream, and in Hesiod, God and the world system. The latter interpretation is almost equally tenable, for the Cyclopes appear to be the primary offspring of the earth and sea, whereas there are figures, which in the later evolution unite themselves to the elementary diversities, whose names and natures are identical, e.g., Eris (P. iv. 440, v. 618, 746, xi. 31., xviii. 534. xx. 48; Hesiod, Op. 16, 29, 85, 804, Theog. 225, etc.), Phobos, Deimos, Kydamos (P. iv. 440, xiii. 299, xv. 119, v. 503, xvii. 535), Zelos, Nike (Hesiod, Theog. 384), and others. Only the most superficial consideration, however, can call such a usage allegorical. It is simply owing to the difficulty we have in analyzing such a pantheon of abstract conceptions and such a theology, and for want of a better term, that we call them personifications. It is quite impossible in such cases to speak of allegory, seeing that in Homer and Hesiod we are dealing with a world of ideas still comparatively naive. Allegory is much more the child of a re- duction of the ancient mythology.

The assertion that piety is the mother of allegorical explanation is entirely correct (cf., e.g., Gomperz, Grischische Denker, i. 305). The 6th cent. before Christ rejected the gods of Homer and Hesiod. Xenophanes (Fragm. 11, 32, Diels) and Pythagoras (Diog. Laert. vii. 19, 21), and Heraclitus (Fragm. 42 D) attack with all their energy the religious views of their predecessors and contemporaries. But the piety of the faithful Homer and his interpreters was not broken by these attacks to give up its ideals then any more than it is to-day; it had recourse to the method, so often practised since, of reading a new meaning into the sacred tradition, and thus protecting it from the satire of its critics. Quite a number of men meet us in this connexion, who sought, often by very childlike or indeed childish means, to secour the ancient tradition, but who themselves regarded their undertaking with religious earnestness. The oldest of these was Thucydides of Rhegium, who flourished at the time of Cambyses (Tatian, ad. Graecos, 31). He wrote an 'Apology' for the Homericae poetry (Schol. Hom. viii. 420), and Por. (Prose- physiæ questionum Homericarum ad Hiodon per- tinentium reliquiae, Leipzig, 1880, p. 384) sought to save the battle of the gods in the twentieth book of the Iliad by a physical and ethical interpreta- tion. Others are said to have made similar attempts. The philosopher Anaxagoras interpreted Homer's poetry in a purely ethical way (Favorinus in Diog. Laert. ii. 3, 11), and his pupil Metrodorus of Lampscus followed a similar method in his physical explanation of the Homeric figures. For him Demeter was the fire, Dionysus the spleen, Apollo the gall; Hector signified the moon, Achilles the sun; a gamengon the earth, and Acrisius the air (cf. the passages in Diels, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, p. 339). Diogenes of Apollonia went on similar lines (Philoen. de Pict. c. 66) when he found in Homer not myths but truth, and identified Zeus with the air. Democritus of Abdera too, an enthusiastic admirer of Homer (Fragm. 18, 21, Diels), inclined to an allegorical interpretation of the gods (Fragm. 30 D). When we consider, further, the turn of mind which Athens in the middle of the 5th cent., how, for instance, Aristophanes ridic- uled the new doctrines of philosophy (Nub. 828, 380 ff.), and when we remember that the radical Hellenistic revolution, as it were, stripped some of the characters of the Iliad and the Odyssey of their trappings and substituted gods for their prototypes, it is thus clear that Homer's contemporaries, who leave a vast number of works of art, are to be considered the successors of the Homeric poets, not in their literal, but in their allegorical sense. The detachment which takes place, in the Epic, from the naked facts of everyday life, must not be considered an obscurity, but a grand natural movement, as much a way of saving the old tradition, but it is not, properly speaking, allegorical. In the place of a silly fable we find a new and no less silly myth. Such a proceeding, however, is not allegorizing (cf. also Dechambo, Lc. 261).

Up to this point we have constantly spoken of 'allegory,' as if this expression were found in the philosophers themselves. This is, however, by no means the case. We find a number of writers giving allegorical interpretations, who never use the word itself. The older expression, which was used till 'allegory' occurs in the 1st cent. B.C. (cf. Cicero, Orator, 94; F. Flucturam, Quam. adol. poet. aud. deb. p. 173.,) was Stoicorum vero doctrina uses the word in the well-known passage of his Symposium (ii. 6), where he adds Stesimbrotus of Thasos and Anaximander (cf. also Plato, Ion, 530 D, who mentions Glaucon by the side of Metrodorus and Stesimbrotus as teachers of Antisthenes in this method of explaining Homer. As a matter of fact, the Cynical school had with conscious purpose reduced the allegorical interpretation of Homer to a system. Their writings were largely occupied with the poetry of Homer and the figures it contained (Diog. Laert. vi. 1, 17 f.); and we learn from the fifty-third oration of Dio Chrysostom (p. 276 R), that he distinguished in Homer between Logos and Eidos, and that he allegorized the poet (cf. Schrader, Lc. 387 f.; Dio Chryso. viii. 283 R; Xenop. Memor. i. 3. 7; Dümmler, Antis- thenica, 22 ff.). In spite of their utter denial of the existence of a plurality of gods, and their emphatic rejection of the figures of mythology, the Cynics were quite unable to free themselves from the spell of the Homeric poetry. Plato is the opponent of Homer and Antisthenes; he often treats with play- ful sarcasm the attempts of 'the experts' to interpret the names and actions of the gods allegorically (Craty. p. 467 A; Phdr. 220 C; Repub. 378 D, where again the word ἀλληγορεῖ appears).

Thus the beginning of a system of allegorizing had been made. The Stoics undertook its completion, and their views passed on later to the Jews and the Christians, and thence more or less directly to our own time. The passage from Dio referred to above mentions the Stoic Zeno as the follower of Antisthenes in his method of explaining Homer, and the fragments we possess from the hand of the founder of the Stoic school bear witness to his allegorical point of view (Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, i. pp. 43, 167 f.). Chrysippus, the head of the Stoic school, has, of course, taken great delight in working out the method. Zeus is for him the Logos, who orders all things; he derives his name from his life-giving activity (Zeus). Male and female diversities do not exist for him, Homer's distinction between the gods the earth, Zeus the earth, Homer's reason. Almost all the names of the gods suggest such an interpretation. Zeus comes from ozein. The conclusion from ζοος and ζωή (cf. Arnim, Lc. B, Dio Chryso. 1076, 1070, 1064, 1087, 1096, 1095).

It serves no purpose to refer to the many (often self-contradictory) interpretations of Chrysippus, but only to mention in passing that in the person of Crates of Mallus this method of
interpretation extended itself to the exposition of Homer as a whole (Wachsmuth, de Cratote Mallota, p. 62). Two unsatisfactory though not uninteresting writings which are still extant, the *Allegoria Homericorum of Heraklitus* and Theologoumena of Corunthus, prove to us the wide diffusion of these views, and show of what excesses the allegorical method of interpretation is capable. Of the two, Heraklitus is the more annoying; he has least some feeling he hates Plato and Epicurus (cap. 4), in fact all those who are not enthusiastic admirers of his beloved Homer. Accordingly, he endeavors to meet the old objections raised against the weaknesses and sins of the Homeric gods.

Thus the chaining of Hera (II, iii. 257) is explained as the union of the elements (55); the burning of the air (I. 293) signifies the earthly fire, which is weaker than the heavenly flame (thus Hephaestus is χύλεσ (26)); the wounding of Aries and of Antiope (346 ff., 560 f.) to be understood as the defeat of the barbarian army (ἐπονομάζειν = Ἀδέλφοι) which sends forth unearthly noises (50, 31); the union of Apeirude and Areis (Eur. vili. 306 f.) is the combination of love and strife in harmony. These interpretations are so general that even Apollodorus, the greatest, and nhất the greatest philosopher grants them his recognition (Corunthus, p. 49, 4; Minuelt, Quaesiones mythographiae, p. 17). Other testimonies for the allegori- sation, apart from Homer (for instance, by Aristophanes, 149), and by the author of the pseudo-Pindarchic writing, de Vie et poes Homerii; but the latter is neither as literal nor as natural.

In spite, however, of the strength of this movement, it had by this time reached a very definite limit. Plato, as we saw above, derided the attempts of Antisthenes to defend Homer allegorically. His followers, the members of the so-called Middle Academy, along with the Epicureans, made use of sceptical arguments, and renewed the conflict against the Stoics, the successors of the Cynic school. The chief representative of this line of thought is Carneades, who practically ad- vocated the views of his teacher, Arcesilaus; his attack is contained in the third book of Cicero's de Naturae Deorum, and in Sextus Empiricus, deie. Mallex, lx. He regarded the interpretation of the myths as entirely meaningless, and reproached the Stoics for regarding as wise the inventors of such disreputable stories (Cicero, i.e. iii. 24, 62). The Epicureans expressed themselves to the same effect; they found all those allegorical gods of the Sto nothing but absurdities, and applied the term 'godless' to the mode of procedure of the sect, for the effect of these very interpretations was to make the gods as common as the gods (Phi- lo, dem. de Pet. cap. 18). These opinions were then, to a large extent, taken over by the Christians, although they, in like manner, early fell under the spell of the allegory.

The attack was keenly maintained, but a great movement has never yet been checked by harsh contradiction. The 1st cent. before and after Christ is the great era of the Sto, which at a later date even occupied the Imperial throne in the person of Marcus Aurelius. But, what is more important, these views made their way into Judaism. The Wisdom of Solomon is under the influence of this method of interpretation of the Jewish law is found in the letter of Aristeas (5 143 f.), just as symbolical explanations occur among the Essenes (Phil, Quo. omn. prop. lib. ii. p. 458, Mangenot). Philo, however, is the chief representative of this direction of the thought, his attempts have been made to trace back his alle- gorical exposition of the Scriptures to the Haggada. And this much, at any rate, is certain, that there was no attempt before Philo who made use of the same method of explanation, for he fre- quently refers to such explanations of the Old Testament.

These 'Philistos' had explained Abraham as the vine, and Sarah as virtue (Phil, de Attr. H. 15, Mangenot); again, the king of Egypt was the vine as ruler of the body (de Jes. ii. p. 60, Mangenot); they interpreted the rite of the Passover as refer- ring either to the purification of soul or to the creation of the world (de Septu. ii. 301); and in this way a number of Scripture passages obtained an allegorical interpretation (cf. Clem, Al. et. de Plant. Noi, l. 337; de Spec. Leg. ii. 259); there were even definite rules laid down (cf. de Somn. i. 19).

But Philo not merely followed in the footsteps of his predecessors; his aim rather was to reduce the allegorical explanation to a kind of system. There is no writer who shows more clearly than he the origin of his method. He tells us often of the different attacks which the opponents of the Scriptures, i.e. the Greeks, made on the Biblical narratives. He reprimands the detestable people who express amazement at God's changing His opinion, and writes against them the pamphlet, *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*; he is well aware that the same persons mock at the tower of Babel (de Conf. Ling. i. 403), smile at the serpent in Paradise (de Mundi Leg. i. 413), and explain the swearing or wrathful God of Israel as a monster (Leg. ad. i. 128; *Quod Deus s. lo. in. 282*); and make merry over Joseph's dreams (de Jos. ii. 59).

This Greek criticism, which lasted from the days of Philo till the fall of paganism, is most clearly brought out when the Christians, to give an allegorical meaning, a βραβεός, to the sacred Scriptures, just as, at an earlier date, it had compelled the faithful among the pagans. But, before that, the allegori- fures are best described as an allegory (de Jos. i. 46; here, again, the term βραβεός is used); the allegorical exposition is the soul of the sacred text, the literal meaning only its body (de Mig. Abr. i. 450), a conclusion which, when we compare Hellenic interpretation with the Christian (see below). The literal meaning of a passage would, according to Philo, lead to absurdity and impiety,—here, too, Origen is his pupil,—and literal obedience to the precepts of the Law could be preposterous (Leg. add. i. 132; de Conf. Ling. i. 425; de Somn. 634; de Spec. Leg. ii. 329; de Agric. i. 324, etc.). We cannot here go on to speak of the reasons which, according to Philo, caused the Deity to give such incomplete representations of Himself, nor is it possible to introduce a large number of individual allegories. The history of allegorical exegesis is tedious enough owing to the want of diversity in the method. Accordingly it may suffice to give a few instances, when any one can easily amplify for himself, from Siegried's book, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des AT.* pp. 192-275.

Philo recognizes in Paradise the syzygym of the soul, in the tree of life the fear of God, in the tree of knowledge the *ēpíphaneia* (de Mundo, Op. i. 37; Leg. add. i. 450); the fire of the altar is the fire of fire (de Post. Caini, l. 350; Leg. add. i. 50); Abel is pure pieté without intellectual culture, Cain the egoist, Seth the son of his father is imbued with the principle of the Holy Spirit (de pot. pot. ins. l. 197; de Sacrific. Ab. i. 163; de Post. Caini, l. 249); Enoch hope (Quo. pot. pot. ins. i. 217; de Frenes. et Potius. ii. 419); etc.; Homer signifies the ζυγοιον μαθεων, Sarah virtue and wisdom (de Cerber, i. 199 f.); Joseph is the type of the states- man (de Jos. ii. 41); his coat of many colours indicates that his political intrigue is intricate and difficult to unravel (Quo. pot. pot. ins. i. 192); in the Law (Dei 219 f.) the one beloved wife is plea- sure, the other who is hated is virtue (de Sacrific. Ab. et Caini, l. 167); and so on.

Seeing that the allegories crowd in on Philo in such a way, it is to be feared that in the same passage in different allegorical ways (de Prof. i. 572); moreover, the same facile hand occasionally changes the text, just when it suits his alleg- ory to do so (Quo. pot. pot. ins. i. 297).

The Jewish method of interpretation was carried over into Christian exegesis, although the influence of Philo did not make itself particularly felt till the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Thus St. Paul, as well as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, makes the ready use of allegorical exegesis (cf. Gal 49. 1 Co 9); and the Epistle of Barnabas, with its search for a spiritual meaning behind the letter, is a product of the Jewish tradition. This need of allegorizing is seen still more plainly in the *Apologetics.*
This is particularly true of Justin Martyr, who interprets a number of Old Testament prophecies in a most daring fashion; thus Gen 49.1, "he hath washed his garments in wine, and his vestments in the blood of grapes," means the righteous one on whose head the faithful in whom the Logos dwells, with his blood, which, like wine, is transformed into grapes, comes from God (Acts 13). And it is said, 'the government shall be upon his shoulders' (Is 9.9), the meaning is that Christ would be hung on the cross. But the Gnostics go still further. They allegorize in their Oriental manner not only the Old Testament, but also the New, discovering in it new and significant symbols and incidents. Then, the 'Demiurge,' their 'Bythos,' and their 'eternal Wisdom' (Irenaeus, i. 1. 17, iii. 18; Huch, Influence of Or. Ideas and of the Christian Church, p. 16).

The enormous syncretism of the 2nd cent. drew allegory into its circle. When we see Greeks and Christians contending with one another, we become quite bewildered with the confusion of terms. The Apologists unite with the Sceptics in their opposition to allegory (Aristides, xii, 7, Seeberg; Tatian, adv. Graec. 21; pseu-do-Clem. Rom. Hom. vi. 17, etc.); but they themselves calmly use allegorical interpretation. Celsius is perfectly justified in his attack on this method, which he designates as a retreat of shame at the immoral stories of the Bible (Orig. c. Celts. i. 17, iv. 48 ff.). But, again, Celsius and his Sceptical successors do not press the attack on all parties, Greeks as well as Christians, tread the same erroneous path.

Allegory had, in fact, become to the men of this time a method of thought. They could not but use allegory, repudiate and Tertullian solemnly reject the Gnostic interpretative, yet the method took firmer hold, and, along Philo's lines, developed just as luxuriantly as in the Greek-Judean empire. The language of Clement of Alexandria, revealing as it does the symbolic pictures, at once betrays the allegorist; but it is not worth our while to go into his individual allegorical interpretations here (Strom. i. 3. 23, vii. 11. 94 ff.), in his predilection for the Book of Job and the Canticles (Migne, Patrologia Graeca, LXV. 697 ff.). The former resembles a Greek drama, the latter a love poem, in which Solomon celebrates his marriage with an Egyptian woman. The Psalms, too, were explained interpretatively, and, particularly by accepting Messianic passages in the OT, made its own position untenable. Theodore himself is the best example of this. It is quite refreshing to learn of the Alexandrians' regard for the word of Job and the Canticles (Migne, Patrologia Graeca, LIX. 697 ff.).

The allegorical method was, after all, more logical than the exegesis of the school of Antioch, which, in recognizing typology and in distinguishing a double meaning in Scripture, again came nearer to the allegorical interpretation, to restore the historical background irreparably destroyed by the allegorists. This they did by attempting to disclose the typical meaning after having ascertained the verbal signification. But Theodore does not deny that, e.g., Zec 9.10 refers to Zerahiah, and although he expresses himself strongly against those who interpret the words as applying to him, and another part as referring to Christ, still he finds a kind of mediation in the thought that a considerable part of the prophetic message is to be understood 'hyperbolically,' i.e. its full truth is only struck out (cf. Fauth, in Comment. in Zech. ix. p. 554 f. 11). Similarly, too, he interprets Ps 54 as referring to Onias, but, at the same time, as being a σταυρωσις (cf. above, Orig, and Theodore himself, p. 555) of the sufferings of our Lord. Another excellent example (Jl 2.25-26) is given more fully by Kühn, loc. cit. 187. Theodore's exegesis continued to flourish in the school of Nisibis, and obtained, by means of Julius Africanus, an entrance into the West (Kühn, loc. cit. p. 215 f.).

The allegorical method was not empirically enough combated by this new method, which, in the place of the old Gnostica only caught another, notwithstanding the vigour with which the champions of the doctrine of Antioch in thoroughly Greek style carried on the conflict. It was now no longer possible to overthrow the system; and already become far too necessary an element in Greek thought. Gregory of Nyssa seems to have quite made up his mind not to reduce the Scriptures to an allegory (Hexameron, i. 6, 45, 45); but then, again, he has still in all allegorical representations, and gives some himself, particularly in his explanation of the Canticles. Gregory of Nazianzus, who, like all the Apologists, opposes the heathen allegories, wishes to adopt in the interpretation of Scripture a via medica between the different methods. And, as early as the time of Celsus, the question of the Old Testament prophecies is the chief point of contention among the Gnostics and the Christians.
the wide-spread. All 1712: 205). It's the art. Littera tamdiu thus its fishes tinction its coptious recognizes thus, that, of the breadth of his view, he too appeals to the old art. 2 Co 3°, that the letter killeth (iii. 5); and thus we kill our souls when, in following the letter, we neglect the spirit (cf. Rom. 7:6; 1 Cor. 13:1). Augustine here, as in all other department, occupies a prominent place. He follows in his writing, de Doctrina Christiana, the seven hermeneutic rules of the Donatist Tyconius (iii. 30), and gives a lively and delightful exposition of the whole. The piety, hence, of the platte, impossible, to the same example in his Formule spiritualis intelligentionis, which now furnish us with a copious table of individual allegories.

But in addition to that, every individual thing has its definite meaning, be it the letter-oracles prophecy; the shadow of death; the stones of either Christ or sanct; roses are mortices a roadway sanctuaries; the fishes sanct; the water wondrous; the lion = dominion; the bear = Daniel and lions next, but the wolf and the wild bear are the representations for the soul; the tiger = femina interdum interrogantia; the canis=adultere rebus sexu alii consulit vel minoribus distort.

After winning these titles, the Middle Ages fell asleep, and it is impossible for us here to trace the vagaries of allegorical interpretation further. The interpretation, which finds expression in the following well-known couplet, becomes quite a fixed rule:

'Lettera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, 
Moralis quid agas, quae tendas analogia.'

Bernard of Clairvaux is an enthusiastic allegorist of the Canticles. Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theol., i. art. 10) distinguishes the various hermeneutical littellaria from the sensus spiritualis, quia super litteralia fundament et eum supponit, and this distinction preserved for centuries, not till the Reformation that this way of interpreting was called in question. Luther, who confesses that as monk he had allegorized everything, socks, along with the lion, only for the sensum litteralis (Heinrici, in Isaeuc, P.B.3, vii. art. 'Hermeneutik'). Of course he still interprets Canticles allegorically, but does not express himself so enthusiastically regarding it as either the theologians of the Middle Ages or many later expositors. The Canticles, in fact, have been to a large extent the test for the later Biblical interpretation. Generally speaking, the allegorical method has in modern times fallen into disuse. Men like Cocceius byal belong to the exceptions, and Biblical criticism and its method has, particularly since the end of the 18th cent., almost annihilated allegorical exegesis. Still the interpretation of the Canticles, which held its place in the Canon, has again and again raised up friends of the old method. Although H. Grotsch, as early as the 17th cent., treated the poem to a large extent historically and grammatically, and Herder, at the end of the 18th cent., offered a purely historical and literary explanation, still there have been even in our times men like O. von Gerlich and Hengstenberg, who have more or less preferred the old interpretation of the Canticles as referring to Christ and the Church. This is the exegesis which still prevails in the Roman Catholic Church.

A few words remain yet to be said with regard to the Jewish allegorists. The 2nd cent. of our Christian era produced the seven allegorists.

We have already noted above (p. 330) the allegorical interpretation of the Canticles is due originally to R. Aëlia. Among the Jews, no less than among the Christians, keen controversies after the Jew had died, and the flesh (cf. Vss. 23, 24) is remarkable for the passions which this dispute called forth. Among the Jewish interpreters of the Bible at the present day the allegorical method is the method of interpretation which finds most general favour.

JOH. GEFFcken.

ALL FOOLS' DAY.—This has been authoritatively defined as a humorous name for the First of April, the season of which is appropriate to the custom of playing the fool by means of practical jokes at the expense of a person's credulity. The term is of comparatively modern use; the practice is wide-spread, but of obscure origin.

The phrase is used by Swift in 1712: 'A due donation for All Fools' Day' (Hone's Every Day Book, i. 205). It occurs in 1700 in Poor Robin's Almanack: 'The First of April some do say are fools apart for All Fools' Day' (Brand, Pop. Annt.). Charles Lamb uses the expression: 'All Fools' Day. The compliments of the season to my worthy masters.'

The custom is wide-spread. Hearne, in his diary, under April 2, 1712, writes: 'Yesterday being the first of April (a day remarkable in England for making of April Fools,' etc. (Hearne's Collection, vol. iii. Ox. Hist. Soc. 1888). Congreve in 1687 refers to the fools'-errands practised on the First of April: 'That's one of Love's Aprilfols, is always upon some errand that's to no purpose.' There is also in the Oxford English Dictionary a reference as early as 1699, from Dekker's Gull's Hornbook (ed. Grosart, ii. 299): 'To the intent I may aptly furnish this feast of Fools.' There is no distinct reference to the practice in Shakespeare, unless, in the light of the Congreve quotation above, the following from As You Like It may be taken as an allusion to it:

'Ros. New tell me how long you would have her after you have possessed her.

Or. For ever and a day.

Ros. Say "For ever and a day" without the "ever." No, no, Orlando; men are April when they woo, December when they wed.'—iv. i. 143.

Brocken (‘Know. Lexicon‘) says that the practice is unknown to German antiquity, and appears to have been introduced from France.

The origin of the practice is obscure. It is clear from Dekker that it was widely prevalent at the close of the 16th century. It seems difficult,
therefore, to accept the theory that it was due to the transference of New Year's Day from the First of April to the First of January. In fact, this is said to have taken place in an order of Charles IX. in 1564, and it is suggested that for the 6trennes, or New Year's gifts which were transferred to the First of January.

'on se fit placer des féticatons de plaisanterie aux per-
sonnes qui s’accommodaient avec regret au nouveau rège-
me.'

and 'Sol in piscibus' stood of old in the calendars
much as the phrase 'Sun enters the sign Pisces'
stands in the calendar for 1907 against 19th Feb.
The poissons d'avril were caught under the Ram. They cannot even come under the category of the Irish Ball.

Other suggestions have been made as to the origin of this practice of making an April-fool, or 'hunting the gowk,' as it is termed in Scotland. Some have seen in it a parody of the changeable
weather. Others regard it as a reminiscence of the solemn fooling in the Miracle Plays. Another sees in it a relic of the Roman Cerealia, held at the beginning of April.

'The First of April in England and the April Festival in India had their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating the Vernal Equinox.'

The similarity of the fooling in India and the Celtic lands of Western Europe, taken together with affinities in religion and folklore, illustrated by the cross-legged figure of the Celtic deity Cernunnos in Marseilles, is suggestive of a common origin in very early times, and supports Maurice's conclusion. The same conclusion is expressed in other words in Brockhaus' Konvex, Lex.: 'Dass er der Rest eines alten bräuchlichen vielerorts altertümlichen Festes ist, welches mit dem Deun des Frühlings im Zuss-
menhang steht.'

In whose honour this old Celtic Festival was held, and what religious mystery or rite underlay the fooling, has yet to be traced. It is only possible to suggest the lines along which the solution may be found.

Two points have to be noted. The rite—if such fooling may be dignified by the name of rite—must be performed at the passing of March, i.e. at the First of April. It must also be finished before noon.

These points are confirmed by two rhymes. In North Staffordshire, if the joke is played in the afternoon, those who are trying to practice thr
joke are met with the retort:

'If I be a fool then, and April come;
You're a fool, and I'm none.'

In South Staffordshire the rhyme runs:

'April-fool's dead and gone;
You're ten fools to make me one.'

These rhymes, preserved in a district still strongly
versed in old Celtic folklore, point not only to the antiquity of the custom, but to its being associated with certain old rituals, celebrated between the evening of the last day of March and the morning of the First of April.

is there any means of tracing the origin and
affinity of the rite? The First of April was kept in ancient Rome as the Feast of Venus and Fortuna Virilis. Over a hundred years ago Fortuna Virilis was shopped by women that she might preserve their
charms, and thus enable them to please their hus-
band. But how the men occupied themselves with the rite, or why they occupied themselves by worshipping at the shrine of Fortuna Virilis, whether they suspected they were being fooled by
the women, cannot be known. As Fortuna Virilis is also the protectress of boys and youths, it is not impossible that the old game of 'blind-man's buff,' or 'hoofman-blind,' as it is in Shakespear, may be a relic of the rite practised by the men on the occasion of this Festival. Or the fooling may be especially associated with this Spring Festival of
Venus. It is on record that Q. Fabius Gargas, the
Consul, at the close of the Samnite War, founded the worship of Venus Obequetus and Postvorta (Smith,CLASS. Dict. art. 'Venus'). Fuller details may be found in Livy (Hist. xi).

It is to some Celtic form of this worship of Venus on the First of April that the origin of all Fools' Day must be traced. Rhys in his Hibbert Lectures shows an analogy between Venus and the maiden-
mother Ariadne, the daughter of Don.

'These remarks on the parallelism between the Celtic Sun-
god and Balder would be incomplete without a word regarding the latter's bride, Frigg. She is proved, by the Anglo-Saxon
word Frigedæg, now Friday, and by the old Norse habit of calling the planet Venus Frig's Star, to have been treated to a certain extent as a counterpart of the Latin Venus. Her dwell-
ing in a mansion called Fenall, the Hall of the En or Swamp, recalls Liet's mother, Ariadne, and her sun-girt castle' (Rhys, Hibb. Lect. p. 543).

And perhaps it is not merely accident that some
of the most marked of the mirth in the Marching, this
is in 'Math, the son of Mathonwy.' Ariadne was the
mistress of the Culture Hero, Gwydion, son of Don. By her he had two sons, Llew or Lleu, the Sun-hero of Celtic mythology, and Dylan. The
boy Llew according to a tradition found at Dinus Dindu, on the Car-
narvon coast near the southern end of the Menai Straits. A little distance to the south-west is a sunken reef known as Caer Arionrhod, the sea-girt Castle of Arionrhod in the Mabinogion, this was the scene of the magical fooling by which Gwydion
won a name for his son Llew, and forced Ariadne to
invest him in the armour in which he was to shine. Llew's twin-brother was christened by order of his father immediately named after the
ships. He swam as well as the best fish in its waters, and
for this reason was called Dylan, the son of the
wave' (Guest's Mabinogion, ed. Nutt, pp. 66-71).

His name is commemorated in the headland Maen-
dudlan on the same coast.

Llew and Dylan are held by Rhys to represent
the principles of light and darkness, and it would
be natural that any rite connected with the victory
of the Sun-god Llew over Ariadne and his twin-
brother Dylan should be associated with the First
of April. This suggestion also affords an explana-
tion of the French phrase. Those who were fooled
on the First of April, and suffered the discomfiture
of Dylan, would suitably be named after his fish-
like propensities, 'poissons d'avril.'

All Fools' Day may therefore be the relic of a
Spring Festival of Llew. In the shining armour
of the Sun, which he won by his magic from
Ariadne, he triumphed at this season of the year
over the cold gloom of the winter sunlight per-
sonified in his brother Dylan. These early myths
took shape in various rites, and were preserved in
folklore and in popular rhymes and customs.
Rhys, writing of the feast held on the First of
August in honour of Lug, another name of the Sun-
hero Llew, says:

'Look at the list of these places (Lyons, Loone, Leyden, all variants of the older Lugdunum) on the map, and take into
ALMSGIVING—ALTAR

March is gone, and April come; the March lines to the triumph of Llew and the discomfiture or fouling of Dylan.

Library.—Murray, New Eng. Dict. s.v.; Larousse, Nouv. Dict. Itali. ; Brockhaus, Kon. Lexikon; Brewer, Dict. of Phrase and Fable; Chambers, Book of Days; Rhys, Celtic Heathendom; Hb. Lect., 1886; Guest, Motinajon (1904).

THOMAS BARNES.

ALMSGIVING.—See Charity.

ALTAR.

Greek (E. A. Gardner), p. 342.
Hebrew.—See Semitic, p. 353.
Hindu (J. Joly), p. 34.
Phoenician.—See Semitic, p. 353.
Polynesian.—See Semitic, p. 353.
Roman (E. A. Gardner), p. 349.
Slavonic (L. Leger), p. 354.
Teutonic (C. J. Gaskell), p. 354.

In the most general sense of the term, an altar may be defined as a surface, usually elevated, but occasionally depressed, on which sacrifices are offered, and natural objects, like trees or stones, are set up to receive a cult. The term is thus, by implication, intimately connected with sacrifice (q.v.), and has seemingly been developed as a ritual adjunct to the oblation. Sag也有 a few instances of altars being set up to natural objects by casting the offering into them. Thus, amongst the Nicaguarans, the human sacrifices to the volcano Masaya or Popocatepec were cast into the crater of the mountain, and amongst the Hurons tobacco was thrust into the crevice of a rock in which a spirit was believed to dwell (Tylor, Proc. Brit. Anthropol. Soc., 1884, p. 537). The common Greek practice of making offerings to water deities, even to Poseidon himself, by permitting the blood of the sacrifice to flow immediately from the victim into the water, is too well known to require more than an allusion, and it is again exemplified both in Guinea and North America; while, in like manner, offerings are made to the earth by burying the sacrifice, as amongst the Khonds of Assam (a mode of sacrifice which also occurs elsewhere in offerings to the dead), and to the fire by casting the offering into it, as amongst the Yakuts and the Carinthians (Tylor, Proc. Brit. Anthropol. Soc., 1884, p. 537). Sacrifice to the dead may be simply by casting the offering away at random, as in Melanesia (Cordington, Melanesians, Oxford, 1891, p. 128).


In considering the primitive purpose of the altar, it may not be amiss to discuss the etymology of the words denoting it in Semitic and Indo-Germanic. In the former group of languages "altar" is represented by the Hebrew altaria (Arab. madhabah), a derivative of :a (Assy. zib, Arab. dhabah, etc.), to 'sacrifice,' thus clearly indicating that the Semitic altar was for the slaughtered victim or its blood, not for the burnt-offering (the burnt-offering is later development amongst the Semites; cf. W. R. Smith, pp. 350 ff.); and this is curiously confirmed by the fact that amongst the modern Semites there are no burnt-offerings, but only the slaughter of victims without burning (Curtiss, op. cit. p. 220).

Some, however, have been rejected by many scholars. The second Lat. term for ‘altar’ is ara, Roman altar, from the root alté very difficult, unless one may assume in it the presence of a ‘root-determinative’ t (cf. Persson, Wurzelentwicklung und Wurzelwiederauf-, Upsala, 1891, pp. 28–35), though this method of etymology is rejected by many scholars.

The Greek terms for ‘altar’ are θυρή, θυρεῖον, and θυσία. The first of these, which stands in About-relations with Doric βως (Attic βύω), ‘step,’ itself occasionally means ‘step’ (e.g. Odyssey, vii. 100); while the last two are both connected with θύω, ‘to sacrifice,’ especially by burning (cf. Latin suffio, ‘fumigate,’ etc.). Finally, in Germanic we have the Icelandic stali, Anglo-
Saxon woodea or wolbed, and Gothic hundastept, the first being etymologically akin to the Eng. stall, ‘place,’ the second denoting ‘idol-table,’ and the third ‘place of sacrifice, house-altar.’ Finally, it may be noted that a Russian term for ‘altar,’ zevtounick, also means ‘place of sacrifice,’ being a derivative of zeiona, ‘sacrifice’; but it must be borne in mind that this root is ultimately pre-Slavonic. It has been suggested that the Slav, group, including Old Church Slav, zvēti, ‘to sacrifice,’ zvētens, ‘sacrifice,’ and zipk, ‘priest,’ seems to have regarded the sacrifice primarily as praise (cf. Mikelc, Blygod. Wörterbuch der slav. Sprachen, Vienna, 1886, p. 410)—a concept which is, perhaps, borrowed from Christianity.

It is thus evident that amongst the Semites the altar was primarily the place where the victim was slaughtered, and amongst the Indo-German peoples the place where it was burnt.

It is clear from what has already been said that the altar, essentially an adjunct of the sacrifice, has been evolved later than the oblation, for many peoples have sacrificed, or made their offerings, and still do so, without altars; and there are considerable areas, particularly in Africa and South America, where the altar is entirely unknown, while the late development of the altar amongst the Indo-German peoples is a commonplace (cf. Schraday, RE der indogerman. Altertumskunde, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 385, 861), and receives a striking exemplification in the relative late evolution of the Indian vedō (see ALTAR [Hindu]).

The latter represents, indeed, a curious type of altar, in that it is primarily a fire altar in a trench strewn with grass, evolved late into the common form of a usual altar for burnt-offerings. Its development thus shows all three forms of the altar—depressed below the ground, practically level with the ground, and elevated above the ground (cf. Ludwig, Der Blygod. III, Pragae, 1878, p. 364; Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, Strassburg, 1897, p. 14).

Allusion has already been made to the widespread custom of hanging offerings on sacred trees, and offerings are likewise placed on sacred stones. The best example of the latter phenomenon is perhaps found in the case of the Heb. naqabōb, ‘upright stone, pillar’ (from הוב, ‘to take one’s staff to support’), the holder or supporting object, set up, ideol: for other cognates and for literature, cf. Obs. Heb. Lex. pp. 662-663), which was regarded as a Divine abode and anointed with oil (e.g. Go 29). In like manner the Arab. anūb (plural of mūnabb, ‘idol,’ which is derived from mūnabba, and is thus linguistically connected with naqaboab) were anointed with blood (W. R. Smith, pp. 214, 321).

It is held by many that the sacred stone or tree and the altar ‘originally were identical in use and purpose’ (cf. Jevons, op. cit. pp. 134-135); but this view seems at least open to question, despite the support given to it by the history of the Semitic altar, although the distinction may be deemed academic and subtle, the present writer feels that, while the deity is believed to be in the sacred stone or the sacred tree, he is never held to dwell in the altar. The altar is, in other words, from its very inception, the table on which the offering to the god is slaughtered, burnt, or deposited. The oil and blood on the sacred stone please and feed the deity, the rage on the sacred tree adorn him; but the offering upon the altar is burnt, and the debris of the offering, the ashes, thrown upon the thing. In no sense, then, can the sacred stone or tree be considered identical with the altar, unless one is ready to regard the Aegean Sea as an altar because offerings were cast from direct contact with the ground; thus giving the most primitive forms of the altar, which sacrifices to Pele were hurled into its depths; for there seems to be no differentiation of kind between the besmearing of the sacred stone and the casting of oblation to the sun on a crater.

The evolution of the altar will be considered more fully in the following sections devoted to it amongst individual peoples, but a brief allusion may be made to several forms of altar not always recognized as such. In the opening sentence it has been suggested that the altar may sometimes be ‘level with the ground, or even depressed beneath it.’ In the former case we have a very primitive type indeed—but a step removed from the mere placing of offerings on the ground by interposing a layer of sand which serves as an altar. The typical example of this form is the Hopi altar, which is discussed in ALTAR (American), though an analogue may be traced in the Semitic use of the threshold as an altar (see Trumbull, The Threshold Covenant, London, 1896, passim), or in the mat-altars of the ancient Egyptians; as well as in the herbs on which the flesh of slaughtered victims was laid for the Persians (Herodotus, i. 192; Strabo, p. 732 f.)

The altar depressed below the ground is more than the mere trench which often surrounds the altar to receive the blood which flows from the sacrifice slaughtered upon it (cf. Bellhausen, Reste der arab. Religions, Berlin, 1897, p. 105), even as the altar itself frequently has hollows artificially made or modified in its upper surface to receive or carry off the blood (cf. Curtiss, op. cit. pp. 239-240). This form of depressed altar was particularly appropriate in sacrificing to the moon, and is admirably exemplified in the sacrifice made by Odysseus in order to enter Hades (Odys. xi. 24-47; cf. Lucian, Charon, pp. 2; Pausanias, x. 4-10); or again in the ancient Persian form of sacrifice to water (Strabo, loc. cit.), where, as in the Indian vedō (see above), we find the trench combined with the balsam-mat (for further instances of the Indo-German trench-altar see art. Aryan Religion). With all this may be compared the distinction in Chinese ritual between the victims sacrificed to earth and those offered to Heaven, the former being buried and the latter burnt.

The trench-altar is interestingly combined with the more usual form in the round altar with a hollow centre, through which the blood might flow immediately into the earth, found at Nyeme, in Lower Austria, and correspondingly with the Roman ‘heart,’ level with the ground, ϕατς του σπαραγωγες (Pollux, Onomasticon, i. 8; see Schuchhardt, Schliemann’s Excavations, tr. Sellers, London, 1891, pp. 156-157); while the connection between the two forms seems to be given by an altar discovered by Schliemann at Tiryns, consisting of a quadrangular block of masonry laid on the ground, with a round hole in the centre, lined with masonry to a depth of three feet, beneath a rough earthen pit (Schuchhardt, op. cit. p. 107).

The probable general development of the altar may, in the light of what has been said, be sketched briefly as follows. Offerings were originally set upon the ground before the divinity, or placed upon the object in which he was believed to dwell, but as yet there was no altar. With the further evolution of the concept of sacrifice, a meal, either exclusively for the divinity or to be shared by him with his worshippers (for full details see art. SACRIFICE), and with the development of the idol-concept (see art. Images and Idols), natural objects, chiefly rocks and stones, of appropriate shape were placed before the idol in which the deity was held to reside, and there received the offerings; or a thin substance was placed upon the ground to remove the dirt, the grain, thus giving the most primitive forms of the altar, which
might also be made of a pile of stones, or even of earth. As the shrine or temple (q.v.) was evolved, the altar was placed at first outside it, because of the small dimensions of the primitive shrine; but later it resumed its original place in front of the object in which the divinity was believed to dwell, or which symbolized the deity to which it was dedicated. The development of art, the altar, which had long ceased to be left in its natural shape, despite the conservative character of religious ritual (cf. Ex 25:1), became varied in form, and was ornamented with the best abilities of those who constructed it. The theory of the altar, however, is unchanged; whether victims be slaughtered on it, or whether it be used for burnt-offerings, or to receive and bear animal, vegetable, or other oblations (as in the Roman lecittosternum, the Jewish table of shewbread, or many Polynesian altars), these distinctions belong properly to the subject of sacrifice (q.v.).

The human body has been used in at least two cults, the true and the false. In the Aztec Ochpaniztli, or broom feast, the woman who was to be sacrificed by decapitation was held by a priest on his back, he constituting an altar (Bulletin 26 B.E., p. 19). While in a true form of a human victim mask, made woman forms the altar upon which the Mass is parodied.

LITERATURE.—Jevons, Intro. to Hist. of Rel., (London, 1890) pp. 158–183; and see at end of following articles.

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ALTAH (Afralis).—Nowhere, except in South America, is there so general a lack of the altar as in Africa—a phenomenon which closely corre-

ALTAH (African).—I. Among the Indians of N. America the altar played an important part, although, curiously enough, the Jesuit missionaries in New France, according to their account of religious cult. This silence may be explained, at least in part, not only by the fact that these heroic and devoted souls were not trained obser-

LOUIS H. GRAY.

or villages, and in open spaces, on which are set manioc, maize, palm-oil, and the like, as offerings to the spirit. Outside this, the house and temple altars, which are placed inside, usually on a raised rectangular platform of clay; and before them are the earthen pots and vessels, smeared with the blood, eggs, and palm-oil of countless offerings (Ellis, Ecco-speaking Peoples, p. 81).

Against this rather negative material may be set at least one African altar of a degree of development approximating to that found, for instance, in Polynesia. This is the one in the 'juju house' at Dahomey. Thus (in Mary Kingsley's West African Studies, London, 1899, p. 315):

'After looking very much like an ordinary kitchen plate rack with the [_] and some other plates preserved in some skulls. There were three rows of these, and on the three plate shelves a row of grinning human skulls; under the bottom shelf, and between the outer edge of the top of what was the lid, the heads of the victims that had been raised in the dresser, were eight upright garnished with rows of goats' skulls, the two rows above being supported by a board-like rail; below the top of the dresser, which was garnished with a board painted blue and white, was arranged a kind of drapery or embellishment of palm leaves, etc., a more or less out of the centre, exposing a round hole with a raised rim of clay surrounding it, ostensibly to receive the blood of the victims and libations of palm wine. To one side, and near the altar, was a kind of roughly made table fixed on four straight legs; upon this table was displayed a number of human bones and several skulls; leaning against this table was a frame looking very much like a chicken walk on to the table, this also was garnished with horizontal rows of human skulls, and there were to be seen human skulls lying about; outside the juju house, upon a kind of work, were a number of shrivelled portions of human flesh.'

ELLISS. EccS-speaDnng Peoples, London, 1899, p. 42). Here both the dish and the tree (or post) represent a primitive form of altar, and in like manner we may regard the post on which a girl was impaled at Lagos to secure fertility for the ensuing year (Waitz, op. cit. p. 197) as a crude-altar.

On the other hand, in the customs of Dahomey (cf. Ellis, op. cit., p. 129–138), the victims were merely slaughtered on the ground; nor can the usage of burying living human beings when houses or villages were set up in Grand Bassam, Ceylon, and Dahomey, be the same in Polynesia, or the practice of carrying out a victim in the path of a threatened invasion, where he was left to starve to death to deter the foe, be cited as referring in any way to the altar. Nevertheless, amongst the Ashanti in the small plains of earth placed at the foot of trees, the turning of roads, the entrance to houses

ALTAH (African).—II. Among the Indians of N. America the altar played an important part, although, curiously enough, the Jesuit missionaries in New France, according to their account of religious cult. This silence may be explained, at least in part, not only by the fact that these heroic and devoted souls were not trained observers, but also by the circumstance that the Algon-

Amongst the Tshi-speaking tribes of the Guinea Coast the country stood (uphol) of the god, which is the local symbol of authority; is associated with the use of decapitated human victims laid in honour of the deity, whose own image receives a similar ablation, this being expressly recorded of the divinities Bolowissi, Idituri, Bonshu, and Jula, among the Dahomey (Ellis, A Histo of Old Benin, London, 1857, pp. 23, 51–53, 65). But neither the stool nor the image can properly be termed an altar, any more than the elevations on which the idols are set in Dahomey temples, where the images of the gods are placed inside, usually on a raised rectangular platform of clay; and before them are the earthen pots and vessels, smeared with the blood, eggs, and palm-oil of countless offerings (Ellis, Ecco-speaking Peoples, p. 81).

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a basin-shaped hollow, usually filled with ashes (Baneroff, Nat. Races of the Pacif. States, iv. 774; cf. Thomas, *RBEW* v. pp. 57-58 [West Virginia]); Holmes, ib. xx. pp. 36-37). Here, again, numerous variations from the general type are to be observed. Thus, for instance, in one of a mound near Sterling, Ill., was found 'an oval altar 6 ft. long and 4½ wide. It was composed of flat pieces of limestone which had been burned red, some portions having been almost converted into lime. On the eastern side of the altar I found abundance of charcoal. At the sides of the altar were fragments of human bones, some of which had been charred' (Holbrooke, quoted by Yarrow, *Intro. to Study of Mortuary Customs among the N. Amer. Indians*, Washington, 1880, p. 23).

In his *Moeurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1784, II. 327) the Jesuit Lafiou advances the theory that a basin-shaped altar, or 'pote de paix,' was an altar. This statement, perhaps surprising at first, is not so absurd as it may appear, for the calumet certainly contains, in some instances, a burnt offering in honour of a deity. Among the Southern Tahapouches and Alabama in their head priest went toward each morning and bowed into the calumet, and blew the first puff of smoke toward the east. The Natchez custom was very similar, except that the head priest himself performed the offering to the sun. It seems not only that quarter, but also the three others with whiffs of incense. These 'scents' are found amongst the American Indian tribes, such as the Ktisaneaus, Shoshone, Shoshonee, Omahas, Poncas, Blackfeet, Pottawatomies, and Hopi (McGuire, 'American Indian Sacred Ceremonies' in *Report of the United States National Museum*, 1897, pp. 361-516, especially pp. 383-511).

By far the most elaborate modern N. American Indian altars, however, are those of the Hopis and kindred Pueblo tribes, whose snake, antelope, and flute altars have been carefully described by Fowkes (*RBEW* xv. pp. 270; ib. xvi. pp. 273-274, 288-290, 299-301, 301-304; xix. pp. 966-969, 989-993, 999-1001, 1001-1002). These altars are of special interest in that, unlike many other tribes, they are essentially the embodiment of the principle of sympathetic magic, especially as 'at present the ritual is performed for the purpose of bringing abundant rain and successful crops' (Fowkes, ib. xix. p. 983, cf. pp. 1009-1111). The Hopi altar, which, of course, presents unessential variations in different places and circumstances, is composed of sand, the square in honour of a deity. Among the Southern Tahapouches and Alabama in their head priest went toward each morning and bowed into the calumet, and blew the first puff of smoke toward the east. The Natchez custom was very similar, except that the head priest himself performed the offering to the sun. It seems not only that quarter, but also the three others with whiffs of incense. These 'scents' are found amongst the American Indian tribes, such as the Ktisaneaus, Shoshone, Shoshonee, Omahas, Poncas, Blackfeet, Pottawatomies, and Hopi (McGuire, 'American Indian Sacred Ceremonies' in *Report of the United States National Museum*, 1897, pp. 361-516, especially pp. 383-511).

At the top of the altar are four symbolic figures of rain, of different colors, which depend on four serpents, typifying lightning, while on the top outer white sand border are lines of black sand, representing rain. At the bottom of the altar are four water-gourds (the number again typical of the four quarters of the earth), surmounted by ears of maize, and at the top a vase with maize-stalks. Rattles and bull-roarers, symbolizing thunder, are scattered around the edges of the altar, and a pouch of tobacco (the smoke typifying the rain-cloud), a water-gourd, and a 'medicine-bowl,' into which an aspergill is dipped to symbolize the falling rain, are also prominent features. The lines of meal drawn across the sand were intended to represent the fertilization proceeding from the rain-clouds to the external world; while *tiopones* or totemic emblems of the clans celebrating the ritual, form the most sacred objects of the altar. Figure 1 shows the altar as found and frequently, together with other objects whose precise significance is not yet fully known.

Many of these Hopi-Zulu altars, it should be noted, have a more or less irregular shape, resembling that of an oblong plate (called the 'Flute' society) at the Tusayan pueblo of Milsomongovi, for instance, being described by Fowkes (*RBEW* xvi. pp. 501-504) as consisting of 'uprights and transverse plates of wormwood, the former decorated with ten rain-cloud pictures, five on each side two above the other. These symbols were outlined with black lines, each angle decorated with a figure of a feather, and depending from each rain-cloud figure, parallel lines, representing falling rain.' The transverse plates were made of nine rain-cloud figures of semicircular form. Four zigzag sticks, representing lightning, hung from the transverse slats between the vertical or lateral slats of the reredos. Two supplementary uprights were fastened to the main reredos, one on each side. These were decorated at their bases with horizontal figures representing maize, surmounted by rain-cloud figures. The ridge of sail, between the uprights of the main reredos, was ornamented with many smaller rods and slats, the one in the middle being decorated with a picture of an ear of corn.' Despite the elaborate character of the Hopi altar, its elements are obviously subordinate to the sand-altars placed before them, and of which they are palpable imitations. Enough, though, as some of the Zulu altars described by Mrs. Stevenson's the reredo is quasi-permanent, while the sand-altar must be removed for each ceremonial well in advance.

Amongst the Zulu, as already intimated, we likewise find elaborate altars showing the same general type as their Hopi congeneres. In all of them the principle of sympathetic magic seems to be present, as is clear from Mrs. Stevenson's detailed description of them (*RBEW* xxviii. pp. 245-246, 428, 432-434, 454, 491, 525, 543, 550, 551).

2. Turn to Mexico and Central America. The altar in the great temple at the City of Mexico in honour of Huiztilopochitl, the god of war and the chief Aztec deity, was a green block, probably of jasper, 5 ft. long by 3 broad and high, curved convexly on the top, so that the human sacrifices were impaled upon it, and it would be in the best position for the excision of the heart (Baneroff, *Nat. Races of the Pacif. States*, ii. 582-583).

The Aztec altar, moreover, had an adjacent, not fouled in with it, a mound, one of green jasper, curved in a $\Phi$-shape, and placed over the neck of the human sacrifice at the time of his immolation, to assist the priests who held his arms and legs, to keep him in a proper position for the chief celebrant.

Our general knowledge of the details of the Aztec altar must, however, be drawn from the sacrificial stones of neighbouring peoples, which may be inferred to have been analogous. The Maya altars, as found in the ruins of Copan, Honduras, and of Quirigua, Guatemala, are 6 or 7 ft. square and about 4 ft. high, taking a variety of forms and being covered with sculpture somewhat less elaborate than the statues of the divinities themselves (Baneroff, *op. cit.* ii. 659, iv. 94). As in many Semitic altars, their tops were intersected with grooves to receive the blood of the sacrifices offered upon them (ib. iv. 94-99, 111-114, 541). Besides formal altars, the ancient Mexicans, Mayas, and Guatemalans also had braziers and small altars in which copal, which bore the red color of the Oriental calumet, was burnt in honour of the gods, one of these smaller structures, found at Palenque in the Mexican State of Chiapas, being 16 in. high and 4 ft. 5 in. in circumference (ib. i. 697, ii. 584, 650, iii. 435-346). Like the 'mound-builders' of N. America, the Mayas erected altars on the graves of the dead (ib. ii. 799), and in Nicaragua flat stones have been discovered which apparently served as altars (ib. iv. 22, 61-62).

Both in Mexico and in Central America generally, the altar, like the temple itself, was placed on the summit of the teocalli, or 'god-house,' a pyramid of considerable elevation; so that it has not inaptly been said that 'A Mexican temple was essentially a gigantic altar, of pyramidal form, built in several stages, contracting as they approached the summit' (Revell, *Native Religions of Mexico and Peru*, London, 1884, pp. 47-48). In places, however, as at Quemada, in the Mexican State of Zacatecas, a small structure, 5 ft. high and with a base 7 ft. square, was set in front of a pyramid, apparently as an altar (Baneroff, *op. cit.* iv. 357-358).

3. In South America the altar seems to be unknown, thus giving yet another proof of the cultic inferiority of the South American Indians to those North and Central American. These archelogical remains of Peru present no example of the
ALTAR (Celtic)—ALTAR (Chinese)

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ALTAR (Celtic).—The data concerning the Celtic altars are extremely scanty, since all native records of the pre-Christian period are lacking, while the altars still preserved date from the Roman period, and are in most cases Roman originals. The chief sources, then, for a knowledge of the altar, as of other portions of Celtic art, are a few early classical authors. Caesar, in his brief account of Druidism (de Bello Gallico, vi. 13-18), makes no mention of the altars; the same silence, which may not be without significance, by Strabo (iv. 4. 4-5). On the other hand, Tacitus (Annales, xiv. 30) distinctly states that the Druids of Mona held it right to besmear their altars with the blood of captives; and this practice is extended to the whole of Gaul by Pomponius Mela (iii. 18). By far the most famous passage, however, in this connexion, is found in Lucan's Pharsalia (i. 445-445):

"qui quis immitis placator sanguine doro
Tectates, horrenquie feris altarius Herus,
Ex Tarania Scythica non militor ara danam."

(On the identification of these divinities, see Rhys, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom, pp. 44-47, 61-73.)

The same poem contains a brief description of a Druid temple (iii. 399-452) at Marseilles, which was destroyed by Caesar. It seems to have consisted simply of a gloomy wood, the bark being mentioned as one of the trees, which contained "altars built with offerings to the dead" (structa sacris foralibus are) and rude, artless images of the gods, roughly hewn from logs. Although Caesar otherwise tells us that the Gauls differed widely from the Germans in cult (de Bello Gallico, vi. 21), Lucan's description of Marseilles recalls involuntarily the statement of Tacitus (Germania, 9), that the ancient Teutons made neither images nor temples for the gods, but worshipped them in groves.

A large number of Celtic altars of the Roman period have been preserved, but are practically valueless, as being modelled entirely on classical prototypes. It was supposed by older archaeologists that the dolmens or cromlechs, formed by laying a flat stone across or two or three others which had been already in the ground, would probably prove to be altars, a hypothesis now abandoned, since these structures are rather sepulchral chambers which were frequently covered to a greater or less extent with earth. It is probable, moreover, that the dolmens date from the neolithic period, and it is impossible, therefore, to state that they are specifically Celtic. The only conclusion which can be reached, in the light of the data now available, concerning Celtic altars is, that the Druids were probably simple structures placed in their sacred groves and used for sacrifice, though the altar was not indispensable, since the wooden and osier cages filled with men and other victims and burned as a holocaust (Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, vi. 16; Strabo, iv. 4. 57).

could scarcely have been offered on any but a special structure or on the ground.


ALTAR (Chinese).—The Chinese sacred books inform us that burnt-offerings were made to Shang-ti, the Supreme Ruler, upon mountain-tops from time immemorial; and the fact that, even to the present day, the worship of Heaven or Shang-ti is conducted in a circular mound would seem to be a reminiscence of this ancient practice. As early as the days of the Emperor Shun (B.C. 2300), a distinction appears to have been made between the 'round altar' upon which the sacrifices were arranged in a circle, and hence called the 'round sacrifice,'—were offered to God, i.e. Shang-ti, and the 'spread-out sacrifice,' and others, which were associated with the worship of subordinate deities or spirits, and which, as the names imply, were arranged in other ways. The distinction between the shape of the altar of heaven and that of earth is observable even now in China, and may serve to illustrate the early methods as represented in the classical books.

The celebrated 'Altar of Heaven' in the Chinese quarter of Peking, stands in a beautiful park some 3 miles in circuit, and is a magnificent structure of white marble, 27 feet high, composed of 3 circular terraces, the lowest of which is 210 feet in diameter, the middle 150, and the upper 90 feet.* It is approached by 8 flights of steps, corresponding to the 4 points of the compass. Each terrace is protected by a marble balustrade. The top is paved with marble slabs arranged in concentric circles, the innermost slab being round in shape,—corresponding to the shape of Heaven,—around which is arranged a circle of slabs, 9 in number, and, outside of this, other circles in multiples of 9 until the square of 9 is reached in the outermost ring. Five marble stands support the altar furniture, consisting of censers, candlesticks, and vases. Close to the altar there is a furnace of green tiles, 9 feet high by 7 feet wide, approached by steps on three sides, intended for the reception of the sacrificial offerings which are here burned on the great occasions when the Emperor represents the whole nation in his high-priestly capacity. In the chapels adjoining, where the tomb of Shang-ti and the Imperial ancestors are preserved, this circular arrangement is also maintained.

The 'Altar of Earth,' as described in the Law of Sacrifices, was a square mound in which the victims were buried, while those offered to Heaven were burnt. The passage reads as follows: * With a blazing pile of wood on the grand altar they sacrificed to Heaven; by burying in the grand mound they sacrificed to the Earth. The Great 'Altar of Earth,' in the Chinese quarter of the city of Peking, consists of 2 terraces of marble, each 6 feet high. The lower terrace is 100 feet square, and the upper one 60 feet. The altar is situated on the north side of that which contains the 'Altar of Heaven' above described. The coping of the wall which encloses the park is of yellow tiling, corresponding to the colour of earth.

The 'Altar of Prayer for Grain,' popularly known as the 'Temple of Heaven,' is separated by a low wall from the 'Altar of Heaven.' It also is circular in shape, but is protected by a triple roof of blue tiling, 100 0 feet high, and consists of several simple structures placed in their sacred groves and used for sacrifice, though the altar was not indispensable, since the wooden and osier cages filled with men and other victims and burned as a holocaust (Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, vi. 16; Strabo, iv. 4. 57).

* An engraving of the altar, from a photograph, is given in Bible in the World, March 1907, p. 76. They
ALTAR (Christian) — 1. Nomenclature. — (a) GREEK. — St. Paul, in a passage dealing with the Eucharist, uses the phrase ἄρτοα Κυρίου (1 Co 10:19) — a term frequently employed by the Greek Fathers after the 3rd century, and commonly by Latin liturgical documents, as a designation of the Christian altar. The word ὁμαρσίατος — the ordinary equivalent of LXX for ἁγιόν — occurs in his writings (1 Co 10:31), but only with reference to the altar of the old dispensation. The writer, however, of the Epistle to the Hebrews may refer to the Eucharist when he says, 'We have an altar (ὁμαρσίατος), whereof they have no right to eat who serve the altar.' (He 10:19); but most commentators explain this passage as referring to an OT type (Heb Rev 8—9). There is no other reference to the Christian altar in the NT.

[SeePOCH, Litteratur der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte, p. 293; F. E. Warren, F. L. Lightfoot, Philippians, p. 293.]

In the sub-Apostolic age it is difficult to find any direct reference to the altar. The Didache is silent on the point, but in the letters of Ignatius the word ὁμαρσίατος occurs in passages dealing with the Eucharist; and this writer in at least one passage (ad Philid. 4) appears definitely to apply this word to the Eucharistic altar.

[See ad Philid. 4, ad Magnes. 7; cf. also ad Ephes. 5, ad Trall. 7 (in these latter passages ὁμαρσίατος is applied figuratively to the Eucharistic meal); see Lightfoot, Philippians, p. 293.]

Later in the same century, Irenæus (c. Her. iv. 18. 6) writes that the sacrifice of bread and wine should be frequently offered on the altar. Eusebius designates the altar of the basilica at Tyre, dedicated in the year A.D. 314, as ὁμαρσίατος ὁμαρσίατος (IIE x. 444), and speaks in the same place of the altar (ὁμαρσίατα) erected throughout the world after the Peace of the Church. The word ἄρτοα also is defined by pseudo-Athanasius as ὁμαρσίατος (Disput. cont. Ariam. xvii.); ἄρτοα, not ὁμαρσίατος, is the term usually employed in the liturgies; it is also common in many of the Greek Fathers. Sometimes the word stands alone — ἄρτοα, 'the table' par excellence (e.g. Chrys. Hom. iii. in Epist. ad Ephes.). Sometimes, as in 1 Co 10, it is ἄρτοα Κυρίου (e.g. Orig. c. Cels. viii. 24). But very often adjectives are added, such as ἐκπρόσωπον, ἐγκορμώδης, and the like.

βαπτισμός, as contrasted with ὁμαρσίατος, is used in the OT for the purificatory washing with water of the size of the building. The altar furniture includes a censer, two candlesticks, and sometimes a pair of vases of bronze, porcelain, or stone. When Altar Worship is conducted in private houses, the offerings are laid out upon ordinary dining tables placed close together.

Permanent altars are erected in front of tombs for the half-yearly sacrifice to the spirits of the dead. The consist of a single stone or slab supported by two others, thus forming a table. A smaller altar of similar construction is found at grave sides, intended for the sacrifices to the local spirits or demons.

In the majority of Chinese dwellings there are to be seen miniature altars, where incense is burned, and small offerings of food presented, either to the spirits of deceased relatives, or such popular divinities as the 'God of Wealth.'


W. GILBERT WALSHIE.

ALTAR (Christian). — (b) LATIN. — The term usually employed by the Latin Fathers and Western liturgical documents to designate the altar is altare. This word is used already by Tertullian, who describes the Lord's Table as altare (de Exhort. Const., ch. 10). Cryptian also frequently uses this term, and applies to it an exclusively Christian significance, contrasting ares Diabol in with altare Dei (Ep. 64 [65]); nevertheless, in a passage of his writings we find the phrase 'Diabolari altaria' (Ep. 59 [65]). Altare is also commonly used by Ambrose (e.g. de Virgin., ch. 18) and Augustine (e.g. Sermo 159, par. 1). The appellation Mensa Dominica or Mensa Dominici is also employed by Augustine (e.g. Sermo 90, par. 5) and other Latin Fathers.

Ara, the Vulg. rendering of βαπτισμός, is not applied to the Christian altar by any early ecclesiastical writer except Eusebius, who uses the word Ara Dei (de Ord. 14 [19]). The word ara is, however, used occasionally in inscriptions: e.g. in one generally supposed to be of Christian origin and of the OT period — ARAM DEO SACRI MENSAM (CIL. vol. vii. 591). Minucius Felix, in a well-known passage, writes: 'Delubra et aras non habemus' (Ort. 32. 32). Prudentius uses ara as the designation of the base of the altar: 'Altaris aram funditus pessundare' (ep. 136, x. 49); and in
339 and sepulcra) 14), Martyribus the p. is a. For wouldquia Mensa be further this plural the of to coes covered • doubt, but Kdiue is evidencing at and for earliest period it is, however, stated that the use of altars of wood was forbidden by the Nestorian Patriarch, John bar-Algari, at the end of the 9th century.

(See Council of Epapha, orn. 26—the earliest decree on the subject, also Council of Chalcedon, p. 269, f. 118; and PL, xxvii. 124.) For England, William of Malmesbury, de Gentia Pontif. Augt., who relates the demolition by St. Wulstan of ‘altaria lignae jussi tamen a prius deibus in Anglia.’ For France, see the anonymous author of the Miracula S. Dionysi quoted below, p. 274, above note. For the monastery of St. Cornelius quoted by Dom Martineé, de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus, i. p. 111. For Spain, Hardouin, Concilia, vi. col. 1026. For the East, Assenami, Biblioth. Orient. ii. p. 238).

(2) Altars of stone.—It is certain that from a very early date stone altars were in use, and it is scarcely to be doubted that there is a very close connexion between them and the tombs of martyrs. It would seem that probably, during the same period at which the Eucharist was celebrated at the wooden tables described above, in the houses of the churches, 9th- and 10th-century, a relic of Christian worship, it was also celebrated on the stone slabs (mensae) which covered the relics of martyrs and formed part of their tombs (arcosolium). That the celebration of the Eucharist in cemeteries was a customary practice on the part of the faithful departed, and also to offer the Eucharistic sacrifice in churches and cemeteries. It is possible that the same custom is referred to as early as A.D. 757, in the Letter of Pope Stephen VI. relating the martyrdom of St. Polycarp. After mentioning that they have placed the relics of the martyr in a suitable place, they pray that they may be permitted to gather themselves together in that place, and to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom (Martyr. Polycar, c. 18). In the Liber Pontificalis it is stated of Pope Felix I. (A.D. 268–275): ‘Hic constituit supra memorias (al. sequlera) martyrum missae celebrari.’ It seems, however, probable that this means only that he regulated an already existing practice.

(See Lib. Pontif., ed. Duchesne, i. p. 156). The cemeteries themselves afford abundant evidence of the use of altars. They are here impossible to enter into any discussion of the many disputed points arising from the investigation of these monuments. It is certain that not all the tombs (arcosolia) now existing were used for the celebration of the Eucharist, but it is agreed on all hands that many were used for this purpose; and instances occur of the slab covering the tomb being provided with rings, which would enable it to be drawn out for the purpose of the Eucharist. The intimate connexion between altars and the relics of martyrs is evidenced by such passages as the words of the author of the treatise de Afflorab. qui, writes: ‘Martyrius proponit stabulis mensam Dominiacam’ (CIL i. pt. 3, p. 103); or of Augustine, who thus writes of the altar erected on the site of the martyrdom of Cyriac: ‘Mensa Deo constructa est; et tamen mensa dictur Cyriaci quod placuit sibi immolacione sua non habeat hanc mensam, non in qua passat sive pascitur, sed in qua sacrificium Deo, cui et ipse oblatus est, offeratur’ (Aug. Sacrae ecce. p. 2, in Nat. Opis. 2). In this connexion also we are also quoted the famous lines of Prudentius on the altar and tomb of the martyr Hippolytus:

‘Taibus Hippolytri corporis manubia operas, Propter ubi adpofita est ara dicta Deo. **
During the era of persecution, while the churches were for the most part private houses, it was simply not necessary for the faithful to betake themselves to the cemeteries and catacombs for the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist at the time of interment, or of the ancilia that were the necessities of Buonarroti. After the Peace of the Church the custom arose of building churches immediately over the sites of the martyrdom of famous saints, or of translating their relics to churches prepared for their reception; also, as at a somewhat later period, of burying ecclesiastical personages beneath or in proximity to the altar in already existing churches. It was not considered necessary to possess the entire body of a saint or martyr; fragments of it would suffice, or even a piece of linen soaked in his blood. These relics were placed within the altar, so that its tomb-like character was for the most part preserved. In later times it was considered unlawful to consecrate an altar presided over by a saint, if so much as a relic of him could not be obtained, a leaf of the Gospels, or even a consecrated Host, was placed within it. (See Duchesne, op. cit. p. 403, and canon 2 of Council of Celichyri (of Ancyra) quoted)

Two forms of stone altar appear to have existed in early times—one the square, resembling a table; the other oblong, and resembling a tomb. It appears, however, that from the 4th cent., onwards many forms were in use. In the East the instances of the table form supported by one or more columns, and sometimes with a combination of tomb and table form. An instance of this latter is the altar of St. Alexander, consisting of a table-like form, with the most part supported by six columns of marble, having a substructure, in the form of a tomb, containing the relics of the saint. Generally speaking, however, the altar was probably of the form of a cube, and in the West it had retained this form. The present oblong form, common in the West, dates from the period when it was customary to place relics of saints in a sarcophagus situated at right angles to the altar and immediately behind if, having its corresponding columns of marble, and supported by the altar itself. (See § 3, and Ed. Bishop, On the History of the Christian Altar, p. 14 ff.).

(2) Altars of metal.—The earliest notice of an altar of metal is probably to be found in Sozomen (HE ix. 1), who mentions the altar of gold presented to the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, by Pulcheria, daughter of Arcadius, in the early part of the 5th century. In the next century we have a very full account of the magnificent altar preserved to this day in the principal basilica of St. Sophia, constructed by him between the years 532 and 563. We are indebted for this description to Paul the Silentiary, who tells us that the Holy Table was of gold, adorned with precious stones, set upon four pillars of gold, and that it was surmounted by a dove or ciborium, supported by pillars of silver gilt, and terminating in a great cross of gold (Paul Silent., Descript. St. Soph. ed. Bonn, v. 652 ff.). In the West also, at about the same date, we have mention of altars of precious metal; but it is not clear whether they were constructed of metal or of wood which was covered with metal. These notices occur in the Liber Pontificalium, and date probably from the latter half of the 5th century. Especially worthy of mention in this connection is the altar of St. Ambrose at Milan, probably erected before the year A.D. 835. It is 7 ft. 3 in. in length, 4 ft. 1 in. in height, and the menusa is 4 ft. 4 in. wide. The front is of gold, the back and sides of silver, and it is decorated with panels containing subjects in relief and with enamelled work. It is probably the most elaborate specimen of its kind which has been preserved.

(For a reproduction see DACL, fig. 1130; and for the extensive literature connected with this altar see the same work, vol. i. col. 3171, n. 3.)
which had surmounted the dome of the ciborium and had depended from it, was placed on the altar itself. In the same way with lights, first a single candlestick was placed on one side of the altar opposite the candlestick at which the relics were found, one on either side of it. All this had been accomplished by the 13th century. Meantime, the ciborium having practically disappeared in the West, and the altar becoming more and more lower, with the introduction of baldachins, etc., and having generally been placed as far back as possible against the east wall, the reredos begins to make its appearance,—as also the small altar of Donnini. Generally, the earliest writer who certainly refers to portable altars is Bede, who relates (Hist. iii. 10) that, in the year 662, two English missionaries to the Saxons on the Continent carried the holy stone ('tabulam altaris vice dedicantam'). The following description is given of the portable altar of St. Willebrord: 'Hoc altare Willebrordus in honorare Donnini Salvatoris consecratum, supra quod in ibire Misamour oblationes Deo offerretur consensum, in quo et continuetur de ligno crucis Christi, et de sodiure captis eius' (Brower, Annals, Tireniren, an. 718, p. 384). From this and other passages it would appear that portable altar contained also relics. Portable altars are described in the earliest portable, postabellar, gestatoria, victrica. Sometimes ara is used for a portable altar.

It has been suggested that portable altars were in use in the time of St. Cyprian, but the passage quoted by Neale (Ep. iv. 2), in which he makes provision for celebration in the porch, is inconclusive. A portable altar is preserved at Rome in the church of St. Wenceslas, as Campbell, as to have belonged to St. Gregory of Nazianzus; but it is not regarded as authentic. We also find other portable altars mentioned at a later date, as that of St. Wulfan (circa 740), the apostle of Frisia (Sorini, Vitae Sanctorum, ii. 294) and of St. Boniface. Mention is also made of a portable board, covered with a linen cloth, used by the monks of St. Denis, who accompanied Charlemagne on his expedition against the Avars in the year 790 (St. Dionys. i. 20; Acta SS. OSb., ed. Paris, 1672, vol. iv. p. 350).

In the East, in place of a portable altar, the antimensium (Gr. ἀντιμένσιον, a word of somewhat doubtful origin) is used. It consists of a piece of cloth consecrated, with various ceremonies, at the time of the consecration of a church. It is to be used apparently in oratories which do not possess a properly consecrated altar, and in other places where it is doubtful if the altar has received consecration.

It was held that the multiplication of altars in a single church originated in the cemetery church, in which several arasodis, or altar tombs, were to be found. But it is dangerous to draw any inference from this fact, because it is generally agreed that many of these arasodis were never used for the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist, but were only the sepulchres of illustrious men. It is to be sought, on the one hand, in the growth of the Christian population subsequent to the Peace of the Church, and an attempt to meet their increasing needs; and, on the other hand, in the increasing desire of the clergy to celebrate, rather than only to communicate, as often as possible. It is, however, difficult to find passages which imply the existence of more than one altar in a single church earlier than the 6th century. It is not till the time of St. Gregory the Great that we have definite evidence; but it is clear that by that time the custom was well established, because at the request of a correspondent, Palladius, bishop of Saintonge, the pope sent relics for the consecration of four of the thirteen altars which Palladius had set up in his church (Greg. Magn. Epist. vi. 49). From this time onward for the evidence for the multiplication of altars,......

The passage from St. Ambrose, cited above, p. 329, is inconclusive: "militis irreltransfer in altaria, ecclesiae significare pacem incertam."" (Ep. xxii. 185), also St. Paulinus (Ep. ii. 328, part 6. For later evidence see Greg. Tur. de Gloria Martyrum, i. 33. Bede, p. 605, also St. Aega, bishop of Hoxham (depon. ad 725), having collected a large number of relics of apostles and martyrs, exposed them for veneration, 'al- taresque distincte in ecclesia in hoc ipso loco sunt eis ejusdem ecclesiae.' In the 9th cent. the plan of the church of St. Gall, in Switzerland, provided for the erection of seventeen altars. Also see Council of Aachen, can. 64, quoted above; Walch
monies having been performed by the bishop in the presence of the people, he leaves the church and proceeds to the spot where the relics are awaiting him. Having brought them to the church, he takes them to the altar. But before the depositio is let down, the concluding ceremony of enclosing the relics within the altar is not witnessed by the people—who meanwhile chant the Psalm, Cantate Domino canticun novum with the Antiphon Exultabunt Sacerdotes. In the Roman rite, which is of a funerary character, the bishop first enters the church and washes the altar once with water, then, returning to the door of the church, receives the pignora, and, accompanied by the people, proceeds to the altar, where he performs the ceremonies of the depositio in a far more elaborate fashion, these constituting the main feature of the consecration.

(See Duchesne, op. cit. p. 399 ff. (cf. the letter from Pope Vigilius to Procopius of Braga cited on p. 97). The earliest Oratio of consecration are: (1) that published by F. Blanchemain, Anastas, Bibliothèque, iii. p. xlvii; and (2) the Gesta of S. Amund, published by Duchesne, op. cit. p. 478; cf. also the Gallarrian Sacramentary, i. p. 525; so also Mostert, Archæological History of the Eastern Churches, vol. i.; and for the West, Goar, Eucholog. p. 832.)


**ALTAR (Egyptian)**

— According to the sculptures, offerings were laid on mats or stands. A common form of the latter was a pillar-shaped upright of wood or stone, on which a bowl, censer, or tray could rest, and sometimes the tray or bowl was made to stand on the upright. In temples and tombs the typical scene of offering shows the tray-stand covered with sliced loaves of bread or with meat, vegetables, and other food, placed before the deceased man or the god: such stands are often accompanied by a variety of fruits or nuts. At el-Amarna the stands of provisions to which the sun-god Aton stretches his radiating hands are often surmounted by flaming bowls, perhaps censers, perhaps lamps. The food, drink, incense, and water were provided for the god or the deceased, as they would have been for the banquet of a living man; most flesh and vegetables seem to have been eaten raw, but in the standard lists of offerings roast meat was included. Among the varieties of the symbol khécri, 'altar,' in the New Kingdom, is the picture of a stand with a flaming vessel upon it; and in the scenes of that age the offering sometimes presents such a stand in his hand, with a plucked goose in the use. The Hittite king is seen offering this kind of burnt sacrifice rather than a summary kind of cooking. The root of the name khécri is spelled by the figure of a bivalve shell Δ, which suggests that a shell may sometimes have replaced the bowl as the receptacle for the offering. Another kind of stand for offerings—a wooden frame to hold jars of liquid — was named uthus, this name being equally applied to those used at banquets.

In early tombs a flat slab for offerings, commonly called a 'table of offerings,' was placed before the niche containing a statue of the deceased, or in some other prominent position. The table was oblong, with a projection like a spout in front. It was generally sculptured with , a leaf upon a mat, and often with a number of offerings in detail. The special name for this type was probably hotep. Such tables are also found in the ruins of temples, where they may have been placed for the service of the dedicator's statue rather than for that of the god. The type persisted down to the Roman period; it is rare during the New Kingdom, but was revived after its fall.

Temple altars on a large scale are very rare in Egypt. Down to the present time only four examples have been discovered, and none have survived in the same condition. The earliest is of the Fifth Dynasty, in the temple of the Sun at Abusir (Borchard, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re, i. pp. 14, 43). It is formed of five great blocks of alabastrite; in the middle is a slightly raised circular slab, with four edges around it, oriented precisely to the cardinal points. Its extreme measures are some 15 ft. each way. Most of the surroundings are now destroyed to the level of the ground. The altar stood in a court before the great obelisk-shaped monument, and was raised only a few inches above the level of the floor; beside it was an area specially prepared for the slaughter and cutting up of victims. At Karnak, in an upper chamber of the Temple of Tethmosis III., is a great oblong rectangular altar or altar-base of white felspar, bearing the name of Rameses III. (Dyn. xx.), having each side shaped as a hotep. Such an altar is himself recorded to have dedicated a similar one.

A different type of temple altar is a raised rectangular platform, reached by a flight of steps. There is a well-preserved example in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Baharı (Neville, Deir el-Bahari, i. Pl. 8); see also plan of temple in Archaeological Report, 1894-95, or in Baedecker's Egypt). It measures about 16 by 13 ft. and stands in the centre of a court about the size of the floor. The usual Egyptian cavetto cornice runs round it, and the top is flat except for some slight coping or cresting near the edge. Built of white limestone, it is dedicated to the sun-god, and is called a khécri in the inscription, like the stands of offering. Another raised altar is at Karnak, dedicated by Tethmosis III.: and a third is stated to be in the largest temple of Gebel Barkal, dating from the early Ethiopian Kingdom in the 8th or 7th cent. B.C. (Borchard, l.c.). These are all that are known to exist. The sculptures in the temples of el-Amarna show the chief altars of Aton to have been of this form (Lepsius, Denkmäler, iii. 159, 162; Davies, El Amarna, i. Pl. 12, 22, 27-29; ii. Pl. 18, iii. Pl. 8, 10). It seems as if the sun-gods in particular (Re, Aton, Amen-Re) were honoured by great altars.

F. L. GRIFFITH.

**ALTAR (Greek).—The altar, in Greek religion, is a raised place, usually an artificial structure, which is used for the purpose of making offerings to a god or godesses. It is sometimes constructed on the one hand, from a sacrificial trench or pit, such as was often used for offerings to the dead, to heroes, or to the infernal deities; and on the other, from a table for offerings such as was often placed at a temple or before a god at a ceremonial banquet.
But there is no very strict line of demarcation in either case. The distinction sometimes made between μασία as an altar for the Olympic gods and ἄφθορον for offerings, though handed down by the ancients, and others, is not strictly observed by classical authors. And, on the other hand, a portable altar, such as those in the altar of the minor offerings, is not easy to distinguish from a sacred table.

A more essential distinction, at first sight, might seem to depend on the nature of the offerings for which an altar was used,—whether, for example, it is for offerings only for bloodless libations, for incense, and for gifts of fruit and flowers, or for the slaughter of victims, of which portions were burnt upon it. The ritual and offerings admissible in each case were prescribed by the nature of the deity wor- shipped and by the sacred regulations of the local cult, and the shape and construction of the altar must have depended upon these. But, apart from purely practical considerations, there does not seem to be any essential distinction observed in the form of the altar according to the various purposes for which it was intended.

Some confusion of thought is found in the case of sacred stones or other objects that were anointed with offerings of blood, oil, or other liquids, bound with sacred woollen fillets, and otherwise treated in much the same way as altars. This fact has led some writers to assert that an altar was sometimes used merely as a place to place the image of the god, but as having him immanent in it. These sacred stones, which are a survival from primitive religious beliefs, are not, however, properly to be regarded as altars, though they may have been sometimes so thought of when religious thought had advanced to less crude conceptions of the deities.

Apart from these, an altar seems to derive its sanctity not from its use as such but from some god or its dedication to it. There was nothing in Greek religion to prevent a sacrifice being made to a god on any occasion or in any place; and, in such cases, the convenience of the sacrifice would suggest the use of any outstanding rock or natural mound, or, in the absence of such help, the piling together of stones or souls to make an improvised altar (ἀναμνησθέντα καθότι, Paus. v. 13, 5); and a similar primitive form, often heated together end of the ashes of victims, was retained by many of the most famous altars, such as those of Zeus at Olympia and of Hera at Samos. This, however, is not the sacrifice of the same place; the selection of such places was due to various causes. These may best be classified, according to Hermann's well-known division, as natural, social, and historical; but before we examine instances of these classes, it is necessary to consider the relation of the altar to other objects connected with worship, especially the pre- chile, the image, and the temple.

The normal equipment of a sacred place in Greece consisted of a temple, an altar, and a precinct. In later times the temple was the most conspicuous and the most important, and usually contained the image of the god; but even then the altar was the central point of worship. If possible, it was placed in front of the temple, and in its main axis; but so that the person sacrificing faced east, with his back to the temple. Examples of this are numerous, e.g. the altars in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and of Aphrodite at Naucratis. Often, however, it was difficult or inconvenient to place the altar in this position, and it was placed elsewhere in the neigh- bourhood, as at Bassae and Pergamum, at Olympia, and at Athens on the Acropolis at Athens. In addition to the main altar, there might be others in the precinct, whether dedicated to the same god as the main altar or to other gods, and they were subject to the same classification of the reasons that led to the choice of various places for altars. We may assign to natural causes the erection of altars on mountain- tops or in groves, and earth sacrifice was in caves or beside springs, or in other situations distinguished from the usual places of worship.
ALTAR (Greek)

by their natural surroundings; to the same category may be assigned altars dedicated to Zeus Keraunios and other gods, in commemoration of extraordinary phenomena; e.g. the altar to Phosphorus—perhaps an epitaph of Artemis—dedicated by Thrasylus in honour of the celebrated light that led his daughter to Phrygia from Phthia to Phylai. Another, an altarpiece devoted to Artemis, from its place (apseis thea) we sometimes still call an altar. Many other altars, which owe their origin to social causes have already been given, especially those of the house and of the agora. In addition to these local gods, the market-place (agora) was another source of more abstract ethical significance, such as the altars of Demeter (pity) and of Elúa (sense of honour) at Athens. Many of the altars attached to temples or in precincts would belong to this class. Altars that owe their origin to historical causes are not so common; a good example is the altar dedicated by the Greeks to Zeus Eleutherius at Plataea after their victory over the Persians. This class might be indefinitely extended and further subdivided into altars which were set up for a special sacrifice and left as a memorial of it. Such were especially common in later times; a familiar example is offered by the ‘taurobolic’ altar of Dionysus (see p. 258). The form and size of altars vary very greatly, from a small portable block or table to a structure a stadium in length, and from a mere mound of earth to an elaborately combined structure of architecture and sculpture like the great altar at Pergamum. The form of a round or oval mound, with the addition probably, in larger examples, of a retaining wall of some sort to hold it together, was to be found in many of the oldest and most sacred altars. That of Zeus at Olympia, which was constructed of the ashes of victims, including those brought from the sacrifices on the sacred heath at the Pythian temple, on its lower platform, of 125 ft., and of 82 on its upper portion, and a total height of 22 feet. The altar of Apollo at Delos, which was counted one of the seven wonders of the world, was said to be constructed of the horns of victims (zevos kiblo). The other form of altar which may be regarded as primitive is an upstanding mass of rock, either in its rough state or cut to a rectangular form. The great altar of Athene on the Acropolis at Athens was a tract of natural rock, quite uneven on the top, but cut to a more or less square shape at the sides; it was about 89 or 90 feet square. Another rock-cut altar, of a more regular shape, with a platform and steps leading up to it, was this one from which the orators addressed the people. Altars were, however, more frequently made of stone or marble, cut from a single block if they were small, or built up like any other structure if they were large. Small altars might be either round or rectangular; there does not seem to be any ritual distinction between the two, except that the hearth (trires) was usually circular; and so, perhaps, were the low seats adequate to heroes, and called by later authorities tryles; but rectangular altars to heroes were not unusual, e.g. that in the Heroum at Olympia.

When the altar was of any size and importance, the rectangular form prevailed; and the altar was usually mounted on a basis which projected on one side, and so provided a platform (pyo traded) on which the sacrificer stood. This was usually so placed that he faced towards the east; thus, in the normal positions of altar and temple, he would turn his back on the image of the deity in the temple,—a fact which alone would suffice to prove that the altar as a form was the most primitive and most essential object of dedication, that the cultus recorded was of considerable extent in great altars, and was the place where the victims were slaughtered, the portions that were selected to be burnt being consumed on the altar itself. Altars intended for the sacrifice of many victims at once, or for hecatombs, were necessarily of very large size. The dimensions of the great altar built by Hieron II. of Syracuse (which is about 215 yards in length and about 29 yards in width), of the altars of Zeus at Olympia and at Athens, of the altar of Hera at Eleusis, have been mentioned; another example, of medium size, is an altar near the theatre at Megalopolis, which measures about 30 ft. by 6 ft. 6 inches. Where stone was not readily available, an altar might be constructed of other materials; thus at Naukratis the altar, with its steps and prothylos, in the precinct of Aphrodite, is built, like the temple, of unbaked brick and faced with stucco. Altars of any considerable size usually consisted of a mere outer shell of masonry, the inside being filled with rubble or with the ashes from sacrifice; they thus offered a convenient surface on which to kindle the sacrificial fire. In the case of small stone altars, which were used for burnt-offering, some special arrangement was necessary to place on the top. As a rule, extant small altars are flat on the top. Sometimes they are hollowed into basins, as if for libations or as reservoirs. Occasionally we find a drain to let the liquid run away, as in the altar found at Paphos (JHS ix. 239). Sometimes an altar had the form of a table supported upon stone legs. A good early example of this type was found in the early Domuzion west of the Acropolis at Athens. The Boiotians used to build an altar of wood on the summit of Mount Cithaeron, and to let it be consumed together with the sacrifice.

It was usual to give some architectural form to an altar, if only in the step or steps on which it was raised and the moulding that ornamented it at top and bottom. Where something more elaborate was attempted, it often took the form of Ionic volutes at each end of the top moulding; these were often joined at the sides by rolls such as we see on the capitals of Ionic columns. Large built altars are sometimes ornamented by a Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes, occupying the whole height of the structure; an example of this occurs in the large altar already mentioned at Megalopolis. Often in later times the decoration of an altar, in architecture and sculpture, became more elaborate. The altar of Athene at Priene was decorated with an attached Ionic colonnade, and with figures in relief between the columns. The altar of Artemis at Ephesus is said to have been built by the architect of Praxiteles. The great altar of Asklepion at Cos was an elaborate structure; but the chief example of this kind was the great altar of Zeus at Pergamum. This consisted of a great basis, about 100 ft. square, ornamented with the well-known frieze of the gigantomachy. A broad flight of steps on the west side led up to the top of this basis, which was surrounded by a colonnade; in this space was the temple proper, with a flight of heaped up ashes. An even larger altar than this is said to have existed at Parion on the Propontis. A remarkable architectural development of the circular altar is to be seen in the Theseus or Theseus (its official name is Theseus) at Athens, and at Metapontum; it has the form of a circular temple, with colonnades inside and outside. Inscriptions are not usually found on altars in Greece. An early example is referred to of a small altar, spouson, painted on its stucco face in the Heroum at Olympia. The chief altar attached to a temple or precinct would not require any such means of identification, though, when shut off from the altar proper, e.g. the great altar of Apollo at Delphi states that it was dedicated by the Chians, and a smaller inscription on its corner adds that the Chians received the privilege
of Πρωταρία for their gift. In the case of altars to other gods, if the person to whom the precinct belonged, inscriptions would be useful, but were by no means universal. They would be required also on altars in public places; e.g. the inscribed altar in the Dipylon gateway at Athens, dedicated to Zeus, was overlooked, or offered by the village, and, after the usual fivefold lustration of the Gārāpātya fireplace, he laid down the fire thereon, and in the evening handed two pieces of wood, called ᾠδάρας, to the Altar, for the purpose of producing by attrition the Ahaṇavya fire the next morning.

There were different ἱερα for different kinds of offering, as, e.g., the large Soma altar (mukhārd) and the πασάκιν, used for animal sacrifices, which resembled the ουταρά, or ‘northern altar’; the latter was an altar raised with earth excavated in forming what is called a χατέειον, or hole. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa compares the shape of an altar to that of a woman: ‘The altar should be broad on the western side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the eastern side; for thus shaped they praise a woman.’ The shape of some altars (see Carisivarpas 643) was said to represent the middle limit of the measuring of the altars. The different shapes in which brick altars might be constructed are mentioned as early as in the Taithīrīya Saṁhitā. Thus there is a falcon-shaped altar built of square bricks, or an altar of the shape of a falcon with carved wings and outspread tail; a hero-shaped altar with two feet; one of the shape of the forepart of the poles of a chariot, an equalateral triangle; another of the form of two such triangles joined at their bases; several wheel-shaped or circular altars, tortoise-shaped, etc. The area of the earliest species of altars was to be 74 square puruṣas, the term puruṣa denoting the height of a man with uplifted arms. The area remained the same when a different shape of altar was required. This and other changes could not be effected without a considerable knowledge of geometry. As stated by Thibaut, ‘squares had to be found, which would be equal to or more given squares, or equal to the difference of two given squares; oblongs had to be turned into squares and squares into oblongs . . . ; the last task, and another long and tiresome, consisted in finding the area of which might equal as closely as possible that of a given square.’ The result of these operations was the compilation of a series of geometrical rules which are contained in the above-mentioned Sulbasūtras.

A lively controversy has been going on as to whether these geometrical rules are of Indian growth, or due to Greek influence, the numerous coincidences between the Sanskrit texts and the writings of Heron favouring the latter view, whereas the apparent antiquity of the Sulbasūtras, and their close connexion with the ancient sacrificial rites of the Brāhmaṇas, would seem to render their native origin the more probable alternative.

Though offerings in the ancient Vedic fashion have become obsolete, and the forms of the altars continue in common use for religious purposes. Thus the present writer saw a square vedi made of earth or clay, on which an open fire for oblations of butted had been kindled, at the entrance of the altar. Hindu altars are also erected at some of the Śaṁskāras or family celebrations of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus among the Deshalas Brāhmaṇas in Bharwār, it is customary, on certain days before the ceremony of the Agnyādāna, or the setting up of sacrificial fires, has been performed. On that important occasion the sacrificer chose his four priests, and erected sheds or fire-houses for the
stool which is placed upon the altar, and his father and mother sit on either side. The chief priest kindles on the altar a sacred fire, into which he throws offerings. On the occasion of a marriage in the same caste, an altar about six feet square and a foot high is raised. The base and bridge- 
groom are led to the marriage altar, and two men hold a cloth between them. At the lucky moment the cloth is drawn aside, and each for the first time 
sees the other’s face. Afterwards the priest kindles on the altar a sacred fire, and under the shadow of the false altar butter and parched grain are thrown in. The married couple walk thrice round the fire. Seven heaps of rice are made on the altar, and a betel-
nut is placed successively on each of the heaps. The bridegroom lifting the bride’s right foot places it on each of 
the seven heaps successively. Among the Deshast 

Brahmans of Bijnur, boys on their initiation are led to an altar called bahule, where the priest 
girds them with the sacred thread, to which a small piece of deerskin is tied.

LITERATURE.—Eggington’s transl. of the Śatapatana Brähmāyana in SBE, vols. xii. xvi. (1882, 1886, with plan of sacrificial ground with noting); R. C. Dutta, “his-

ALTAR (Japanese).—In Japan little distinction is made between the table and the altar. No special sanctity attaches to the latter. In Bud-
dhist temples there is a stand on which incense is burnt, called Edō or Edōzuki (‘incense-
table’). Shinto offerings are placed on small tables of unpainted wood. The old ritual prescribed that in the time of the Greater Shires the offerings were to be placed on tables (or altars); in the case of Lesser Shires, on mats spread on the earth. Each house may have its Buddhist domestic altar, or rather shrine (butsudōn)—a miniature cupboard or shelf where an image of a Buddha is 
deposited, or a Shinto altar (keonidana) where Shinto pictures, pieces, or other objects of devotion are kept.

W. G. ASTON.

ALTAR (Persian).—1. In none of the ancient Persian records, whether literary or inscriptionsal, do we find a generic term for ‘altar.’ Nevertheless, to infer from the absence of such a term in the extant records the fact that archaic Persian sacrificial rites were not employed in the Zoroastrian ritual during the period represented by the Inscriptions and the Avesta, would be to press the argument from negative evidence too far. Moreover, if the limited vocabulary of the Inscrip-
tions contains no word for ‘altar,’ yet the royal sculptor has left an unequivocal witness of the existence of altars in the Mazdaism of the early Achemenians, in the representation of the altar itself in bas-relief over the entrance of the tomb of Darius Hystaspis on the rocks at Naksh-i Rustam.†

The statements of Greek and Roman authors as to the absence of altars, and of temples and images, in early Persian worship, would seem, on the first view, more difficult of a satisfactory explanation;* Herodotus, claiming to speak from personal ob-
servation and research, states (i. 131 ff.) that the Persians ‘think it unlawful to build temples or altars, because they are sacred, but the gods do so. Thencefore, when about to sacrifice, they neither erect

* The dātaŋ pātu of the Avesta (Vendidad, vii. 83, 85; xiii. 17) forms no real exception; for, etymologically, it terms no more than ‘legal or consecrated place,’ and is synonymous rather with temple than with altar. See, however, Jackson, Grammar of the Zend, p. 504; Vorspan, ii. 707; Persia, Past and Present, p. 303, by the same author.
† See Edelmann, L’Acropole de Susa, p. 392.
‡ See art. Tarzad.

2. The altars nor kindle fire.’ Strabo (born c. 80 B.C.), writing some four hundred and fifty years later, reiterates (xv. i. 13) the testimony of Herodotus, though, in regard to the phenomena of his own time, he afterwards modifies its application (see loc. cit. §§ 14-16). It is generally agreed, however, by this time, that the kind of altar with which Herodotus, as a Greek, was familiar—a raised platform in masonry, with steps to ascend, erected in front of the temple entrance and under the statue of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, and upon which animal sacrifices were immolated—was quite unknown amongst the Persians for a long period after Herodotus wrote his History. This is not intended to imply that animal sacrifice as well were foreign to the Persian worship of the 5th cent. B.C. For, in the same passage, Herodotus describes the customs observed in such sacrifices: ‘If any intends to sacrifice to a god, he leads the animal to a consecrated place.’ ‘Then dividing the victim into parts, he boils the flesh, and lays it upon the most tender herbs, especially trefoil.’ The herbs must be well pressed, and regard is expressed for the purpose of an altar, upon which the sacrifice is presented for the acceptance of the deity; for while it lies there, the Magus, we are told, performs the religious service (cf., in some respects, the use of the altar of purification amongst the Hebrews).

The same custom was observed in the cult of certain Persian divinities even in Strabo’s time. ‘They sacrifice to water by going to a lake, river, or fountain; having dug a trench, they slaughter the victim over it, and then they lay the flesh in order upon myrtle or laurel branches’ (loc. cit. § 14). Here we meet with an Iranian substitute for the Greek βουλία, or raised altar for immolating the victim, namely the trench, which, however, is highly suggestive of the antiquity of the method of sacrific-
ing to some of these natural divinities. We have before us what is, probably, a relic of an ancient method of sacrificing which goes back to the Indo-

Iranian period, the trench being the Zoroastrian counterpart of the recīl of the Vedic ritual.*

There is another fact in connexion with ancient Persian substitutes for altars mentioned by Herodotus, which is interesting, and not, it would appear, without its significance. ‘The consecrated places’ in the open air whither the victims for some of their sacrifices were led for slaughter, were on the tops of the highest mountains.† Re-
membering that the whole of the Persians was a sky-god, do we not here per-
ceive their true reason, or, at least, an additional reason on their part for reproaching with folly, as they did, those who erected artificial platforms for sacrificing? In these mountains the pious Zoro-

astrians saw the altars which their God had pro-
vided, which dwarfed and rendered superfluous all other altars, and upon which He seemed ever to dwell as they gazed upon them from their distant homes.

On the other hand, the bas-relief sculpture over the royal tomb at Naksh-i Rustam does not repre-
sent a sacrificial altar, or indicate any substitute for the Greek βουλία, such as the trench was. Its purpose and significance are entirely different. If we wish to find amongst people anything like a parallel to it, we must look not to the Greeks, but to the ancient Hebrews. Like the Ark of the Covenant amongst the Israelites, it was not an instrument for preparing anything to the deity, but the resting-place of the most perfect


† Compare the use of ‘high places’ (gamān) amongst the Hebrews (1 K 3 , 2 K 17). Also see On 227f).
symbol and trust visible manifestation of the presence of the divinity, namely, the sacred fire. The figure on the rock is, therefore, a Fire-altar, attesting the use of such altars amongst the Persians long before the death of Darius.

Of the fact that the Persian reverence for fire goes back to a very early period, there can be no doubt. The prominence of the Apni cult amongst the Indians as well as the Iranians shows conclusively that it was part of that common heritage which each people inherited from them. And the reform of Zoroaster had, no doubt, as one of its results, the intensification and extension of the reverence for that element.

When we remember that the divine flame had to be preserved with the most scrupulous care from all possibility of contamination, 2 as well as maintained ever unextinguished, it is natural to conclude not only that from early times there must have been a protection from climatic and atmospheric dangers, in the form of roofed and walled edifices (see temples), but that it would be equally necessary to circumscribe it in some vessel, and raise it sufficiently high from the floor, so as to guard it from being extinguished by dust or other impediment. 3 The representation on the rock these conditions are fulfilled.

In formation, judging from the bas-relief altar 3 shown in the Achemenian palace 4, the altar of the Parthian king, Artaxerxes X, is said to have consisted of (a) a massive plinth or pedestal, with (b) what appears like a stone slab, of some inches in depth, resting upon it, and which may very naturally be regarded as the prototype of what is now so well known as the ‘Altar of Artaxerxes,’ whereon the sacred urn, now called the Atash-dān, the ‘fire-container,’ wherein the divine and eternal fire burned.

Even in those early days, probably, just as in the time of Strabo, 5 and Pausanias 6 (c. 180 A.D.), and in modern Fire-temples, this sacred vessel was full to its utmost capacity with the ashes of preceding days, and upon these the sacred flame was kept burning day and night with incense and sandalwood.

Moreover, from the days of Cyrus onwards the divine fire burned, not only in the sacred vase concealed in the seclusion of the Atash-gūh, but it, or at least a portion of it, invariably formed part of the religious processions and royal progresses of the Persian kings. Xenophon, in describing these processions (Cyrop. v. viii. 11-13), tells us that ‘after the third chariot men followed carrying fire from the temple of the Atash-gūh, and this was attached in form from the altar of the Atash-gūh, we are unable to say. The word əxtāya, which Xenophon employs, is variously translated in passages where it occurs as ‘hearth,’ ‘unraised altar,’ ‘brassier.’ One


3 See Jackson, Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, pp. 140-141.


5 There is no reason to think that the two large real Fire-altars hewn out of the rock at Takht-i Rustam were typical of those in use in the regular worship at any period in the history of the Zoroastrian religion. (See Jackson, Persia, Past and Present, p. 300, and illustration, p. 301.)

6 Adabj, Phelipeaux (Méditations 48 15), probably somewhat formalized, ed. Jahn, ‘Obi e la moglie del re’” in Liber, Le Zend Arxw, vol. i. p. 15, note 3.)

7 In the hollow of these (the fire-temples) is an altar, or which is a great quantity of ashes” (Strabo, loc. cit. 15).

8 In the temples of the Persians there is a room where ashes of a consecrated fire are kept, probably, to the semi-independence kings of Persia—Persis—Persia. See von Jacob, ‘Die Geschichte des Gottesfeuér in der Ochtbriefe,’ in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität zu Leipzig, vol. xi. p. 275.

9 See Déménil, L’Acropole de Suse, p. 292; Tiele, Geschichte von den Gottsdiensten in den Ochtbriefen, Deel ii. 2e Stuk, pp. 363-364, Amsterdam, 1891.

would scarcely think that this portable altar would include the massive support which seems to have characterized the temple altar (but see on Sasanian altars, below, § 2).

Sectos (wrote c. 650-675 A.D.) states that the portable altar was less elaborate than that in use in the Atash-gūh. Quintus Curtius (c. 64 A.D.), however, asserts that these royal altars were made of silver. The latter statement may refer only to the Atash-dān. Tabari, the Arabic historian (6, 539 A.D.), says that this is a tradition of the Sasanian kings, carefully deputed with him the sacred fire, in its fit receptacle, from place to place in his hurried flight before the conquering Arabs.

From the representations on the coins of the period, 7 we learn that the sacred fire was not extinguished upon the altar during the Parthian domination (b.c. 259-A.D. 226). Unfortunately, these coins do not assist us very materially in ascertaining the conformation of the altar at this time. Although the Fire-altar is a common type on the reverse of the pieces of the period, they contain only the Atash-dān, having as support the lower part of the Fire-temple, Atash-gūh, in the classical convention. While they serve sufficiently to show that in its main element, the Atash-dān, the Fire-altar of the Achemenians had persisted and survived the shock given to Zoroastrian ritual by the conquest of Alexander and the rule of the Arsacids. It is possible, though this is by no means certain, that it was during this period that the sacred places on the high mountains, under the influence of foreign cults, gave rooms to temples, in the classical sense (templum), and consequently there arose the accompanying altar (thysos) for animal sacrifices (cf. Strabo, loc. cit. § 15, also XI. viii. 4; Pausanias, loc. cit.).

Other high authorities are strongly inclined to assign what are, admittedly, the extant remains of one of these temples, the famous temple at Kangavar, to the time of Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) (404-358 B.C.), when, as we learn from several sources, there was a serious desecration from orthodox Zoroastrianism, and a recrudescence of ancient cults (cf. J. H. Moultou, Thinker, 1892, vol. ii. pp. 485-490). The last word on this matter is yet to be written.

On any theory, we are certain that in the first century before our era two classes of altars, at least, were used in Zoroastrian ritual, namely, the Fire-altar of the Atash-gūh, and the sacrificial altar attached to the temples erected to specific Persian divinities.

Was there not yet another altar in use at this period? Certain statements in the terse account which Strabo gives (loc. cit.) of the religious practices of the Persians would seem to justify the inference.

We know that the temples of those Persian

1 Outre les opérateurs pyrécultes construits dans les villes, il existait encore des pyres ambulants pour lesquels on disposait une tente spéciale, et ce rituel n'était jamais en campagne autrement que d'accompagner de mages et de pyres (Journal Asiatique, 1866, p. 112 (Séleucos, p. 50)). For a somewhat different version of this passage, see Dr. Heinrich Hübschmann, ‘Zur Geschichte der Armenier und der ersten Krieger der Araber (aus dem Armenischen der Schem) Leipzig, 1879, p. 7, n. 1.

2 Orto autem agrimen usuratils. Ignav, qui ipsi sacrum et internam voivani, argenteus altaribus prædederat. Magi proximi paulum praebantur.’  (Séleucos, p. 50). 3 These coins were not part of the national issues, but belonged, probably, to the semi-independent kingdoms of Persia—Persis—Persia. See von Jacob, ‘Die Geschichte des Gottesfeuer in der Ochtbriefe,’ in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität zu Leipzig, vol. xi. p. 275. Allodium, the Latin word for property, is a late, lower form of this word, which Strabo (loc. cit.) gives.

4 See Déménil, L’Acropole de Suse, p. 202, n. 1. 'Orto autem agrimen usuratils. Ignav, qui ipsi sacrum et internam voivani, argenteus altaribus prædederat. Magi proximi paulum praebantur.’  (Séleucos, p. 50). 3 These coins were not part of the national issues, but belonged, probably, to the semi-independent kingdoms of Persia—Persis—Persia. See von Jacob, ‘Die Geschichte des Gottesfeuer in der Ochtbriefe,’ in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität zu Leipzig, vol. xi. p. 275. Allodium, the Latin word for property, is a late, lower form of this word, which Strabo (loc. cit.) gives.
divinities were separate and distinct from the Fire-temples or Atash-gahs (Strabo, loc. cit. p. 15). But Strabo adds that to whatever divinity the Persians sacrificed, they first addressed a prayer to fire, all their devotions then, as now, being performed in the presence of the sacred flame. Further, in describing the sacrifice to water, as was the custom above, he adds that they took great care lest any of the blood should spurt into the fire. The fire, in this case, cannot have been that of the Atash-gah, and it was probably a sacred fire; in the rites performed at the present place of sacrifice (§ 14). This fire would naturally be of an inferior grade to that used in the Atash-gah, and consequently it is quite conceivable that it may have served both for boiling the flesh and for representing the fire of the Atash-gah as the symbol of the nature and presence of the deity. (See below, § 3).

If the inference is correct, we have here the parent, so to speak, of the Fire-altar employed at the present day in the Izashnah-Gah, or place where the religious rites are performed.

2. On Sassanian coins of all periods, the Fire-altar is a constant type, modified, as it is, from time to time; and it is quite certain that all, or nearly all, that are attached to the sides of the altar, metal feet in the form of lions’ paws, which seem to rest upon what were probably intended for handles, carry the altar. Finally, it is, however, conceivable that these were a feature of only the movable altar already described, but were not characteristic of the altar of the Atash-gah. However, in the later coins of the period this feature disappears, and we have merely the central support in the form of a short column with a base, and crowned, as in the older coins, by the Adosth, which, in turn, supports the Atash-din.

Whether it was the great reform of Zoroastrianism inaugurated and developed by the Sassanian kings that abolished the practice of animal sacrifice, or whether it had fallen into disuse before the rise of that dynasty (cf. Dieulafoy, L’Acropole de Susa, p. 402. Note 3), there can be no doubt from Sassanian times onwards no places for real sacrifices are to be counted among Zoroastian altars.

The daitya-gah was no doubt more extensive than a mere shrine for the Atash-din of the Bahram Fire, but its remaining part was the shelter of another, only inferior, Fire-altar, already conjectured to exist in earlier times, namely, the so-called Adosth, or altar base (see below, this, see the elaborate ritual of Avesta, Vend. v. 39, etc.). These are the two classes of altars in use among the Zoroastrians of Persia and the Parsees of India in the present day.

3. Modern Fire-altars, while always retaining the two most essential out of the three parts of which Sassanian and, probably, as we have seen, earlier altars consisted, namely, the Adosth and the Atash-din, vary somewhat in the form of the latter from those found on the coins and sculptures.

The Atash-din seen by Anquetil du Perron at Sarat (see Zenda Avesta, ii. pl. x.) Darmesteter, L’Acropole de Susa, p. 485, and Toynbee, Contours of Zoroaster, p. 339, werevaulted vessels of metal, much like our garden flower-vases, with a foot like a goblet and widening upwards, the larger one measuring three and a half feet in height, and three in diameter at the brink. Each such vessel was adorned by a single post set on its ground, to which was tied the carcase of the hog presented in sacrifice. But these, there were smaller altars connected with the temples; some resembling a small round table, supported by a single post set in the ground, to which was tied the carcase of a hog. But these, there were smaller altars connected with the temples; some resembling a small round table, supported by a single post set in the ground, to which was tied the carcase of the hog presented in sacrifice. These were placed on the altar, while the heart and some other internal parts were laid on this smaller altar, and which was called the Avesta, or the square altar, having a side of four feet of every kind, whether dressed or not, were placed upon the altar, and remained there till disposed of. A Tahitian altar is described and pictured by Wilson (Missionary Voyage to the Southern
The same distinction which prevails among the Melanesians (wh. see), is found in the Polynesian altars, which include not only the fata here described, but also the fata tupapeau, or altar for the dead, which was six or seven feet in height, and received a corpse immediately after death. This fata tupapeau was covered by a cloth which protected the dead body from the elements (Moerenhout, i. 470-471, 524); to the corpse food was offered daily for six weeks or two months. This custom is illustrated in the example of the Hawaiians, where the altars to the tikis and spirits of the dead are frequent along the roads and by the houses (Waitz-Gerard, Anthropologie der Naturvölker, vi. 387, Leipzig, 1872; cf. Cook, ii. 301), to the small māui (Sorau in L'Anthropologie, xvi. 475-484). At the māui fata, or altar raising, the altar was decorated with mero branches and coconut leaves, while the offerings were pigs, plants, and the like, but not humans. (i. 395).


Louis H. Gray.

ALTAR (Roman).—Much of what has been said about altars in Greek religion applies to Roman religion also, especially in the case of customs or rituals borrowed from Greece. Indeed, most treatises or articles do not make any distinction between the two. Ellis here only those cases will be mentioned as to which we have independent evidence for Roman practice, or in which Roman practice differed from Greek.

1. The phrase, quoted by Servius, Enn. ii. 525, asserts: "Diis superis altaria, terrestribus aras, inferis focus dicari." But this distinction, like that between θυσίαι and θήσεως in Greek, is by no means universally observed by Latin writers, though there seems to be a general impression, in accordance with the etymology, that altaria are usually higher structures than aras. Vesta's altars were thought suitable to Jupiter and the gods of heaven, low ones to Vesta and Earth. Natural or improvised altars, especially those built of turf, are familiar in Latin literature (e.g. Horace, Od. iii. vii. 4-4: "Posuitque carbo in esquispe vivo"). Such altars were set up all over the country, especially common near groves of trees; but they tended, as Greek influence spread, to be superseded by altars of stone or marble. Some of the earliest and most sacred altars in Rome seem not to have been attached to any particular temple, among these were the ara maxima, sacred to Hercules, and the mysterious subterranean altar of Consus, which was uncovered only once or twice in its long history.

2. When altars are associated with temples, their position varies. Vitruvius (iv. viii.) states that altars ought to face east, and should be placed on a lower level than the images of the gods in the temple. Vitruvius' rule probably derived from popular superstitions, as altars were thus more accessible to the worshippers who stood up to them. The orientation of temples being much more varied in Italy than in Greece, that of the altar varies also. Roman temples are usually raised upon a high substructure approached by steps; and the altars at Pompeii are usually placed on a higher platform part of the way up. The sacrificer appears, from the position of the altars, to have stood, in some cases, with his side to the temple, in some cases with his back to it. Here, as in Greece, the usage seems to show that sacrifices offered to a god on his altar were not directly offered to the image which symbolized his presence,—that, in short, we have not cases of genuine 'idolatry.' But, in the scenes of sacrifice frequently represented on Roman reliefs, it is common for either a recognizable temple or a small statue of a god to be indicated behind the altar, probably as an artistic device to show to whom the sacrifice is offered.

3. There were also altars in Roman houses. It appears that, in primitive houses in Italy, the hearth served both for sacrifices to the domestic gods and for cooking purposes; this must have been in the atrium or central living-room. This arrangement continued in farmhouses, where the kitchen with its hearth was still the principal room, we find a survival of this arrangement in the shrine for the household gods affixed to the wall close by the hearth; an altar to Vesta in the atrium of the Pompeian houses the hearth has been transferred, for practical purposes, from the atrium to the kitchen; and that its religious functions accompanied it is shown by the fact that here also a shrine or painted figures of the domestic gods are often found in the kitchen near the hearth. More frequently, however, the household worship was more conveniently carried on at a small shrine provided for the purpose in one of the side-rooms, in a special position in the atrium, peristyle, or garden. Such shrines usually consisted of a niche, with either statuettes or painted images of the domestic gods, the lares and penates, the genius of the house, and serpents; and in front was placed a small altar of a usual type. In one case a small fixed altar was found in a dining-room; probably portable altars were generally employed for the offerings which usually accompanied all meals, when they were no longer held in the common living-room or kitchen.

4. Of the common hearth of a city we have the most familiar example in that of Vesta at Rome, where "the living fire was tended by three Virgins. This fire, doubtless, circular, as was the temple that contained it. Small altars were commonly placed in the streets, usually with a niche, or at least a painting on the wall behind, to indicate the gods to whom the altar was dedicated—sometimes the lares compitales or street gods, sometimes other deities.

5. As regards the form of altars in early Italian religion, we have not much information. The Ara Volsca, discovered in the recent excavations of the Forum, was an oblong mass of natural rock, with its sides scaped away; it was restored with stone and covered with stucco after some damage in quite early times. Gallic temples usually had altars. Among the primitive objects of cult found underneath the famous black stone was a rectangular block, which was probably an altar. Roman altars were probably made of marble or stone considered by Etruscan custom, which seems, from vase paintings and other evidence, to have favoured some curious and fantastic shapes. But we have little evidence of this in Roman monuments. From Imperial times the altar has been abundant; the form and origin dependent upon those of Greece, though they soon enter on an independent development of their own. The magnificent architectural structures of Roman altars are attested by the Temple of Bacchus in the Campus Martius, the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the Temple of Mars Ultor, which are also known as the Temple of Saturn, the Temple of Jupiter, and the Temple of Vesta, respectively. The Temple of Vesta, in particular, was an important religious and political center in ancient Rome.
reliefs with allegorized and ceremonial scenes, and is perhaps the most characteristic example of the sculpture of the Augustan age. Smaller altars, both round and square, are provided with artistic decoration in the naturalistic garlands carved in the frieze and in the reliefs. The sacred objects and real ones, and in the reliefs, frequently representing sacrifices, but including many other appropriate subjects. In these it is possible to trace a development which, however, concerns the history of art and not the history of religious beliefs. The architectural decorations follow the Greek models; raised rolls at each end, faced by Ionic volutes, and bands of triglyph ornamentation, are very common. We also find sometimes on reliefs an ornamental canopy built on the top of an altar. In Roman custom, altars were far more frequently than in Greece erected merely in commemoration of a sacrifice, whether actually made upon them or not; in such cases the inscription was the essential thing, the altar form being little more than a convention. On the other hand, altars for actual use were frequently supplied with arrangements consisting of two or more superimposed decorative layers, and ducts to carry away the liquids.

6. Smaller portable altars, either for incense or for minor offerings, were frequently used; some have been found at Pompeii and elsewhere, but these were not intended for use on any other tables. It is doubtful whether the gartybutum or marble table, frequently found behind the impluvium in the atrium of Pompeian houses, should be considered as an altar in origin. If, as has been suggested, it originally stood beside the hearth, it may have served this purpose, though it may have been merely a dresser. A peculiar interest attaches to this table in the matter of religious offerings, for the common practice was to put offerings on the bases of the statue or on other tables.

7. The association of altars with tombs in Roman custom is somewhat confusing. Tombs frequently take a form resembling an altar (cippus); and it is natural to associate this with offerings to the dead, even if the altars be merely commemorative and not intended for actual use; the word ara is even applied to tombstones in inscriptions. On the other hand, Vergil describes a funeral pyre as "ara sepulcrei" (Aen. vi. 177). This altar, on which offerings to the dead were consumed together with his body, may be symbolically represented by the altar-tomb.

8. Between the tabernum and the open area of the atrium stood an ornamental stone table, the only reminder of the sacred Hearth. It is a very curious fact that this is precisely the position of the holy table in the basilica; when we take into account the similarity of many of these tables with the most ancient form of tabernum (see p. 127) the question of the relationship between them (Lowry, Christian Art and Archaeology, London, 1891, p. 160).

9. The architecture of altars with tombe in Roman custom is somewhat confusing. Tombs frequently take a form resembling an altar (cippus); and it is natural to associate this with offerings to the dead, even if the altars be merely commemorative and not intended for actual use; the word ara is even applied to tombstones in inscriptions. On the other hand, Vergil describes a funeral pyre as "ara sepulcrei" (Aen. vi. 177). This altar, on which offerings to the dead were consumed together with his body, may be symbolically represented by the altar-tomb.

LITERATURE.—The fullest and most recent account of altars, Greek and Roman, is that by Reisch in Pauly-Remler, ii. 780, n. 14. 'Altar,' where references to earlier authorities are given. An article on art and religion in 'Dizionario delle Scienze Antichi,' e xcii. 'Ara.' For Pompeian altars see Man, Pompeii, 1890; for the decoration of Roman altars, Mrs. Strong, Roman Sculpture, 1907. See also the Handbooks of Roman Antiquities, such as Hermann, Lehrbuch, ii. 'Gotische Dienstliche Altarbilderei'; Ewan Müller, Handbuch der Kiez. Altarbilderschafft, ii. 'Greek, Sakralaltarbilderei' (Stengel, pp. 10-15), v. 'Religion und Cultus der Römer (Wissowa), and index of these works. See also the elaborate stele, De ara aedific. (Herzog, 1840). E. A. GARDNER.

ALTAR (Semitic).—1. Primitive conditions.—The primitive Semites regarded trees, rocks, and springs as deities, and in the earliest times brought their gifts into direct contact with the god by hanging them on the tree, rubbing them on the rock, or throwing them into the spring or well. Evidences of the survival of these customs in Arabia, the primitive Semitic home, are known, and some of them survive even beyond its borders. Both in Arabia and in Palestine trees are found hung with the relics of such offerings. Gifts were thrown into the Zenem at Mecca, and in other shrines. That other gifts were also brought into contact with rocks, appears from the ritual of the nassebāḥ described below. The simplest altar was a natural rock, the top of which contained a channel by which the blood was conveyed to a sacred cave below, as was the case with the sacred rock in the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem. Such rocks are still used by the Arabs as places of sacrifice (see Curtiss, Bibl. World, xxi. 255, 256). Sometimes the blood was conveyed by a rivulet to a sacred well. Such a rivulet was the Ghabāḥ at Mecca, which flowed into the Zenem. No doubt in the earliest times the deity was supposed to dwell in or be identical with a crag, one part of which was taken as an altar because of its natural formation. Out of these primitive conditions there were two lines of development, one of which produced the altars of later times, and the other the more or less artificial altar.

2. Stone altars.—The earliest altar of artificial construction was apparently a rough heap of stones, which represented a mountain-top or a crag in which the god had been thought to dwell. Such altars were made of natural rocks and were sometimes surrounded by artificial trenches (1 K 18:2). Traces of such altars are found among the Israelites and the Arameans (cf. 2 K 18:2). Ezek 43:1, and 1 Mac 4:26. They were probably at first rude cairns, which suggested a mountain peak. The remains of such cairns may still be seen at Suf and on Mount Nebo, as well as in many other parts of the East (see Conder, Hebr and Moab, 1 F 177). They are said to be in Frankfort, 1893, 169). Though by no means certain, this is a suggestive possibility. Light on the altar of earth may possibly be obtained from the Samaritans. The writer in 1905 saw their preparations on Mount Gerizim for the Passover, and when he asked if they had an altar, they said 'yes,' and showed him a hole dug in the ground—perhaps 18 in. in diameter and 10 in. deep, from this a conduit of oblong shape was off. Over the hole the sheep were killed, and the blood flowed into the conduit to be soaked up by the earth. Analogly with the rock-cut altar at Petra described below shows, however, that this is not a complete altar, but only the slaughter-place. The complete earthen altar was a mound of earth, plus one of these earthen slaughter-places.

3. Altars of earth. —In lieu of such an altar as this, it was possible in early times to make an altar of earth. Such an altar is permitted in the 'Book of the Covenant,' Ex 20:26 (18), though we have no description of one in the OT. Possibly Macalister is right in thinking that he discovered an altar of this type at Gezer, for in connexion with the high place there he found a bank of earth 10 ft. in length, which was baked so hard that it was exceedingly difficult for the workmen to cut through it. Underneath this bank were a number of human skulls. As human sacrifice formed a part of early Semitic worship, it is possible that this bank once served as an altar. Though by no means certain, this is a suggestive possibility. Light on the altar of earth may possibly be obtained from the Samaritans. The writer in 1905 saw their preparations on Mt. Gerizim for the Passover, and when he asked if they had an altar, they said 'yes,' and showed him a hole dug in the ground—perhaps 18 in. in diameter and 10 in. deep, from this a conduit of oblong shape was off. Over the hole the sheep were killed, and the blood flowed into the conduit to be soaked up by the earth. Analogly with the rock-cut altar at Petra described below shows, however, that this is not a complete altar, but only the slaughter-place. The complete earthen altar was a mound of earth, plus one of these earthen slaughter-places.

4. Massebāḥ. —Another development from the primitive crag was the Arabic stone altar, or nassebāḥ. The form of several of these altars of conical shape, frequently resembling in a rough way a phallic, in which the god was supposed to dwell. The fat and oil of sacrifices were smeared on this.
stone, so that it served at once as an emblem of deity and as an altar. It was a beath {Gen 23:16.} Sometimes such a pillar stood alone, sometimes one or two honorific stones were placed by it, sometimes the human figure was carved on it, and at Gezer the whole number of these standing pillars was ten.** High places adored with such stones have in recent years been discovered at Tell es-Safl,† at Petra,‡ at Megiddo,§ and at Gezer. When the number of stones is more than one, it is usually easy to identify the beath, as it is worn smooth from the contact of offerings. These pillars were common to both the Hamitic and the Semitic world and developed in course of time into the Egyptian obelisk.

5. Meat cooked in a pot hung on three stakes.—At this early time probably the larger part of each sacrifice was cooked and eaten by the worshipers, as in S 1:56. 32:36 Probably in the earliest period the flesh was boiled in a pot, as described in Samuel, and as represented on early Bab. seals and in an early hieroglyphic Bab. inscription.** The Bab. pictures represent the pot as resting in the crotch of crossed stakes, as in course of time the fashion of roasting the meat instead of boiling it came in. The transition in Israel is noted in 1 S 2:23. It is quite probable that this transition to the crucifixion, which was attained at different periods in different parts of the Semitic world, and that one of its consequences was the institution of burnt-offerings—or offerings consumed by fire, of which the deity was supposed to inhale the smoke. This transition led to the creation of fire-altars. These were ultimately of several kinds, and the evolution of them proceeded along two lines:

Ariel.—One way of making a fire-altar was to add a fire-hearth to a masgeleb. This was actually done at Aksun in Abyssinia, where such structures have been found."† Perhaps the 'ariels' of Moab, mentioned in 2 S 23:36 and on the Moabite Stone (lines 12 and 17), were structures of this nature. They were structures which could be dragged away, and were connected with the shrines of Jahweh, as well as with those of other deities. This is evident from lines 17 of the Moabite Stone, and from Is 29:7—9, where the name is figuratively applied to Jerusalem.

South of Aksun stood the pillar of Jacob and Boaz, which stood before the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, were used as fire-altars also.** Herodotus (vi. 44) tells us of two similar pillars of stone, one of which was lighted brightly at night. This latter fact was possible due to some sort of fire, fed either by burning fat or some similar substance, connected with them. Possibly all these pillars were developed, like the altar masgeleb of Aksun, out of the primitive pillar.

7. Rock-cut altars.—Another development from the primitive mountain cairn was the rock-cut altar. This represents a later stage of culture than the altar of unhewn stones. That was an artificial imitation of a mountain cairn, but it was built of stones on which man had lifted up no tool. Human labour had placed the stones one upon another, but was confined to that alone. Rock-cut altars, on the other hand, are projections of part of an altar hewn or carved into a form better suited to the purposes of sacrifice. One such was unearthed by Sellin at

* Cl. Blas and Maccabéer, Excavations in Palestine, 52.
† See Hertz, iii. 8, who says the Arabus had seven.
‡ Maccabéer, op. cit. 57.
∥ Maccabéer, Biblical Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer, 56.
* See the Fifth Dynasty temple restored in Erman's Ägypt. Rel. 46.
** See Schell, Demonisation en Perse, i. 130, and compare Bar. ton in J.A.H.S., 122, 26, and 125 n. 7. A similar scene is figured on a seal in the writer's possession.
†† See Theodore Bent, Sacred City of the Ethiopians, 180 ff.
‡‡ See the references in note 1.
§§ See Wilson and Robinson; see Brunnnow and Domanski, Provincia Arabia, i. 241, 242; and Nielsen, Altarab. Monographien, 172-173.

8. Altars of incense.—A still later form of the altar—later from the standpoint of cultural development—was a small portable altar carved out of a stone. Such altars were developed in many parts of the Semitic world, and are described more fully below in connexion with the altars of the different nations. They were used for the burning of fat or of sweet-smelling incense, and probably came into use at a time when, in ordinary sacrifices, such parts of the offering only were given directly to the deity, the other and more edible parts becoming the property of the priests.

9. Bronze altars.—At the farthest remove culturally from the primitive Semitic altar stands the bronze altar. Not made of an unmanufactured product like stone, nor of an altar hewn or carved out of a stone, and not of a primitive, people. Such altars are found among the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, and Hebrews. Our knowledge of their forms is set forth below in describing the altars of these nations.

10. Arabian altars.—The only large altar that can in any sense be called Arabian which has, so far as the writer knows, been studied by Europeans,
is the great altar at Petra, described above (§ 7). That rock-cut altar may, however, be an Edomite or Nabataean work, and indicative of their civilizations rather than of the civilization of the Arabs.

Indeed, the use of tools upon it makes it probable that it was cut from a block of stone which was round-ended in the primitive simplicity and poverty of thought which attached to all things Arabian in early times. These purely Arabian altars were, as they still are, spurs of natural crags, or stones containing hollows to receive the blood (see Curtiss, Bibl. World, xxi. 255, 256).

From South Arabia a very interesting altar of incense has come, which is now in the Berlin Museum. It is a little over 2 ft. high. It tapers slightly as it rises, until within about 7 1/4 in. from the top. At this point a slight shoulder projects, above which the stone broadens again. On one side, in an ornamental framework carved in stone, rises a pyramid, the blunt apex of which is surmounted by the thin crescent of the moon. The horns of the crescent are turned upward, and a shallow representation of the sun-disk occupies its centre. Petrie discovered three such altars of incense in the temple at Serabit el-Khadem in Sinai. It is true that they are otherwise different from the altar described, but there can be little doubt that Semitic customs and practices found their way into it. Of the altars found here, the highest was 22 inches. It had on the top a cup hollow, 3 3/4 in. wide and 1 in. deep. One of these altars presented on the top a burnt surface, about 2 1/2 in. deep, and its sides were blackened. All of them were cut so as roughly to resemble a hour-glass in shape, the name of one of them continued to taper well up to the top.

11. Aramean altars.—In 2 K 18:30 we are told of an altar in Damascus which the Judean king Ahaz saw, and which so pleased him that he had one made like it and placed in the Temple at Jerusalem. Probably the altar described by Ezekiel (43:17) is a description of it. If so, it was built of stones, and consisted of a base 27 ft. square and 18 in. high, along the top of which ran a moulding 9 in. wide. On this arose a square of 24 ft., which was 3 ft. high; on this a square of 21 ft., which was 6 ft. in height; and above this arose the hearth of the altar, 16 ft. square and 6 ft. high. It was supported on four tapering legs, the angles of which were of 17 ft. high, and at its corners were projections of some kind called 'horns.' It is only by inference that we carry these dimensions back to the altar at Damascus. Of course, between Ahaz and Ezekiel there may have been modifications, but when the influence of religious conservatism is taken into account, our inference seems to be justified.

As noted above (§ 10), the altar at Petra was perhaps a Nabataean structure. If so, it should be counted an Aramean altar. A few smaller Nabataean altars, of the kind called altars of incense above, have been discovered. One such was found at Kanatha, and bears a Nabataean inscription. On one side of it a bulllock is carved in a rather primitive type of art. Another Nabataean altar of similar type from Palmyra has two hands carved on its sides below an inscription. A fragment of a basaltic altar found at Kanatha, carved with the head of a bulllock, betrays such excellent artistic workmanship that it can hardly be Nabataean, but is probably Greek. Another Nabataean altar, found by the Princeton expedition, is pictured by Littmann. It consists of a straight stone, the shoulders of which are round-ended. It is not touched. This is set in a larger base. The upper edge of the base is carved into a moulding. Another Palmyrene altar has straight sides, and at its top an ornamental moulding projects which is Top larger than the body of the altar. Altars of similar structure, probably of Nabataean workmanship, may now be seen in Muhammadan cemeteries at Palmyra. All these Nabataean incense-altars known to the present writer have a perpendicular pillar-like form. None of them is shaped like an hour-glass, as are the Arabian altars. Sometimes the base is larger than the stem of the altar, and sometimes a moulding makes the top larger, but the lines of the intervening part are perpendicular.

12. Babylonian altars.—Our knowledge of early Bab. altars comes in part from the pictures on old Bab. seals. These altars may not be purely Semitic, as they are octagonal or square, and sometimes mixed with the Semurians; but the Semites were in the country before the dawn of history and early mingled with the Semurians, so that it is often difficult to discern the extent of their influence.

The earliest altars pictured may be Semurian in origin, but they were employed by Semites at so early a time that we shall treat them as Semitic.

At the very dawn of Babylonian history the only altars pictured belong to the class called above 'altars of incense.' They are of two forms, each of which appears on seals as archate as those picturing the other. One of these was apparently a block of stone, set up with incense vessels which portay the note as a kind of hearth in which the fire was built. Probably the high portion was hollowed out. One seal represents this style of altar as constructed of large bricks.

Equally ancient, so far as appears, was the altar of the hour-glass shape. These were not at all exactly alike. Sometimes the middle of an altar was small, sometimes it was large; sometimes the top was larger than the bottom, and sometimes the reverse was the case; sometimes the narrowest portion was almost at the top, sometimes it was nearer the bottom; but the hour-glass form describes them all.

A third altar, figured on a seal of the de Clerq collection, is perhaps older than either. It consists of flat stones, or possibly large flat bricks, placed above one another in a simple pile.

Still other forms appear on later seals. One such altar is of stone, and is triangular in form, broad at the base, sloping toward the top, and surmounted by a fire-pan. Just below the fire-pan runs an ornamental ledge. That the Babylonians had bronze altars is made probable by another seal, showing a low structure supported by three legs, on which a sacrificial fire burns.

That the Babylonians had larger altars, sponding in function to the rock-cut altar at Petra, is not only probable a priori, but is confirmed by the explorations of Dr. Haynes at Nippur. This

* See Merrill, East of the Jordan, 42.


||. F. Meyer, Sumirgum und Semitan in Babylonien.

¶ See Barton, Sumirgum, ch. v.

** The best description of these is by William Haynes Ward in Appendix G of S. I. Hurst’s Princeton Semitic Inscriptions of the day.

†† See Ward, op. cit. 267-269. For the brick altar, fig. 3, p. 268.


¶¶ Collections de Clercq, No. 308.

**• ib. No. 892.
excavator found a structure built of sun-dried brick, some 12 ft. long and 7 in. high around the top. The structure was covered with a layer of white ashes several inches deep, and was separated from the surrounding space by a low wall or curb. Near it was a piece of bitumen 7 in. high, ran around the top. Dr. Haynes rightly regarded this as an altar. He found it 3 ft. below the pavement of Naram-Sin, so that it belongs to the pre-Sargonic period.

He also drew attention to the fact that two kinds of altars stood in the temple at Babylon. He says the smaller altar was of gold, but is silent as to the material of which the larger altar was constructed. These correspond to the 'altar of burnt-offering' and the 'altar of incense.'

13. Assyrian altars.—The altars of the Assyrians consisted of two variéd types employed by the Babylonians. Those which explorations have brought to light belong to the smaller type, of which the material was bitumen. These are sometimes of stone and sometimes of bronze.

The stone altars are of three forms. The oldest is from the time of Adad-nirari III. (B.C. 812-783), and is of bitumen, which was made in an oblong stone 55 cm. long and of the same height, so carved that the top presents the appearance of a sofa with a back. The lower part is ornamented by a few horizontal symmetrical lines. The second type is made of a block of stone so carved that its base is triangular, and is ornamented by two horizontal ledges. At the corners between these ledges a lion's foot is carved. This base is surmounted by a circular top. The third type is shaped much like the Nabataean altar, but with a castellated top. Both these last are from the palace of Sargon (B.C. 722-705), and are in the Louvre.

The Assyro-Babylonian bronze altar is illustrated for us on the bronze gates of Balawat, § on a sculpture of Ashurbanipal, and on other sculptures. These altars, in spite of variations in detail, were built on the same pattern. Each was a table-like structure, sometimes half the height of a man, sometimes a little higher. The legs at each corner were moulded, somewhat like the legs of a modern piano. The legs were joined to one another by horizontal bars. Sometimes there were two, sometimes a single bar, and sometimes two or three of these, and their distance from the ground was determined by the fancy of the maker. From the middle of the side, a short distance from the front, a recess was formed, which was the pedestal. The recess is so imperfect that it might be either a leg descended to the lowest of these cross-bars. The top of the table was slightly hollow and formed the fire-pan. One of the representations shows the sacrifice burning on it. Such an altar could be taken with the army on a campaign, as is shown by the bronze gates of Balawat.

14. Canaanite altars.—In ancient Canaan the altars of burnt-offering were sometimes of native rock, as at Tannach (see § 7), sometimes of unhewn stone (§ 2), and sometimes heaps of earth (§ 3). These have already been sufficiently described (§§ 2, 3, 7). A Canaanite altar of incense was, however, found at Tannach, which was more like a table. It was made of earth moulded into a rounded trunk, broad at the base and tapering considerably toward the top. It was ornamented by many heads—both human and animal—in relief.

15. Phoenician altars.—The Phoenician altars which have survived are not all of stone. They present a variety of forms. Sometimes they are square with a large base and top, the central portion, though smaller, being of the same size all the way up. Sometimes they are of the same general shape except that they are round and the base and top join the central portion in an abrupt shoulder instead of being tapered down to it. Such an altar found at Malta. Another altar found at the site of Balawat in Syria is of central portion carved into panelled faces in which a vine is cut for ornamentation. Still others are variations of the hour-glass form.

Bronze altars are mentioned in Phoenician inscriptions as having been erected at Geshur, Kittim, Larnax Lapethos, at the Pireus, and in Sardinia, but we have no knowledge of their form. Perhaps they were made on the pattern of Assyrian bronze altars. We know that in many ways the Phoenicians copied Assyrian art.

16. Hebrew altars.—According to Ex 20:22-25, early Israelitish altars were constructed either of earth or stone. These have been described in §§ 2, 3.

Solomon, when he built the temple, used rhytons of stone, and Staub (who has written a very good work on this subject) says that of the 2000 stones brought by Solomon from Kedron, the one mentioned in Ex 22:18, is still standing in the garden of the king's house in Jerusalem. Its presence is vouched for by the story of 2 K 18:10, and by the late and confused insertion (so Kittel), 1 K 8:4. The Chronicler (2 Ch 4:1) makes it a gigantic structure 30 ft. square and 15 ft. high, and modern scholars have followed his statements. As the altar had perished long before the Chronicler's time, and as it was smaller than the large stone altar which Ahaz built near it (2 K 18:20), and which was but 27 ft. square at the base, we may conclude that the Chronicler's measurements are unhistorical. It is much more likely that Solomon's brazen altar was of the Assyrian pattern. If we did, we can better understand why king Ahaz was so eager to supplant it with a stone altar which would be better adapted to the offering of large sacrifices. This bronze altar had disappeared by the time of the Exile. The stone altar of Ahaz is described above (§ 11). Such an altar, built of unhewn stones, continued to exist down to the destruction of the Temple by Titus (cf. 1 Mac 4:47-49 and Jos. B. J. v. 6).

According to 1 K 8:2-3, a golden altar, apparently of incense, stood in the Holy of Holies in Solomon's temple, but we have no description of its form.

The altars described in the Priestly document as made for the Tabernacle were of the altar of burnt offerings (Ex 27), made of acacia wood and overlaid with bronze, and the altar of incense (Ex 30) made of acacia wood and overlaid with gold. Modern scholars regard both of these as fancies of priestly writers, as it is clear that neither of them would stand a sacrificial fire. The altar of incense of this passage was possibly patterned on that of the Temple. If so, it gives us its dimensions. It was 18 in. square and 3 ft. high.

17. Horns of the altar.—Various explanations have been offered for the 'horns of the altar.' Stade ** suggested that they arose in an attempt to carve the altar into the form of an ox, while W. R. Smith believed they were substituted for the horns of consecration, which at an earlier time had been hung upon the altar. Josephus (B. J. v. 6) says of the altar of Herod's temple that 'it
had corners like horns," suggesting that the term was figuratively applied to some ornamentation which surrounded the corners. As no horns appear upon any Semitic altar yet discovered, but the altar frequently appears surmounted with ornaments, it is probable that, as in Jer 17, the word "horns" is figurative.

The Hebrew 'table of shewbread,' a counterpart to which is figured in Assyrian reliefs, might in one sense be called an altar, but, strictly speaking, it is only in a secular sense, employed by the Old Testament, that it is called an altar. Mention of altars is made in the New Testament, in the Epistle to the Romans (12:1), and in the Apocalypse (Revelation 18:21; 21:22).

LITERATURE.—Nearly all the literature has been mentioned above. In addition, mention may be made of det. "Altar" by Adela in Biblical Words and Phrases (1898), and that by Barton in the JS; also Newick, Heb. Arch. (1894), i. 37; 4.; Benzingler, Heb. Arch. (1894) 378 fr.; Curtis, Places of Sacrifice among the Primitive Semites in Biblical World, vol. xxii. 214 ff.; Greene, Hebrew Rock Altars, ib. vol. ix. 525 fr.; and W. H. Ward, "Altar and Sacrifices in the Primitive Art of Babylonia" in Curtiss' Primitive Semitic Religion To-day (1902), Appendix G.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

ALTAR (Slavonic).—There is a considerable number of texts relating to the temples of the Baltic Slavs, but they do not furnish any details about the altars. A description of one among the Slavonic nations is borrowed, through the Old High German altari, from the Latin altar. The Old Church Slavonic зрата, 'sacrificio' (cf. Slav. зрать, priest), corresponds with its Russian derivative зртонка, which is employed in the sense of altar in the Biblical texts, seems to indicate that the altar was the place in the temple where the victims were sacrificed. Perhaps it is simply the translation of the Greek ναός, 'temple.'

The entire group of words associated with зрата primarily means only 'praise' (Vondrak, Allberezskromische Grammatik, Berlin, 1900, p. 120). Mention may likewise be made of Old Church Slavonic троитель (connected with truda, 'negotium'), 'altar, троистороп, oйхапа'; and krada, 'rogus, fomarx.'

LITERATURE.—Mikolsch, DWAW xxviii. 18. L. LEGER.

ALTAR (Teutonic).—There seems to be no doubt that in heathen times the Teutonic peoples made use of altars; but our information regarding these is very meagre, since the majority of the references give no details.

The bulk of the evidence is obtained from the Icelandic sagas. In these still shows the regular term for an altar within a temple: we are told that altar only in a secular sense, and that the altar was the place in the temple where the victims were sacrificed. Perhaps it is simply the translation of the Greek ναός, 'temple.'

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As its direct object, Comte maintained that "the chief problem of our existence is to subordinate as far as possible egoism to altruism." Herbert Spencer adopted the term, and gives considerable space to his doctrine of the contrasted elements of Egoism and Altruism, and to their reconciliation. Briefly, the contrast set forth in the terms 'Egoism' and 'Altruism' was indicated by former writers on Psychology and Ethics by the distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding, that is, benevolent or disinterested tendencies.

The two terms have been widely used by more recent writers. We may distinguish between the use of the terms in Psychology and in Ethics. In Psychology 'Altruism' means the disposition which has as its object the good of another. Some are disposed to limit the meaning of the word to those dispositions which are consciously directed towards an object, and to deny the application of the term to mere spontaneous and unreflective action. In other words, they limit Altruism to conscious beings, and to them when they have attained to powers of reflection, and have learned to constitute objects for themselves. They exclude from the sphere of Altruism also the gregarious and instinctive grouping together of animals, for attack and defence. In Ethics it is Altruism which is held to mean help, actions and dispositions and actions which have the welfare of others or another for their motive and object. It lays stress here, of course, on the ethical aspect of the disposition.

While many would limit the use of the terms 'Egoism' and 'Altruism' to dispositions and actions which arise only within a self-conscious being, and arise as the outcome of a process of reflection, others are disposed to view the origin of egoistic and altruistic tendencies backwards, to those instincts of love and hunger, the rudiments of which seem to be present in all forms of life. The conception of Evolution and the acceptance of it as a working hypothesis, at least, by all manner of workers, tend to lay great stress on this line of investigation. Evolutionists tend to regard the behaviour of each species of animals as illustrating an ethical code relative to that species; and some of them, like Professors Guldner and Thomson, look on the processes of life as a 'materialized ethical process.' Professor Henry Dawes divided all struggles, namely, the struggle for the life of self and the struggle for the life of others.

Writers on this topic from the point of view of Evolution may be divided into two classes. There are those who, with Professor Huxley, describe the process of Evolution as a gladiatorial show, and nature as 'red in tooth and claw with ravin.' They affirm that the very existence of ethical life depends on the possibility of man's ability to combat the cosmic process. In popular literature, in scientific articles, in learned treatises, it has been affirmed that the animal world consists of a struggle between half-starved animals striving for food. 'The universal struggle to the life is for existence.' This accounts for the universal cry. Competition was described as strongest between animals of the same kind, and it was through this competition and the premium set on speed that the struggle for existence developed, and it painted it in ever darker colours, they apparently forgot that he had written in other terms in the Descent of Man. In this work he pointed out the importance of tracing the evolution of man from simpler forms of life, and an evolution of all the features of human life, physical, psychological, ethical. Thus he was led to lay stress on the social character of many animals, on their co-operation, on the evolution of sympathy and mutual helpfulness, until in certain parts of kind of struggle which was prominent in the Origin of Species tended almost to disappear. The unit in the struggle changes before our eyes, and the individual who struggles, gains an advantage, it is these communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members that would flourish best, and rear the greatest number of offspring' (Descent of Man, 1871). Even from Darwin's point of view here is a new factor introduced into the struggle for existence. Sympathy, mutual help, or the union between members of the same species for attack or defence, has been recognized as a decisive factor in the evolution of life. The community has taken the place of the individual, and mutual help is as much a fact of life as mutual competition.

While many evolutionists had apparently forgotten that Darwin had set forth the great influence of the social factor in the evolution of higher forms of life, others took up the hint, and traced the various forms and kinds of social relations which have been the mutual helpfulness and the ethical character and their influence on the development of altruistic affections. Nature did not appear to them to be a mere gladiatorial show; it was a sphere of co-operation, in which each was for all, and all for each. They delighted to trace co-operation throughout the sphere of life, they pointed out to men such forms of co-operation as symbiosis, as the co-operation of bacteria with wheat, with various forms of insects, and the mutual helpfulness and cooperation of animals, and generally they were able to show that, competition notwithstanding, the world was a system that worked together. Then they pointed to the influence of socialistic tendencies in gregarious animals. They showed us a herd of cattle banded together for defence, with the cows and calves in the centre, and the bulls to the front. They showed us a pack of dogs under the rule of a leader, organized for hunting, with the social order dominating the individual, and obeyed by the individual, with sanctions for obedience and penalties for disobedience. Then they traced for us the evolution of the social and mutual helpfulness, the ethical character of which we distinctly recognize when they appear in self-conscious beings. Trust, obedience, recognition of the order of the pack, or of the herd, consciousness of fault and expulsion from the herd if the order is disregarded, are all depicted by those who trace for us the social evolution of life.

Stress has been laid by some on the relation of parents and children, on the care for offspring as the source of social affection; and attention has been called to the fact that a prolonged infancy calls forth a great development of parental care. As individuality increases, fertility lessens, and with the increase of individuality there goes an increase of the period of helplessness in infancy; and thus they are able to indicate an increase of social affection. Still this source of Altruism does not carry us very far, for the relation of parent and offspring is only temporary, and does not form the basis of a lasting relationship.

It is in the aggregation of animals together for mutual benefit that most evolutionists look for the source of Altruism. It is here, then, that we are led to look into the controversy between those who hold that acquired qualities can be transmitted through heredity, and those who maintain that such transmission has never actually taken place. It is important to consider whether the question is itself and, in its consequence, But
for our purpose it is not needful to take a side on the question. For the present purpose, the denial of the possibility of a transmission of acquired qualities has directed attention to, and stimulated interest in, the transmission of acquired attainments from generation to generation. Is there a tradition among animals? Is there social transmission of the mental and intellectual gains of a species? Or is the only way transmission of acquired abilities an offspring can make of acquired attainments from generation to generation.

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Wallace and Hudson have pointed out the wide operation of individualistic transmission of social habits in the various species of vertebrates. Releman has shown in great detail the action of social transmission in actually keeping young fowls alive and so permitting the perpetuation of the species; and Wesley Mills has shown the imperfections of instinct in many cases, with the accompanying dependence of the creatures upon social, initiative, and intelligent action. He adds: "It gives a transition from animal to human organization, and from biological to social evolution, which does not involve a break in the chain of influences already present in all the evolution life." (Development and Evolution, 1902, p. 145).

Nurture, imitation, social transmission seem to constitute the general social life of animals, and specially of social life among animals. While it is true that a chicken almost before it has shaken itself free from the shell will peck at a fly and catch it, and a duck will imitate other ducks in forms of life the young have to learn from parental example; and it even appears that direct instruction of a kind is given. There is sufficient evidence, at all events, to affirm that the higher animals, whose young need parental care for some time are they can provide for themselves, have to learn how to make their living. Parent birds teach their young to fly, and teach them to recognize the approach of dangers. It is difficult to save the remark that in such races of life, where parents and offspring are for a time associated, where parents care for offspring and offspring depend on parents, there is room and there is need for the exercise of what may be called and affection.

Nor need we object to the fact that we find in lower forms of life the germ and the promise of what comes to flower and fruit in self-conscious beings. The tendency of the laws of life is that the laws of life are similar in all the ranges of life. It seems to proceed on one plan, and we need not be surprised that rudimentary forms of the higher may be found in the lower layers of life. But the full and complete development of actions being does not appear till we come to self-conscious beings who can look before and after, and reflect on their own experience.

While, therefore, we receive with gratitude the testimony of the students of life to the existence of the germs of social life in the lower spheres of living beings, it must be insisted on here that the advent of self-conscious beings into the world has made a great difference. The advent of rationality has given a new meaning to all the phenomena of life as these are manifested in beings lower than man. Appetites, passions, desires, affections are no longer what they were in lower forms of life. Appetite is a different thing in an animal which eats only for the sake of hunger, and drinks only to assuage thirst, from what it is in civilized man, who brings the wealth of his artistic nature and the power of his memory and imagination to enhance from the beauty of his festival. Even into appetite the wealth of his whole nature may enter. If this is the case with appetite, it is still more true of the emotions, such as fear, desire, and so on. Take surprise, and we find that while we call by the same name the similar phenomena of an animal and a man, yet surprise is relative to the experience of the individual. We are not surprised at railways, telegraphs, telephones, motor cars; these have become the commonplaces of civilization. Thus Comparative Psychology has in all its comparisons to remember what a difference self-consciousness has made in the character of the feelings, and of life which are traced back to appetite.

In the discussion of Egoism and Altruism, while help of a kind can be obtained from a study of the lower life, that help does not carry us very far. In the lower forms of life the individual is sacrificed to the species. In the simplest insects, it seems to be all-in-all, and the individual bees, whatever their function is, are steadily sacrificed to the good of the whole. Numerous other illustrations may be found in a human society such a solution must be found that neither shall the individual be sacrificed to the whole nor the whole to the individual. The individual has a claim on the whole for the opportunity of living a full, rich, and gracious life; and society has a claim on the individual for devoted and whole-hearted service.

Looking at the history of our subject, and at the actual history of man, we find many curious things. Early societies steadily sacrificed the individual to the tribe, and in some individual of view, those have any but a tribal consciousness. The discovery of the individual seems to be a late discovery. The individual must not in any way depart from the ways of Egoism in order to believe their beliefs, follow their customs, wear their totem, and in no way think or act spontaneously. Individual worth and freedom were neither recognized as desirable, nor tolerated, because inimical to the welfare of the tribe. Late in history, and mainly through religious influences, the worth and value of the individual won recognition, human life was recognized as sacred, and man as a free and freedom found path. In truth, we find in history the pendulum swinging from one extreme to another; now the individual is in bondage to society, and then the individual tends to make society impossible. Here there are long stretches of history where the authority of society dominates the individual, and then a reaction, when men regard the individual as the sole reality and society as a tyranny and trouble. If any one casts his eye back to the beginning of modern philosophy and reads Hobbes and Descartes, and follows out the principle of individualism to the French Revolution, its culminating period in modern history, he will find that the individual, whether for simplicity, in all the grandeur of his so-called rights, is the object of all study, the beginning of all speculative thought. He is real, his rights are his own, and he is prepared to defend them against all comers. He is in a state of war, he is a free and independent creature, and if he is to live in society he will do so only when he has made terms with his neighbour. So he makes a social contract, he surrenders so much, and he obtains a guarantee for the others. He is supposed to be naturally selfish, egoistic, and to regard others only as instruments for his own good. Looking at man from this point of view, he is a being who hold it are laid under the heavy burden of attempting to derive Altruism from Egoism, and it need hardly be said that they have failed in the task. Altruism can no more be derived from Egoism than Egoism can be derived from Altruism. The truth seems to be that each of them goes down to the very foundations of life, and life can scarcely be conceived in the absence of either. If it be true that life comes only from life, then life must be sacrificed in order to produce fresh life. That is Altruism, whether it is conscious Altruism or not. It is vain to ask for the essence of Altruism, it is as difficult as it is vain to ask for the beginning of Egoism, for it is
proverbial that self-preservation is the first law of life. In this, we see, as so often, the victims of our own abstractions. We cannot really separate the individual from society, or society from the individual.

It may be well, at this stage, to point out that what we thus distinctly call the Ego feelings have also a social reference. In one sense all feelings which refer to the interests of the individual are Ego feelings. Personal pains and pleasures, desires and aversions, to which we feel ourselves aroused. It would on the whole be an improvement in our use of words if we limited the title 'Ego feelings' to those feelings which belong to a self-conscious subject, and which depend not upon consciousness, but on self-consciousness. 'Ego feelings' thus would mean, not passive pain or pleasure, but feelings actively related to our self-esteem, to our self-assertion, or to any manifestation of the activity of the self by which the impression of its own worth is enhanced. In these feelings the Ego is at once the subject which feels them and the object of which they are qualities.

Limiting Ego feelings to those which thus refer to a self, as with it that it is precisely this reference to self that determines the value of an experience in our mental life. Pleasures and pains depend largely on being connected with self as their subject. Any worthy achievement, any feat performed, is estimated not by the passive sensations accompanying it, or by the physical endurance, but by the exaltation of self-feeling which is aroused. The man who does a daring deed, or performs a notable task, has a sense of power and energy, and delights in the deed as his own. Men delight in deeds and rejoice in things accomplished, not so much for their inherent worth, as for the fact that the deeds are their own. Our experiences are of value, and we account them of abiding worth, not because they gratify our sensibility, but because we have put so much of ourselves, of our personality, into them. Thus we can never form pleasures into a sum and measure their value quantitatively as Hedonism tries to do. All values in experience are constituted by their reference to self in self-consciousness.

Self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control, the activity of self in constituting its objects, are thus determining elements in pleasure and pain. The passive pleasures are almost without value; one cheerful conversation, one robust walk, may bring pain with it. A slave may have little of the anxiety, the care, the hardship of the free man, but then a slave never can have the exaltation of self-feeling and self-respect which comes from knowledge and freedom and manhood. It is, then, the reference to self that gives to rational pleasure its distinctive note. But it is next to be observed that even the reference to self has its social value. It always refers, even in its most egoistic mood, to a social standard. In fact, the social reference enhances the significance of pain and pleasure in an immeasurable degree. Man sees himself with the eyes of others. As Nature teaches the spectators to assess the circumstances of the person principally concerned, so she teaches this last in some measure to assume those of spectators (Adam Smith, Moral Sentiments, p. 29). Thorstein Veblen, from a spectator's point of view, and estimates itself accordingly. Thus it may have an added misery: social slights, feeling of poverty, looked at from a spectator's point of view, will make the self on itself, enhance the feeling of misery till it becomes ecstasy. Pride, vanity, ambition, and other Ego feelings of the same kind, with reference to self for their justification, and yet without the social reference the reference to self would lose its value.

Without this reference to self, values would cease to have a meaning, and pleasure would be merely of the passive sort. As, however, pleasure and pain, the meaning of life and the worth of life, can exist for each person only in his own consciousness, so without the social reference there is in his own life a man can never enter into sympathy with others, so a full, broad, intense Ego life is the condition of a full, deep, and wide social life. The chief problem of our life is thus not, as Comte said, 'to subordinate egoism to altruism,' but to develop Egoism to its proper proportions, in the belief that the higher and fuller a personality is, the more he has to contribute to the happiness of mankind. Selfishness does not consist in a man valuing himself according to his intrinsic and social, but in interpreting or denying the rights, claims, and worth of others: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

Egoistic feelings would lose their value without the social reference. So also the social feelings would lose their value were there not the reference to the self to give them value. There is no necessity for any reference to the self in the social feelings of a man who has figured so picturequely in philosophical treatises from Hobbes downwards. Nor is he quite dead yet. This abstract man is a being endowed only with egoistic impulses. Self-preservation is for him the only natural life; his natural life is a state of war. How is such a being to be constrained to live in society? He may be made social in various ways: by a force from above or from without urging him, by means he does not know, to become social even when his reason compels him to think that selfishness is his highest interest. But usually the way to make a selfish being social is to endow him with a desire for approbation, to make him seek society to win approval, or to make him see that others are needful to him if he is to carry out his purposes; and a wise selfishness takes the form of benevolence. The attempt is very subtle and very penetrating, but it is a failure. Men never became social in that way. They are social from the beginning. All that can be said is that man is naturally selfish and naturally social, and the secret of the success of the selfish motives and the social feelings is to be found in society alone.

Look at the individual from any point of view we please, everywhere we meet the social reference. Begotten by social union, born within society, he grows up within society, and is equipped by society for the battle of life. The achievements of society form his inheritance. Social customs are learned by him before he is aware of the process; social beliefs become his beliefs, thought becomes possible because it is embodied in the action, in the language, in the converse of the people with whom the individual lives. In this social sphere the individual lives, here he learns, makes himself heir to the treasures of learning, science, and knowledge, without which individual life would be only rudimentary. A human being in isolation would not be a human being at all. Jeremy Bentham in his book Principles of Morals and Legislation says, 'A community is a fictitious body, composed of individual persons who are considered as constituting, as it were, its members. It is a view and a product of the imagination. Nor does the phrase of thought appear in Jeremy Bentham alone. It is characteristic of the century in which it appeared. No body of any kind is constituted by the members alone. Any unity
has to be looked at from two points of view, and is never the sum of its parts. Regard must be had to the wholesomeness of the whole as well as to the parts. But society or a people is not a fictitious body, of which individuals are the fictitious parts or members; a people is a unity, an organic whole, and the parts thereof are so in relation to the whole.

'Just as the organs are produced by the whole and exist in it alone, so the individuals are produced by the people, and live and die with the people; if they should separate, they would separate with the people, and they would be interested in its welfare, in its being, and not in the being of each separate individual.'

The neglect of H. Paulsen, good or bad, is a psychological fact, and the individual is interested in it, and errs in so far as he does not regard the whole.

The indifference of the individual to the whole manifests itself subjectively in his will. The affect by an egoistic reaction.

And the individual's reaction to psychological reaction. Everywhere the circles of the ego and the non-ego intersect. The fact is universally accepted; only in moral philosophy we still find persons who do not see it, but insist on regarding the antithesis between altruism and egoism as an absolute one. I should like to show how little the facts agree with this view; in our actual life and practice there is no such isolation of individuals; the motives and effects of action are constantly intersecting the boundaries of egoism and altruism.'

It has been urged that a desire for more pleasant feeling. It is a desire for self-satisfaction, for a better, truer, more real self; for a self which shall approach nearer to that ideal of man which is owned upon his intelligence. A wider thought and a truer thought, a deeper and a purer feeling; a power of activity which shall bring his ideal to reality—these express some aspect of the good a man desires. But it is not through the social bond and by means of social effort that the making of such a self is possible. It is not too much to say that it is only through social effort and through social life that man becomes a living soul.

It is in virtue of the social solidarity of mankind that the individual man enters into the inheritance of all the past. It is through this social bond and effort that he has subdued the earth and made it his home. It has become the result of his work, and he has come to the conclusion that he is the crown and sum of things, that the cosmos has toiled and worked upwards towards him, and in him has come one consciousness of itself and its meaning. In association with others he can physically work, he can acquire and use intellectual powers, he can form and execute and enjoy the things he has acquired. It is out of him which has not originated in the thought of a solitary mind, and then become the common possession of many minds. Yet the thought would have never come to the solitary thinker unless he had previously been prepared to think through his social environment, and by the great tradition of the ages. It is on this fact that we lay stress as the reconciliation of Egoism and Altruism, for it is the refutation of the idea which persists in so many quarters that man is inherently selfish, and has regard only to his self-interest, that he is naturally egoistic, and altruistic only in a secondary and fictitious fashion. Even Reason has been so spoken of, and the Analytic Reason has been described as a selfish, analytic, destructive faculty, a weapon cunningly devised to enable its possessor to survive in the struggle for existence.

**LITERATURE.—Butler, Sermons; Adam Smith, Moral Sentiments; Darwin, Descent of Man, 1871; H. Spencer, Data of Ethics, 1879; Stephen, Science of Ethics, 1882; Ladd, Philosophy of Conduct, 1905; Mackenzie, Introduction to Social Philosophy, 1909; Brough, Introduction to Psychological Theory, 1896; Paulsen, System of Ethics, 1899. See also the works of J. S. Mill, Sidgwick, and Bain, and especially Alcib, History of English Ethics, 1802, and Villa, Contemporary Psychology, 1903.**

**JAMES IVERACH.**

**AMANA SOCIETY.**—The Amana Society, or Community of True Inspiration, is an organized community of about 1800 German people who live in seven villages on the banks of the Iowa River in Iowa County, Iowa. This is a community of about 30,000 acres, which, together with personal property, is held in common. Indeed, the Amana Society is thoroughly communistic both in spirit and in organization. And yet it is in no sense a mere transcendentalistic or communistic society. It is fundamentally the Community of True Inspiration is a Church, organized for religious purposes, to work out the salvation of souls through the love of God, which will be found in the love of one another (see Socio. Art. 1.). The communism of Amana, therefore, is neither a political tenet, nor an economic theory, nor yet a social panacea, but simply a means of
serving God 'in the inward and outward bond of union according to His laws and His requirements' (ib. Art. I.).

1. History.—As a Church, or distinct religious sect, the Community of True Inspiration traces its origins to the writings of Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock, who are regarded as the founders or 'Fathers' of the 'New Spiritual Economy' of True Inspiration. Both were members of the Lutheran Church who had become interested in the teachings of the early Mystics and Pietists. Having studied the philosophy of Spener, they endeavoured to improve upon and formulate especially the doctrines of that little band of Pietists whose followers during the last quarter of the 17th cent. were called 'Inspirationists,' and who are said to have 'prophesied like the prophets of old' (cf. Perkins and Wick, History of the Amana Soc.).

The fundamental doctrinal foundation of the followers of the 'New Spiritual Economy' was present-day inspiration. To be sure, Gruber and Rock believed profoundly in the inspiration of the Bible; but they argued: 'Does not the same God live to-day? And is it not reasonable to believe that He will inspire His followers now as then? These are not the arguments of one who rejects the Holy Scripture, but of one who employs His methods of communication; and as He revealed hidden things before the world existed, and visions, dreams, and revelations in olden times, He will lead His people to-day by the words of His Inspiration if they but listen to His voice' (Gruber, Characteristics of the Divine Origin of True Inspiration).

Divine inspiration did not come, however, to all members of the Community, but only through those who were especially endowed by the Lord with the 'miraculous gift of inspirations.' These especially endowed individuals, called Werkzeuge ('Instruments'), were simply passive agencies through whom the Lord testified and spoke to His children as recorded in the Divine Word of Revelation.

The nature of the 'new word and testimony,' as revealed through the Werkzeuge, and its relation to the earlier revelations of the Hebraic prophets are clearly set forth by Gruber in these words: 'Its truths are in common with the written word of the prophets and the apostles; it requires no preference; on the contrary, it gives the preference to the word of the witnesses first chosen [prophets and apostles] just after the likeness of two sons or brothers, in which case the oldest son as the first-born has the preference before the younger son who was born after him, though they are both equally children begotten of one and the same father.' Again he says: 'Both the old and the new revelation, of which we here speak, are of divine authority and came to raise the arms of the Spirit of God and of Jesus Christ, just as the sons mentioned above are equal and of the same family, yet the same from in whom there exists through the natural birth a slight difference between them' (Gruber, Characteristics of the Divine Origin of True Inspiration).

Not all, however, who aspired to prophecy and felt called upon to testify were to be accorded the privilege. For there were false as well as true inspiration. Gruber, who wrote much concerning true and false inspiration, records in his History his own sensations in detecting the presence of a false spirit.

'This strange thing happened. If pereache a false spirit was among them [the congregations] and wished to aussel me in disguise, or if an inname member wished to distinguish himself at our meeting in prayer or in some other matter, then I was beset by an extraordinary shaking of the head and shivering of the body, and it was at least a hundred times that such was not without significance, but indeed a true warning, whatever he who is unskilled and inexperienced in these matters may think of it according to the anti-ecclesiastic precepts and literal conclusions of reasons' ('Articles and Narratives of the Work of the Lord' given in Inspirations-History, vol. ii. p. 53).

That the appearance of false spirits was not uncommonly hindered, instances, given in the Year Books, or Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, where aspiring Werkzeuge are condemned, and by the fact that Gruber's son was 'especially employed [by the Lord] to detect false spirits among his brethren, made them most suspicious, and to admonish them with earnestness to true repentance and change of heart' (III ii. 41).

1 'We will be used in this art. for Inspirations-History.

Gruber and Rock, who had the spirit and gift of revelation and inspiration . . . went about preaching and testifying as they were directed by the Lord.' They travelled extensively through Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and other European countries, and had many enthusiastic followers. Those desiring to share in the 'New Spiritual Economy' and enjoy the blessings of 'True Inspiration' were asked such questions as—

(1) 'Whether he (or she) intended to become a true member of the Community of Jesus Christ toward the members, and also in respect to the public Prayer Meetings and the assignment of the same; or whether he (or she) intended to undergo all inward and external, and to risk cheerfully through the energy of God everything, even body and soul, for which he (or she) had obtained Divine conviction with regard to the work and word of inspiration, and whether he for his purification and sanctification and for the benefit of his brothers and sisters . . .' (III i. 59).

Although the number of congregations established during the time of Rock and Gruber was not large, considerable religious fervour was aroused by their teachings. Moreover, their attacks upon the 'utter hollowness and formalism' of the established Church, and their bold denunciation of the 'godless and god-hating agencies' of the day, aroused the authorities of the orthodox Church to active opposition. They also encountered the opposition of the political authorities, because they refused to perform military service or to take the required oath of allegiance. They refused to 'serve the State as soldiers, because a Christian cannot murder his enemy, much less his friend.' On the other hand, they refused to take the legal oath as a refuge of their literal interpretation of the commands given in Mt. 5:37: 'But I say unto you, Swear not at all!'; and 'Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.'

Concerning the arrest of himself and his companions, because they would not upon one occasion take the prescribed oath, the younger Gruber, writing in 1717, says: 'Before the city gate the executioner united us in the presence of the sheriff. The latter held in his hand a parchment with the oath written upon it and bade us to raise three fingers and repeat it. We replied that we should not swear. He urged us forcibly with many threats. The brother (I. S.) answered that though we at that time would not swear, we should give a promise with hand-shake and our word should be as good as an oath, yet he would leave the matter in our hands. I affirmed then likewise that I should not swear, since our Saviour had forbidden it' (III ii. 12).

Furthermore, both the Church and the Government were irritated by the refusal of the Inspirationists to send their children to the schools which were conducted by the Lutheran clergy. Opposition soon grew into persecution and prosecution. And so the believers in 'True Inspiration' were fined, pilloried, flogged, imprisoned, and stripped of their possessions. In Zürich, Switzerland, their literature was by order of the city council burned in public by the executioner (III i. 65). Naturally, as their persecution became more severe, the congregations of Inspirationists sought refuge in Hesse—one of the most liberal and tolerant of the German states of the 18th century.

'The Togetherness for the year 1728 records that on Dec. 11, 'after a blessed period of two times seven years spent in the service of this Brotherhood and Community into which the Lord through His holy Inspiration had led him, the time had come for the Lord to recall His faithful worker and servant E. L. Gruber from this life and to transplant him into a blissful eternity.' Twenty-one years later, on March 2, occurring the 17th of J. F. Rock, the year 1749 was recorded in this characteristic fashion: 'The time of his pilgrimage on earth was 10 times 7, or 70 years, 3 months and 3 days. In the year 1707, when he was 4 times 7 years old, he emigrated with Brother E. L. Gruber from
his native country. In the year 1714, when he counted 5 times 7 years, there came to him the gift of the Spirit and of Prophecy, and he made until 1742, in 4 times 7 years, over 100 lesser and great journeys in this service. In the year 1729, when he counted 7 times 10 years, or he lost his faithful brother, E. L. Gruber. And in 1742, when he counted 9 times 7, or 63 years, he ceased to travel into distant countries and spent the remainder of his life in his home (Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, 1749).

With the death of Rock in 1749 the congregations of the ‘New Spiritual Economy’ began to decline. Left without a Werkzeug, the members relied chiefly upon the writings and testimonies of Rock and Gruber for guidance and spiritual consolation.

“At the beginning of the 19th cent. but few of the once large congregations remained; even these few had fallen back into the ways of the common world, more or less, preferring the easy-going way to the trials and tribulations suffered by their fathers’ (See, Brief Hist. of the Amana Soc. or Community of True Inspiration, Amana, Iowa, 1870, p. 6).

The decline continued until 1817, when it is recorded that ‘a new and great period dawned for the Community’ (III i. 429), and that ‘Michael Kraussert was the first Werkzeug which the Lord employed for the now commencing revival.’

‘Answerer met Answerer.’ The year 1817 ‘a reawakening’ of 1817 began with the testimonies of Kraussert, whose first inspired utterance was given to the congregation at Ronneburg on September 11, 1817, as a summons in these words: ‘Oh Ronneburg, Ronneburg, where are thy former zeal and triumph, thy old defenders of faith? They no longer are at this present day, and destines dwell in the citadel. Well, then! Do ye not desire to become strong? Then, as the Lord bids you’ (Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, 1817).

Michael Kraussert was a journeyman tailor of Strassburg, who had been converted to the faith of the Inspirationists through the writings and testimonies of Rock. With great zeal and much religious fervour he seems to have played an important part in the ‘Reawakening.’ And yet it is recorded that he lacked courage in the face of persecution; that at the arrest and subsequent examination at Bergzabern he showed fear of men and resulting weakness; that in the presence of hostile elders he ‘became timid and undecided, and ran, so to speak, before he was chased’; and that he was not without guilt in the matter of suffering that he lost his inner firmness in the mercy of the Lord, went gradually astray from the Divine guidance, and soon fell back into the world’ (III iii. 34, 429).

After the ‘fall’ of Kraussert (whose connexion with the Inspirationists was therewith severed), the spiritual affairs of the Community were directed by the Werkzeug Christian Metz and Barbara Heinemann, who came to be regarded as the founders and leaders of what is sometimes called in the records the ‘New Community.’

When Michael Kraussert, Christian Metz, and Barbara Heinemann died at the time of the ‘Reawakening,’ a century had elapsed since Gruber and Rock preached the doctrines of the ‘New Spiritual Economy.’ But the persecution of independents in religious thought had not come to an end. The ‘Reawakening’ was arrested, and their followers ‘were attacked and insulted on the streets and elsewhere’ (III ii. i. 70).

As a century before, so now the growing congregations of Inspirationists sought refuge in Hesse, where on October 31, 1831, it is recorded, ‘the Lord sent a message to the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, as a promise of grace and blessing because he had given protection to the Community in his country’ (IIH ii. 99). It was at this time that the far-sighted Christian Metz conceived the idea of leasing some large estate in common which should serve as a refuge for the faithful, where each could be given ‘an opportunity to earn his living according to his calling or inclination.’

And so, in the year 1826, ‘it came about through the mediation of the Landrath of Büdingen that a part of the castle at Marienborn was given in rent by the noble family of Meierholz, which was very convenient for the Community, since it lay near Ronneburg, the home of the principal elders (III i. 68).

In all, four estates were rented, and to the administration of these four estates, located within a radius of a few miles and placed under one common management, are traced the beginnings of the communal life of the Inspirationists. Communism, however, formed but a part of their religious doctrines. It was simply a natural development out of the conditions under which they were forced to live in their efforts to maintain the integrity of their religion. Under a common roof they hoped to live in a manner fully the true Christian life. And so rich and poor, educated and uneducated, professional man, merchant, manufacturer, artisan, farmer, and hand-craftsman, one in a religious brotherhood to worship and plan the labours of the day.

But independence and prosperity were not yet fully won. The day of complete religious and economic freedom for which they hoped had not come. Cherished liberties relative to military service, legal oaths, and separate schools were still denied. Rents became exorbitant, while excessive heat and drought destroyed the harvests.

It was in the midst of their distress that the Lord revealed through His instrument, Christian Metz, that He would lead them out of this land of adversity to one where they and their children could live in peace and liberty’ (Note, Brief History, p. 15). Indeed, this ‘hidden prophecy,’ uttered by Christian Metz on May 20, 1826, was now recalled: ‘I proceed in mysterious ways, saith thy God, and my foot is seldom seen openly. I found my dwindle in the oppressor, and my path leadeth through great waters. I prepare for me a place in the wilderness, and establish for me a dwelling where there was none’ (Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, 1826). This was interpreted as pointing the way to ‘the New World’ (IIH ii. 99). There was much discussion concerning emigration to the wildernesses of the New World. Finally, there came through the Werkzeug, Christian Metz, these words from the Lord: ‘Your goal and your way shall lead towards the west, to the land which still is open to you and your faith. I am with you, and shall lead you over the sea. Hold Me and call upon Me through your prayers when storms or temptations arise. . . . Four may then prepare themselves’ (TSL, July 26, 1842). Thereupon Christian Metz and three others were named through inspiration to visit America; and they were given ‘a license to act for all the seceded, and to purchase land where they deemed best’ (Note, Brief History, p. 15).

After a voyage of many hardships and privations, the committee of Inspirationists reached New York on October 26, 1842. After three months of careful deliberation they purchased a tract of five thousand acres of the Seneca Indian Reservation lands in Erie County, New York. Within four months of the purchase the first village of the Community was laid out and peopled. They called it Ebenezer.

Other villages were soon founded, and under the name of ‘Ebenezer Society’ the Community was

* Heslerer referred to as TSL.
formally organized with a written constitution. It is recorded that during the planting and building of the new home' the Lord gave precepts, directions, and explanations concerning the external and internal affairs of that time 'through His servant, and told testimony' (III ii. 367).

With the transplanting of the Community of True Inspiration to America there came a serious consideration of communism as a plan for organizing and conducting the economic life of the Society. The Lord inspired a Christian, or church, was, of course, the fundamental aim of the Community. But they had found the practice of communism conducive to that end. Besides, 'the Lord is gradually and more clearly that it was His intention and pleasure, nay His most holy will, that everything should be and remain in common' (III iii. 367).

It was in the midst of the discussion over communism that the elder Ebenzer on October 23, 1850, in which the Lord expressed His grief and displeasure over the discontent of many members with regard to common possession (TSL, 1850). And on March 19, 1852, the Lord testified most emphatically and earnestly to put to flight those who would not confide in the Lord and the Brethren. He announced that it was not His holy will that any should be, that the possessions should be abolished; and He pronounced His curse upon all who would attempt it, but gave a most gracious promise to those who would abide by Him in this. This word, which was given through Christian Metz, reads in part as follows: 'As true servants of the Lord, it is in my will to dissolve the ties of the Community in such manner, or to suffer its dissolution, neither through artful devices or still and diplomacy, nor cunning or power of men. Nay, the faith which hath love and the bond of peace for its essence and foundation shall continue to exist. And there shall come eternal disgrace, shame, and disfavour upon those who cause it; their children shall suffer want and be without blessing in time and eternity. Their wealth shall melt in the fire; the divine treasure they have disavowed; therefore the Lord is against them, and shall be revenged among the Brethren, did repent concerning it', and signed the amendment to the Constitution providing for the adoption of absolute communism. This amendment was, however, was incorporated in the new constitution adopted in the State of Iowa, and communism has ever since been one of the fundamental principles of the Community.

Thus it is evident that the object of the Community of True Inspiration is the worship of God in freedom according to their peculiar faith. Communism was adopted as one of the means to that end, but not in accordance with any understanding on the part of the Inspirationists of the social theories of Jesus. It has solved the problem of furnishing remunerative labour to the members, and has given them leisure 'to think upon the things that are of the Lord.'

Although more than eight hundred members had come from Germany to Ebenezer, many had returned. Seventy-one in Ohio were now largely of the peasant class. But they were men and women of character who were possessed of the enthusiasm born of moral earnestness. In their new home they enjoyed spiritual freedom, and were rewarded with a large measure of material prosperity.

As time went on, however, certain undesirable features of the location of their villages became more and more evident. In the first place, they suffered no little molestation from the Seneca Indians, who were tardy in leaving the Reservation. Then the rapid growth of the city of Buffalo (c. 1850) also caused such an advance in the price of real estate that the purchase of additional land to accommodate the growing Community was out of the question. And, finally, it became evident that the young people of the Community were not meeting the world's demands, for Buffalo to persevere in the injunction of Gruber, who said: 'Have no intercourse with worldly minded men, that ye be not tempted and be led astray'.

And so a committee was directed to go to the new State of Iowa, and there inspect the Government lands which were for sale. Out of one of the garden spots of Iowa they selected and purchased eighteen thousand acres of contiguous land.

A better selection for the new home could scarcely have been made. Through it meandered the beautiful Iowa River, bordered with the black soil of its fertile valley. On one side of the river the blue willow woods were covered with undergrowth and building. Quarries there were of sandstone and limestone, while the cliffs were not less suitable for the making of brick. On the other side of the river stretched the rolling prairie land. To this splendid new domain, all ready for the plough and spade, the Inspirationists brought enthusiasm, industry, moral earnestness, and religious zeal.

The first village on the Iowa purchase was laid out during the summer of 1855. The name, which is now come, writes Gottlieb Scheuner in his III, 'that the new settlement in Iowa was to receive a name. When the Community emigrated from Germany and settled near Buffalo in the State of New York, the Lord called that place Ebenezer, that is, 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.' Now He again led them out from there to a new place, which, as the work proceeded, was to be called 'Bleibtreu.' This had been laid into the heart of the Werkzeug, Christian Metz, who later poured it forth in a song beginning thus:

'Bleibtreu soll der Name sein
Dort in Iowa der Genezis.'

Since, however, it was difficult to express this word or name in English, it was proposed instead to use the Biblical name 'Amana,' which signifies glaub treu ('believe faithfully') (cf. Song of Sol. 4). To it, if this was not to be, they resolved upon another name. On September 23, 1855. Henceforth the new home of the Community was known as Amana (TSL, 1855).

The removal from the old home to the new, from Ebenezer to Amana, covered a period of ten years. In addition to the first village, which had been given the name Amana, five additional villages were laid out by the year 1860—West Amana, South Amana, High Amana, East Amana, and Middle Amana. It was at this time that the Society, in order to secure railroad facilities, purchased the land. Twelve hundred members had come from Ebenezer; and by the time the sale of the lands had been completed the Community's territory in Iowa consisted of twenty-six thousand acres.

In the year 1859 the Community was incorporated in accordance with the Laws of the State of Iowa under the name of 'The Amana Society. The Constitution, which was also revised, came into force on the first day of January, 1860. This instrument is not a Declaration of Mental Independence,' nor a scheme for a 'One World-wide Socialist Fraternal Brotherhood,' but a very simple, business-like document of ten articles.

On July 27, 1867, six years after the establishment of the last of the seven Iowa villages, and two years after the completion of the new home, sale and the removal of the last detail of the Community to the new home in the West, Christian Metz, the so hoch begabte und beynadelte brother, 'through whom the weightiest and greatest things were wrought and accomplished,' was, after fifty years of effort and labour, recalled from the field of his endeavour' at the age of 72 years, 6 months, and 24 days (III iii. 878).

Half a century—the most eventful years of the Community's inspiring history—brings the interval between the 'bestowal of God's mercy' on Michael Kraussert at the time of the 'Reawakening' and the present time. 'Blessed dearest' distance' caused such an advanced, for the making of brick.

'Workzeug.' Great undertakings and changes occurred, and material progress unparalleled in communist history. After the death of Christian Metz 'the work of grace' was carried on by Barbara Heinemann, now Landmann (who lost her gift at the time of her marriage in 1823, but regained it in 1849) and retained it to the time of her death in 1888 at the age of ninety), and by the elders in whom the 'Lord manifested Himself so strongly and powerfully during the last illness of Brother Christian Metz.' Since the death of Barbara Landmann no Werkzeug has been called in the Community, but, as in the
period following the death of Bock, 'well founded Brethren endowed with divine mercy, who are still living witnesses of the great blessing of Inspiration, carry on the work of the Lord in the Community.

How long the coming generations will 'fill the whole earth with knowledge and understanding without Workzeuge and director spiritual guidance, and with the breaking of the link in the 'passing into eternity of these faithful witnesses and Elders,' which binds them to the past with its inspiring history,' is ordained only in the hidden counsels of God.

2. Religion.—Although communism may appear to the casual observer to be the most characteristic feature of the Amana Society, a careful study of the history and spirit of the Inspirationists reveals the fact that the real Amana is Amana the Church — Amana the Community of True Inspiration. Religion has always been the dominating factor in the life of the Community.

The basal doctrine of the Amana Church is present-day inspiration and revelation. That is, to use the words of the Workzeuge Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, 'God is ever present in the world, and He will lead His people to-day as in olden times by the word of His voice.' Indeed, it is the belief of these people, that ever since the beginning of the 'New Spiritual Economy,' the spiritual and temporal affairs of man have been under Divine direction according to the decisive word of the Lord as revealed through His specially endowed instruments the Workzeuge. And so it appears throughout their history that all important undertakings and changes, may in the whole external and internal leadership of the Community, the Workzeuge had to bear the bulk of the burden and care, since the Lord ordained and directed everything through him directly. Thus Divine inspiration and revelation came through the Workzeuge (II Iii. 878).

Perhaps the best exposition of the nature of Inspiration, as understood by the Inspirationists, is found in Eberhard Ludwig Gruber's Divine Nature of Inspiration, where, in reply to the charge that he was an 'instrument of the Devil,' he sets forth his own 'convictions' as follows:

1. Because I have not light-headedly and without test and experience, and of the approval of these things, all scruples and objections to this matter were, without effect on my understanding and my conscience, removed, and I not on remained which irritated me or which I could not comprehend.

2. Because such prayer, which was absolutely without prejudice in me a matter, by that I received, as tears which had become almost unknown to me.

3. Because the Spirit of Inspiration penetrated into and laid bare those things which occurred in the most hidden corners of my heart, so that no creature could know them, and because it (that spirit of inspiration) also approved and commended those ways of mercy and sanctification in which the Lord had hitherto led me in affairs external and internal.

4. Because the promises pronounced in regard to myself have not prevailed or made me vain.

5. Because at the same time the extinguished love was again renewed in the hearts of many.

6. Because the blessing of prayer recommended by the Spirit, and to that time vainly striven for, were at once established to our joy and bliss, and without opposition of the then well-disposed and confirmed my heart.

7. Because I was led into the severest struggle for purification, indeed expecting at once the fulfillment of the great promise given me.

8. Because this struggle searched my inmost self and has deepened the spiritual life to such a degree that I have been deeply deeply moved and in the most comprehensive denial and negation of myself.

9. Because the Workzeuge removed all external hindrances were removed, and I indeed was made willing and confident to throw them behind me, and to take upon me all the disgrace and suffering, and the atoning merit of the Workzeuge together with and with proofs not mentioned here, but known to God and all the Church.

10. Because the inner word was laid open and led forth from the depths of my heart, whither no divine creature, much less a satanic spirit, could reach, deeper and more abundantly than I ever possessed it before.

Because those inner emotions known to me from my youth, but now become so numerous, more number, and more powerful, held me back from some evil deed, or encouraged and urged me to some good deed, and in general, so many actions, inwardly and outwardly.

Because they (inner emotions) often must with certainty reveal to me the presence of hidden false spirits rising against me or others.

Because in all this I do not find my conclusions on the inspiration alone, but the case with other considerations of the undeniable work of God in my soul, which has gone on there for long years out of their mercy, and which under this new economy and revelation, the workzeuge have become ever more the instrument of alleviating anxiety of mind through the powerful Testimony of the Spirit in the inspired persons.

Because the Word of the Lord was sealed to him (the son) by the very first emotions (of the inspired one).

Because the Spirit of Inspiration promptly appeared, as when it had been foretold that a certain married woman (die Macht, Woman) would testify on the day mentioned in Beringhiem.

Because man came to testify (make utterances) with great fear and trembling, may even through the severest struggle, and surely not through his wish and vain desire.

Because he was marked and compelled to his first testimony, as a forewarning of the future, to announce with great certainty an impure spirit, to the sincere humiliation of the latter.

Because he (the son) was led in these ways of Inspiration, contrary to inclination and from deep inward conviction, with increasing introduction and exclusion, and was also endowed with many extraordinary gifts of the Spirit.

Because he, made far beyond his natural abilities, such pure and clear, and penetrating statements (utterances) that many well learned in divine and natural things were led to be not realized.

According to the belief of the Community of True Inspiration, the word and will of the Lord are communicated to the faithful through the specially endowed Workzeuge, whose inspired utterances are in fact the Boswell and chaplain of the Testi monies of the Lord. These are either written or oral. The gift of oral prophecy or testimony (Ausdrucke), being regarded as the highest form of inspiration, is not enjoyed by all the Work zeuge. Indeed, the miraculous gift of Ausprache was sometimes preceded by the humber gift of Einsprache, when the Workzeuge, unable to give voice to his inspiration, committed his testimonies to writing. Thus the 'specially endowed' Work zeuge, Christian Metz, seems to have entered upon the service of the Lord with simply the gift of Einsprache, which was later followed by the gift of Ausprechte, and still later by the combined gifts of Einsprache and Ausprache. Sometimes the Workzeuge were deprived of the gracious gifts of Einsprache and Ausprache, which were restored only after a period of deepest humiliation.

The inspired testimonies of the Workzeuge, as recorded in the Year Books, or Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, vary in length from a few sentences to many pages. Some were uttered in rhyme; and there are instances where a testimony is given through two Workzeuge speaking alternately. Under the date of Jan. 12, 1819, such a testimony was given by Michael Krausert and Barbara Heinemann (Tsz, 1819). From the records it appears that testimonies were addressed sometimes to the whole congregation of the Community, and sometimes to individual members.

As to content, the Testimonies touch a great variety of subjects, from the routine affairs of daily existence to impressive admonitions to live the holy life. Many contain promises of the love and mercy of the Lord. Others take the form of appeals to the God of Jesus for more spiritual light and protection. Some warn against Lichtsinn, pride, self-righteousness, and self-will; and especially are the self-satisfied and self-important warned against the wrath of God. There are vigorous denuncia tions of the wicked, and there are threats of 'the hellish torture' and the 'abys of eternity.' But many more there are that teach and preach humility, obedience to the will of God, and self-denial. Throughout, the testimonies suggest a wide familiarity with the language of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament.

The testimony of Frederick Krausert, a long time member and adoration to Krausert, is typical of the utterances of the Workzeuge. It runs thus:

'Thus spakest the eternal God: I will give a word of testi mony to my servant Krausert, who knoweth not now how to
begin, so bewildered he is. But listen, then. What hath prompted these tears? What have these people, these people whose lives are examined as to shine out their own mortifications? Thou hast run before thou wast sent away, saith the Master. This is not thy speech, but is my speech. This is that thou hast failed thus, and dost not want to be found again! 

Oh come back again and resign thyself in to the faithful the hireling body, Hath not the numbered body filled the external body; thereupon results an inflation of the nose and a trembling of the whole body. 

Indeed, and the true numbered body, the hand of God. But, thou hast not sufficiently submitted thyself in to my will; thou hast become too self-willed, and thou dost not want to heed the others, whom, too, I have summoned, and through whom I instruct thee. Also, do not wish to be known and have recorded all that I have to record against thee, saith the mighty God. But, nevertheless, thou shalt never succeed in this manner if thou returnest not soon and quickly again in and to the training of thy love, and dost not more carefully tend my flock that is at present, saith the Lord, he who hath received with vasted eyes and heart, saith the mighty God. Also, return then again and lead them on as a faithful servant and shepherd; with the staff of the true love of God, he who is without his heart; he who hast left thee again and give back the inward peace, love, and simplicity. Submit, then, to this new punishment, for it doth not seem that it may become known thus that no mortal may boast of his perfection (FSI, I, 29).

'Ve have been accompanied by the wild beasts have broken in such number. Whith thou then, too, turn a hirpling and scatter the flock of thine own. The hirelings who have led before thee, saith the mighty God. Also, return then again and lead them on as a faithful servant and shepherd; with the staff of the true love of God, he who is without his heart; he who hast left thee again and give back the inward peace, love, and simplicity. Submit, then, to this new punishment, for it doth not seem that it may become known thus that no mortal may boast of his perfection (FSI, I, 29).

The giving or uttering of oral testimonies by the Werkzeug seems to have been accompanied by a more or less violent shaking of the body (Bebewegung), which is described by one of the scribes in these words:

'With regard to the Bewegungen, the Werkzeugen were not alike; although they were all moved by one spirit, there was considerable variation in regard to their modulations or convictions. When they had to announce punishments and judgments of God, they all did it with great force, majestic gestures, and with a voice of thunder, especially if this occurred on the public streets or in churches. But, when they read the Christian Message, and the glory of the children of God, then their motions were gentle and the gestures pleasing; but all, and in all attitudes assumed by them, spoke only of their duties, and their previous labors in the Bewegung, a feeling of its approach. Again they were seized by nervous agitations, but only for a moment. At times they were aroused from their slumber, and had to testify frequently on the public highways, in fields and forests. In short, they were instruments in the hands of the Lord, and had no control over themselves.'

The belief in the genuineness and Divine nature of the Türkische Stuttgarter is to the present day subject of an interesting interview which took place between the young Gruber and his Schüler and two Jewish Rabbis in a synagogue at Prague. The account, which is recorded under the date of Jan. 30, 1716, is a communication not only to us about the Türkische Bewegung by the Werkzeug of the Inspirationists and the old Hebrew prophets. It reads in part:

'I have understood both of your communications and questioned us. This is the reason why I have recorded the happenings. They asked, in the first place, where we had our home. Answer: Near the house, which is the only thing. We call ourselves Christians. They said they believed that, and that they knew full well that not all are Christians who call themselves Christians, just as, among themselves, not all were inspired of the Turkische Bewegung. They would not dispute the sake of the outer distinction. Thenceupon I replied that one of us had been so beguiled. I have been among the Lutherans. They asked: Which of you is, then, the Prophet of the Lord? I pointed to Gruber. Now they questioned further: What are the testimonies which you receive? Do they come through an external voice into the ears, or are they within? Relation of the true numbered body, and take the lives from within, and to be explicit, in the following manner: The Werkzeug, or the Prophet, feels at first in his interiormost being a gentle and pleasant glow, and contrariwise, he experiences a constriction within the body, to fill the external body; thereupon results an inflation of the nose and a trembling of the whole body. 

The Türkische Bewegung, or the Prophet, feels at first in his interiormost being a gentle and pleasant glow, and contrariwise, he experiences a constriction within the body, to fill the external body; thereupon results an inflation of the nose and a trembling of the whole body. 

In another of his communications, the Prophet is enabled, through the Bewegung, to pronounce the word of the Lord without fear or awe, such as it was born in his heart, at times syllable by syllable, at times word by word, now slowly, now rapidly, so that the Werkzeug has no choice of his own, but is used solely as a passive instrument in the hand of the Lord.

'Now you will be able to inform us,—we said to them,—since you are better acquainted with the Turkish language than we, whether the old Prophets among the people of Israel also announced the word of the Lord through such strange gestures of the body and through Bewegungen? They replied, in kind- ness and humility: The word of the Lord had not been made known to them, or communicated to them in this erring state; return, then, and care more diligently for the souls whom I have called, 

'Indeed I shall help and always have helped thee! Why, then, dost thou lose courage now and desert ere thou wast sent away from me? and why run away and not into the gap of necessity? 

' Hear, then, what the God of Eternal Love furthermore reveals to thee, the hirelings, who have been called from time to time have not thus believed that they knew no fear! And though the whole world should rise in opposition to thee, and the Devil himself should use every means to dishearten thee, it should be so weak that they could hardly stand on their feet, I will be with thee, saith the Lord thy God, and will help thee, if they tremble and shake in me all things. Thus thou mayest see that I take no pleasure at all in thy present course of action. 

'Alas, my soul is troubled that the wild beasts have broken in so many. Why should not, then, turn a hirpling and scatter the flock of thine own. The hirelings who have led before thee, saith the mighty God. Also, return then again and lead them on as a faithful servant and shepherd; with the staff of the true love of God, he who is without his heart; he who hast left thee again and give back the inward peace, love, and simplicity. Submit, then, to this new punishment, for it doth not seem that it may become known thus that no mortal may boast of his perfection (FSI, I, 29).

Theoric and uttering of oral testimonies by the Werkzeug seems to have been accompanied by a more or less violent shaking of the body (Bebewegung), which is described by one of the scribes in these words:

'With regard to the Bewegungen, the Werkzeugen were not alike; although they were all moved by one spirit, there was considerable variation in regard to their modulations or convictions. When they had to announce punishments and judgments of God, they all did it with great force, majestic gestures, and with a voice of thunder, especially if this occurred on the public streets or in churches. But, when they read the Christian Message, and the glory of the children of God, then their motions were gentle and the gestures pleasing; but all, and in all attitudes assumed by them, spoke only of their duties, and their previous labors in the Bewegung, a feeling of its approach. Again they were seized by nervous agitations, but only for a moment. At times they were aroused from their slumber, and had to testify frequently on the public highways, in fields and forests. In short, they were instruments in the hands of the Lord, and had no control over themselves.'

The Community of True Inspiration is without a creed, but professes the 'literal word of God' as found in the Bible and in the Testimonies of the Türkische Bewegung. As to its ethical or religious standards of conduct, these are, perhaps, best set forth in the 'One and Twenty Rules for the Examination of our Daily Lives,' by Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, the founder of the Türkische Bewegung. The 'Twenty-four Rules for True Godliness,' revealed through Johann Adam Gruber in 1716, 'according to which the new communities were established and the Türkische Bewegung received its name.'

The 'Rules for the Examination of our Daily Lives' are as follows:

1. To obey God without reasoning, and, through God, our superiors.

2. To study quiet, or serenity, within and without.

3. Without, to avoid all unnecessary words, and still to study silence and quiet.

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'V. To abandon self, with all its desires, knowledge, and power.

'VI. Do not criticize others, either for good or evil, either to yourself or to others, even when you cannot remain at home, in the house and in your heart.

'VII. Do not disturb your serenity or peace of mind—hence neither be consumed in despair nor taken by impatience.

'VIII. Live in love and pity towards your neighbour, and indulgence in anger or hatred is impossible.

'IX. Be honest and sincere, and avoid all deceit and even secretiveness.

'X. Be in every word, thought, and deed as done in the immediate presence of God, in sleeping or waking, eating, drinking, etc., and give Him a true account of it, to see if all were done in fairness and love.

'XI. Be in all things sober, without levity or laughter, and with all things and all words of him which less than the painful or needless or idle.

'XII. Think neither of God nor of His vast presence, but of small and indeed of nothing.

'XIII. Have nothing to do with unholiness, and particularly with needlessness, business affairs.

'XIV. Notice carefully all that God permits to happen to you in your inward and outward life, in order that you may not fail to comprehend His will and to be led by it.

'XV. Have nothing to do with unholy, and particularly with needless, business affairs.

'XVI. Do not therefore consider seriously with worldly-minded men; never seek their society; speak little with them, and never without need and necessity; with regard to your lack of self-control and offence in each other, where there is none. But each one among you shall become a mirror for the other. Ye shall, moreover, also keep such a course as to stand even against the world as a unity, as a city or a light on a high mountain, which near and which remote, shall not cease to be wakeful with the righteous, to be pure with the children of God.

'XVII. Do not overdo anything, but provide, eat, and sleep; at the best there is sin.

'XVIII. Constantly practise abstinence and temperance, so that you may be aswaken after eating as before.'

The 'Twenty-Four Rules for True Godliness' appear as a part of a lengthy testimony in which the Lord commands a renewal of the Covenant 'the name of God and of the angel of the covenant, and the name of the holy angels and of the members of your community,' which ceremony is still observed in the community by shaking hands with the presiding elder in open meeting. The concluding paragraph of the admonitory introduction and the 'Twenty-Four Rules for True Godliness' are as follows:

'XIX. Behold, My people! I make with you this day a covenant, which shall be written in heaven and shall be kept by you and by me and by all who shall come after you, and in this day I will walk among you and visit your place of rest, that I may see how ye have disposed toward me and to my work.

'XX. Guard yourselves! I, the Lord, warn you against indulgence towards this covenant of grace and against negligence, indifference and profanation, which thus far have been for the most part your rulers and have controlled your heart. I shall not depart from your side nor from your midst, but shall Myself, on the contrary, reveal Myself ever more powerful, holier, and more glorious through the light of My face in and among you, as long as ye will bring forth to meet Me the honest and sincere powers of your will. This shall be the tie with which ye can bind and hold Me. Behold I accept you this day as slaves of My will, as free-born of My kingdom, as possessors of My heart. Therefore let yourselves guide and willingly be bound together, and be unworthy of My love shall never be wanting unto you.

'XXI. And ye shall wear the heads and fathers of households, hear what I say unto you: The Lord hath now chosen you as members of His community, with whom He... We... We the world and the children of wrath and disbelief have so much to say; but I have commanded the Spirit of holy blashermers . . . and all your houses and breasts upon every soul which doth not patiently close itself to Me. Would it not, from the blessed head of Our High Priest and Prince of Peace upon every male or head among you, and through them shall it flow upon you, and shall the man and wife into the offspring and children, so that all your

Verily! Verily! I shall keep My promises, if ye only endeavour to fulfill what ye have promised and are prepared and are resolved and have been warned and have been taught against the defiance of your inner and outer enemies.
need shall be acceptable, pure, and holy before the Lord, since He Himself hath nourished and will nourish the same among you.

XVI. And none of your grown-up children shall be permitted to sit in judgment at your meetings, who have not previously received from their parents a good testimony according to the tenor of the laws, and who are not recommended, as also from the elders and leaders, especially from the one who with his fellow-workers hath to watch over the training of the children, which is a work of the heart, and is aimed at with especial love, but without severity and harshness. This training is to be watched over with care, and should in no case be neglected, and the case require it, then shall the latter be temporarily excluded from the prayer meetings for their amelioration.

XVII. The people actives as the people who have established for an eternal monument to Me, and whom I shall impress upon you, in an eternal seal, the Spirit of My Love may dwell upon you and within you, and work according to His desire.

XXI. And this is the word which the Lord spakeeth of these strangers who so often visit you and cause so much disturbance. None whom ye find to be a scoffer, hypocrite, mockers, sinner, derider, and unrepenting sinner, shall ye admit to your community and prayer meetings. Once for all they to be elders.

The shadow of My love be never prevented from manifesting themselves among you. But if some should come to you with honest intentions, who are not knowing scoffers, hypocrites, and deriders, though it be one of those whom ye call of the world, if he be in your knowledge not only to be without deceitful intentions, then ye may well admit him. I shall give you, My disciples, and my followers, the interpretation of the discrimination, and give you an exact feeling whether they are sincere and come with honest intentions or otherwise.

XXIX. The thing ye desire to visit ye shall most frequently, ye shall first acquaint them with your rules, and ask them whether they will be your fellow-workers or not of the elders.

And then ye shall read to them My laws and commands, which I give unto you; and if ye see that they are earnestly convicted about their souls, then ye shall clearly receive the weak, and become weak with them for a while, that is, shall, with them for a while, repent and make your repentance your own. But if a scoffer or mockers declare that he repenteth, him ye shall admit only after considerable time and close and detailed examination of his consciousness and the latter to be righteous. For Satan will not cease to try to launch at you from his pit, through such people, therefore guard your guard, and watch lest the wolf come among you and scatter, or even devour, the sheep.

XX. And those who pledge themselves with hand and mouth after the aforesaid manner to you shall make public profession before the community, and also make an open confession of their resolve, and I shall indeed show you if this latter cometh from their hearts; the conduct of those ye shall watch closely, whether they live according to their profession and promise or not, lest the dragon defile your garments.

XXI. (To Scheuner.) Thus my elder and my fellow-workers shall visit frequently the members of the community and see how things are in their homes and how it standeth concerning their families. I shall give you some servants (Werkzeuge) and to your brothers keen eyes, if ye only pray for it. And if ye find, that ye are unskilled servants in discerning negligence, impudence, licentiousness, or the like, then ye shall admonish him in love. If he repent, ye shall rejoice. But if after repeated admonitions he doth not mend his ways, then ye shall put him to shame openly before the community; and if even this were to be of no avail for a while. Yet I shall ever seek My sheep, those who are already excluded and those who in future, because of their own guilt, must be excluded; and I ever try to lead them out of their negligence into My pasture.

XXII. And to all of you I still give this warning: let none of you reject brotherly admonition and punishment, lest secret pride grow like a poisonous thorn in such a member and torment and poison his whole heart.

XXIII. Ye shall not form a habit of anything of the external exercises (forms of worship) and the duties commended to you; or I shall be compelled to them again. On the contrary, your meetings shall make you ever more fervent, more earnest, more zealous, in the true simple love towards each other, fervent and united in Me, the true Prince of Peace.

This community and its members and brethren of the community shall sincerely and honestly pledge with hand and mouth to My elders, openly in the assembly, after they have carefully considered it, and it shall be kept sacred ever after (TSC, 1819-1823).

From the records it appears that the members of the Institute of True Inspiration are engrafted spiritually into three orders (Abteilungen) according to the degree of their piety. Ordinarily, the spiritual rank of the individual is determined by age, since piety increases with years of 'sincere repentance,' which is aimed at in the training of the soul and deep humility of spirit.' Nevertheless, it remains for the Great Council of the Brethren at the yearly spiritual examination to judge of the spiritual condition of the members irrespective of their age, and to take out of the middle order, here and there, some into the first, and out of the third into the second, not according to favour and prejudice, but according to their grace and conduct ('The Supper of Love and Remembrance of the Suffering and Death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for 1855). Where other things being equal, the reduction follows the loss of piety, or as a punishment for evil doing. During the days of the Werkzeuge this spiritual classification of the members into Abteilungen was made with 'great accuracy through Inspiration.'

There are three important religious ceremonies which are observed by the Community of True Inspiration with great solemnity. These are the renewing of the covenant (Bundesschliesungen), the spiritual examination (Untersuchung or Unterrichtung), and the Lord's Supper or Love-feast (Liebesmahl).

Formerly the ceremony of renewing the covenant (Bundesschliesungen) was appointed and arranged by the Werkzeuge; but it is recorded in JH iii. 872 that in 1863, 'when the annual common Thanksgiving Day (ordinarily the last Thursday of November) of had lived more round, the Lord gave direction through His word that henceforth this day should annually be observed solemnly in the Communities as a day of Covenant, which has been and always will be observed to the end of the Community, and every boy and girl fifteen years of age or more, take part in this ceremony. Following the usual religious exercises of hymn, silent prayer, reading from the Bible, and an exhortation, and his head elder, the elders pass in turn to the head elder, who gives them a solemn shake of the hand, signifying a renewed allegiance to the faith and a pledge to 'cleave unto the ways of the Lord, and they may dwell in the land which the Lord sware unto their fathers.' Then the brethren one by one and according to age and spiritual rank, come forward and similarly pledge themselves by shaking the hand of the head elder and his associates. Finally, the sisters come forward, and in the same manner renew their allegiance to the work of the Lord.

The spiritual examination (Untersuchung), which is held annually, seems to be based upon the word of the Bible (Ja 5), which read: 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.' It serves as a preparation for the Love-feast (Liebesmahl), which is held annually. This ceremony is especially observed with its mystification and purification, seems to be participated in by every man, woman, and child in the Community. It is now conducted by the first brethren, although formerly it was the office of the Werkzeuge to ask the appropriate questions and to judge of the spiritual condition of each individual. Nor did the Werkzeuge hesitate to condemn the shortcomings of the members as revealed in this examination. And frequent were the exhortations to holier living, such as: 'Oh that ye were not given to the external, and that your eyes were directed inward! Pray the Lord, the God of your salvation, to deliver you more sincerely for the true spirit of humility' (TSL, 1845).

Through the Untersuchung the people of the Community were prepared for the most elaborate and solemn of all the ceremonies of the Inspirationists, namely, the Lord's Supper or Love Feast (Liebesmahl), which is now celebrated but once in two years. A special feature of the Love-feast as carried out by the Community of True Inspiration is the ceremony of foot-washing, which is observed at this time by the higher spiritual orders. Gottlieb Scheuner, the scribe, records, in reference to a particular Love-feast, the following:

'The entire membership, excluding the young people under 15, was divided into three classes according to the conviction
and insight of the brethren and the Werkzeug (Barbara Landmann) concerning the spiritual state of the respective people. Likewise the servants for the foot-washing, for the breaking of the bread, and for the distribution of bread and wine, also those who were to wait at the supper, as well as the slain grateful meal, had to be chosen among the people. The number of those who were to serve had to be determined in proportion to the great membership. Thus there were appointed two or three foot-washers at the foot-washing at the feast of the brethren and sisters, and sometimes at the feast of the brethren and sisters. For the breaking of the bread and the passing of the wine two times 12 brethren were selected. . . . For the feeding and the support of the poor, the brethren and sisters had to be chosen. Besides those, many of the best singers among the brethren and sisters of their respective class were selected to join the elders, so that the whole choir consisted of 20, sometimes 22, persons, who in the afternoon during the meal had their place at a separate table in the middle of the hall. To write down the testimonies of the Lord, those then being teachers at the different communities were appointed (UHS, B. 37).

The regular or ordinary religious exercises of the Community of True Inspiration are extremely simple, for the Inspirationists believe that 'forms and ceremonies are of no value, and will never take a man to heaven.' In the several villages prayer meetings are held every evening in rooms reserved for the purpose. On Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday mornings the people meet by orders (Abteilungen), while on Sunday afternoon there is held from time to time a general meeting of the whole congregation. In the inclusive special exercises, there are eleven religious services held each week in the Community.

With the exception of the prayer-meetings, all the religious gatherings are held in the churches, of which there is one in each village. The church is very much like the ordinary dwelling-house, except that it is longer. The interior is severely plain. White-washed walls, bare floors, and unpainted benches bespeak the simple unpretentious faith of the people. A raised platform in the center of the room where the elders sit in front facing the congregation, which is divided—the men on one side and the women on the other.

The services are all solemn, dignified, and impressive, and never accompanied by excitement. There is no regular pastor or priest. In the exercises, which are conducted by the elders, there is really nothing peculiar. The silent prayer is followed by a hymn sung by the congregation. Then the presiding elder reads from the Bible or from the testimonies. Again prayer, which is sometimes given extemporaneously and supported by supplicatory verses by the members of the congregation. The presiding elder announces a chapter in the Bible, which is read verse by verse by the members of the congregation. There is, of course, no sermon—simply a brief address of exhortation from an elder. After the singing of a hymn and the pronouncing of a benediction by the presiding elder, the people leave the church, the women going first and the men following. Nothing could be more earnest, more devout, more reverent, more sincerely genuine than the church services of the Community of True Inspiration.

An instructive religious instruction, the Community has published two Catechisms, one for the instruction of the youth, the other for the use of the members of the Community. The former was re-edited in the year 1572, and the latter in 1571. The title-pages are almost identical, and read: 'Catechetical Instruction of the Teachings of Salvation presented according to the Statements of the Holy Scriptures, and founded upon the Evangelic-Catechetical Symbolic In the Spirit of God for the Blessed Use of the Youth (or Members) of the Communities of True Inspiration.'

The one supreme object of 'the pilgrimage on earth' in the Inspirationist's system of theology is the salvation of the soul. The Community is

but a school of preparation for the next world. The awful fate, after death, of the soul that has not been thoroughly purified and sanctified during its earthly sojourn is perhaps best described in an old Bezaersong, which reads: 'Such souls will wander in punishment, desolation, they will seek, and not find; they will have to endure much torment and grief, and be wretchedly plagued, tortured, and tormented by misleading stars' (UHS, 9th Collection, ed. 2. 104).

'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' said Gruber to his congregation of followers two centuries ago. And nowhere, perhaps, is this simple Amana doctrine of 'brothers all as God's children' more impressively expressed than in the Amana cemetery, where there are no family lots or monuments, but where the departed members of the Community are buried side by side in the order of their death, regardless of natural ties. Each grave is marked by a low stone or a white painted head-board, with only the name and date of death on the side facing the grave. There lies the great-hearted Christian Moses, the inspirationist, used by the side of the humblest brother.

3. Religious and moral instruction.—The stability of the Community of True Inspiration and the perpetuity of the faith in the 'Economy' for nearly two centuries are due in a measure to the instruction and training of the youth; for the Inspirationists have always insisted on training their children in their own way according to the faith of the fathers (Urgrosseltern). To-day there is in each village of the Community a school organized under the laws of the State and sharing in the public school fund. But since the whole of Amana Township is owned by the Society, the Society 'patriarch' says the Kinderlehrer, 'is to learn to live holy lives, to learn God's commandments out of the Bible, to learn submission to His will, and to love Him.' Indeed, the word of his mouth is, 'To love the Lord with all the heart, and to love God's commandments, never to reject or despise the good and sincere admonitions of the brethren, constitute the foundation of the ethical and religious training of the Amana child, who, between the ages of five and fourteen, is compelled to attend school six days in the week and fifty-two weeks in the year. In addition to the branches that are usually taught in grammar schools outside of the Community, there is daily instruction at the Amana schools in the Bible and the catechism. Nor is this religious instruction slighted or performed in a perfunctory manner. Said one of the Community schoolmasters: 'It is my profound belief that my other children on the whole earth are more richly instructed in religion than ours.'

The spirit as well as the scope and character of the instruction and training of the youth of Amana is beautifully expressed in the 'Thirty-six Rules for the Conduct of Children' which are given in the catechism. To live up to these rules is indeed the first step towards salvation. In order to ascertain and promote the spiritual condition of the youth in the schools, there are held each year two 'solemn religious meetings,' which are conducted by the first brethren. One of these meetings, the Kinderlehrer, consists of a thorough review of the principles and doctrines of the Com-
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1. The following is the last paragraph of the essay on ‘Little Brethren’ or ‘Little Board’ connecting the work of the Amana Society, rest in its united strength of understanding and co-operation, that led to the building of the Amana Society. The board of trustees rests in its understanding and co-operation, that led to the building of the Amana Society.

2. The board of trustees is the most spiritual of the members of the Community. From this list the Great Council appoints the elders for each village according to spiritual rank. The governing board of each village is known as the Little Council. It consists of one resident trustee and a number of the leading elders, who call to conference the foremen of the different branches of industry and such other members of the Community as may, on occasion, be of assistance in arranging the village work.

3. It is this Little Council of the village that appoints the foremen for the different industries and departments of labour, and assigns to any individual his appointed task. To them each person desiring more money, more house room, an extra holiday, or lighter work, must appeal; for these allotments are, as occasion requires, revised and fixed anew.

4. The highest authority in matters spiritual in the village is the head elder; in matters temporal, the resident trustee. And although the trustee is a member of the Great Council itself, which is the spiritual head of the community, he is the village church the head elder ranks above the trustee.

5. Each village keeps its own books and manages its own affairs; but all accounts are finally sent to the headquarters at Amana, where they are inspected, and the balance of profit or loss discovered. The system of government is thus a sort of federation, wherein each village maintains its local independence, but is under the general supervision of the central governing authority, the board of trustees.

6. The seven villages of the Community of True Inspiration lie from a mile and a half to four miles apart; but all are within a radius of six miles from ‘Old Amana.’ They are connected with one another, as well as with most of the important towns and cities of the State, by telephone. Each village is a cluster of from forty to one hundred houses arranged in the manner of the German Dorf, with one long straggling street and several irregular off-shoots. At one end are the village barns and sheds, at the other the factories and workshops; and on either side lie the orchards, gardens, and the great orchards, gardens, and the great.

7. Each village has its own church and school, its bakery, its dairy, and its general store, as well as its own sawmill for the working up of hard wood. The lumber used is obtained largely from the Society’s timber land. At the railway stations there are grain houses and lumber yards. The station agents at the several Amana railway stations and the four postmasters are all members of the Society. The establishment of hotels, in no way a part of the original village plan, has been made necessary by the hundreds of strangers who visit the villages each year.

8. The Amana Homes.—The homes of the Amana people are in two-story houses built of wood, brick, or a peculiar brown sandstone which is found in the vicinity. The homes are all quite unpretentious, and have been designed by the Society to suit the people in them as nearly alike as possible, each one being as desirable as the other.

9. The frame-houses are never painted, since it is believed to be more economical to rebuild than to paint every year. Then, too, the painted houses are a tripe worldly in appearance. The style of architecture is the same throughout the entire Community—plain, square (or rectangular) structures with gable roofs. There are no porches, verandas,
or bay windows; but everywhere the houses are (in this partly half-timbered) hall kind with wattle and daub walls and native ivy. The uniformity is so marked that it is only with the aid of an inconspicuous weather-beaten sign that the stranger is able to distinguish the 'hotel' or 'store' from the school, church, or private dwellings. From the way the cottages are constructed and maintained about the buildings, but in season they are surrounded with a riotous profusion of flower beds.

In the private dwelling-house there is no kitchen, no dining-room, no parlour—just a series of 'sitting rooms' and bed rooms, which are furnished by the Society in the plainest and simplest manner. Each house is occupied by one, two, or sometimes three families. But each family is assigned certain rooms which constitute the family home; and in this house each member has his or her own room or rooms. There is no crowding in the Amanas; for the same spirit which led the Society to adopt the village system has led it to provide plenty of house room for its members.

8. Domestic Life.—At the time of its inception the 'New Spiritual Economy' does not seem to have had rigid precepts relative to marriage. But with the growth of the community and the increasing systematization of the Inspirationists celibacy came to be regarded with much favour; while marriages were in certain special cases prevented by the Werkzeuge. It does not appear, however, that marriage (although discouraged) was ever absolutely prohibited. To-day there seems to be no opposition; and the young people marry freely, notwithstanding the admonition that 'a single life is ever a pleasure to the Lord, and that He has bestowed upon it a special promise and great mercy' (TSI, 1850, No. 74). The newly married pair are, indeed, still reduced to the lowest spiritual order. A young man does not marry until he has reached the age of twenty-four years, and then only after permission has been given by the Great Council of the brethren one year in advance. Marriage in the Community of True Inspiration is a religious ceremony which is performed in the church by the presiding elder.

Divorce is not recognized in the Community of True Inspiration. The married couple are expected to abide by the step they have taken throughout life. But if, for personal and sufficient reason, such a life union is impossible, 'then one of them, mostly the man, is told to separate himself from the Community and go into the world.' 1 Second marriage is in some cases allowed.

The number of children in the Amana family is never large—ranging usually from one to four. Indeed, with the birth of each child the parents suffer a reduction in spiritual rank. There are, however, very few childless families in the Community.

The newly married couple begin their home life in rooms which are provided and furnished by the Society. Housekeeping with them, however, is a very simple matter, since there are neither meals nor cooking in the home. At more or less regular intervals in each village there is a 'kitchen house,' at which the meals for the families in the immediate neighbourhood are prepared and served. At each of these common eating places provision is made for from sixteen to forty persons. The preparation of the food and the serving of the meals is done by the women of the Community.

In their dress the members of the Society are and always have been very 'plain.' There is nothing distinctive about the clothes of the men. Their 'best clothes' are made by the Community tailor, but ordinary wear is ready-made garments—except a few of the elder brethren, who still wear trousers with the old-fashioned broad fall front, and a coat without lapels. With the women utility and comfort (instead of adornment) are chiefly regarded. But calico or brown are worn for the most part. The bodice is short and very plain; while the skirt is long and full. An apron of moderate length, a shoulder-shawl, and a small black cap complete the summer costume. The only one of the four with a long cape. The winter dress differs from this only in being made of flannel; while a hood takes the place of the sun-bonnet. Every woman who marries is told that every mother makes the clothing for her children.

9. Industrial Life.—Agriculture, which is one of the chief industries of the Community, is carried on, with the German proneness for system, according to the most modern and scientific methods. The general plan of the field work is determined by the board of trustees; but a field 'boss' or superintendent is responsible to the Society for the proper execution of their orders. He sees that the farm machinery is kept in good condition, he appeals to the elders for more men to work in the fields when necessary, and he obtains from the 'boss' of the barns and stables the horses that are needed. From forty to sixty ox teams are still used for the heavy hauling.

The Amana Society is perhaps best known in the business world through its woollen mills, which have been in active operation for forty-two years. Over half a million pounds of raw wool are consumed in these mills annually. It has always been the aim of the Society to manufacture 'honest goods,' and they have found a ready market from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. The hours of labour in the woollen mills during the greater part of the year are the usual Amana hours of 7 to 11 in the morning and 12.30 to 6 in the afternoon. But during the summer months, when the orders for the fall trade are being executed, the mills run from half-past four in the morning to eleven at night (the factories being lighted throughout by electricity).

In spite of the long hours and the busy machinery, there is a very unusual factory air about the Amana mills. The rooms are light and airy. There is a cushioned chair or stool for every worker 'between times.' An occasional spray of flowers on the windowsill replaces the blossoms on the city frame. A room frame reflects the spirit of the workers. Here and there in different parts of the factory are well-equipped cupboards and lunch tables, where the different groups of workers eat together. In the middle of the Amana villages where the factories are located the boys of thirteen or fourteen years of age who are about to leave school are employed in the mills for a few hours each afternoon 'to learn.' If the work is congenial, they are carefully trained and are given every opportunity to 'work up'; but if this employment is not agreeable, they are at liberty to choose some other line of work.

In Old Amana there is a calico printing establishment, where four thousand five hundred yards of calico are dyed and printed daily. The patterns for the calico are designed and made by a member of the Society. This 'colony calico,' as it is called, is sold throughout the United States and Canada, and is quite as favourably known as the woolen goods.

The industrial efficiency of the operative in the Amana mills and factories is noticed by the casual observer. Each worker labours with the air of a man in physical comfort and peace of mind, and with the energy of a man who is working for himself and expects to enjoy all the fruits of his labour.

Besides these mills and factories, the Society owns and operates seven saw mills, two machine shops, one soap factory, and one printing office.
not directly by Alexandria, but chiefly by the schools of Pergamum and other cities of Asia Minor, which practised a cosmopolitan style of art, sometimes designated as Greco-Roman. The location and date of the majority of the Amaravati reliefs closely resembles that of many Roman works, Pagan or Christian, and is as much superior to that of the ancient Indian school as is the execution of individual figures in life-sized draperies of the ancient Hindu temple. The temple is without historical evidence or tradition. An inscription translated by Bha Daji (JRAS Bo ix. 220) gives its date as A.D. 860; but it seems probable that the existing building is a restoration, or has been rebuilt from the materials of that erected in A.D. 860. It faces west, with doors to north and south in a hall in front of the shrine (maṇḍap, antarāla), supported by four pillars, elegant in conception and general beauty of details. At the west entrance is a defaced bull (nandi), showing that the shrine was dedicated to Siva. The roof of the hall is supported by columns, of which the sculpture is so rich and varied that no description can give a correct to the to of as beauty. The temple is remarkable for a three-headed figure, known as a trimūrti, of a male with a female on his knee, probably representing Siva and his spouse Parvati. The sculpture, as a whole, shows a degree of skill that would make it a very attractive to the Bombay Presidency. It has been fully described, with a series of plates, by J. Burgess (IA iii. 316 ff.).

AMAZONS.—1. The Amazons were a mythical race of women, dwelling in the northern part of Asia Minor, or still farther north, who had proved their prowess in conflict with the greater spirits of Greece. Something about the conception of the feminine warrior may have made it very attractive to the Greek story-teller. Women who had asserted their independence of conventional bonds, and who kept their power by mainm and by the perishable care of their children, who wear a man's short chiton, and who had cut away the right breast that they might the more freely handle arms; withal beautiful women to inspire with love those Greek heroes who fought against them—which were the Amazons. According to Pherodytes (fl. 25), their nature was explained by the fact that they were descended from Ares and the maid nymph Harmonia; Hellenikos (frag. 146) makes them a race of women living apart in the Sagartian and perpetually by visits to neighbouring people. Thus they were both ‘man-haters‘ (Esch. Prom. 724) and ‘man-like‘ (Hom. Il. iii. 189).

In the epics they use the same arms as do other warriors. Findar (Ol. xii. 125) and Asclepius (Suppl. 378) speak of them as skilled with the bow, and in art they appear wearing a quiver. Their proper weapon in later myth was the axe—either the axe with blade and point, such as Xenophon found in the mountains of Armenia (Anab. iv. 4. 16), or the double-headed axe, παλάτας (Plut. Quest. Græc. 301 F.). The Latin poets (e.g. Virg. Æn. xi. 11) refer to war-charts, but Greek poetry and art represent them as going into battle on horseback (Eur. Hipp. 307, 382, et al.).

The story of their mutilated breasts is probably due to a false etymology (σ- privative and πατβs 'breast'). What the name did originally mean is not quite clear; with some probability Götting (Comment. de Amaz. 1848) has suggested that it referred to the feminine character in that they have nothing to do with men (σ- and πατβς). The names of individual Amazons are in the main genuine Greek names, added as the myth found favour among the Greeks.

2. The Children of Amazons in two wars in which the Amazons were involved—a war with the Lycians, and, as the name of the site implies, it is surrounded by temples dedicated to the cult of Siva.

LITERATURE.—Forsth. Highlands of Central India (1809), 495; Central Provinces Gazetteer (1876), 247.

W. CROKE.

AMARNAT or AMARNATH (Skr. amara- nāthaka, 'the immortal Lord', a title of Siva). A place situated in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency, Siva being the chief deity in the ancient Hindu temple. The site is without historical evidence or tradition. An inscription translated by Bha Daji (JRAS Bo ix. 220) gives its date as A.D. 860; but it seems probable that the existing building is a restoration, or has been rebuilt from the materials of that erected in A.D. 860. It faces west, with doors to north and south in a hall in front of the shrine (maṇḍap, antarāla), supported by four pillars, elegant in conception and general beauty of details. At the west entrance is a defaced bull (nandi), showing that the shrine was dedicated to Siva. The roof of the hall is supported by columns, of which the sculpture is so rich and varied that no description can give a correct to the to of as beauty. The temple is remarkable for a three-headed figure, known as a trimūrti, of a male with a female on his knee, probably representing Siva and his spouse Parvati. The sculpture, as a whole, shows a degree of skill that would make it a very attractive to the Bombay Presidency. It has been fully described, with a series of plates, by J. Burgess (IA iii. 316 ff.).

W. CROKE.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

AMARKANTAK—AMAZONS.
K. O. Müller suggested (Dorier, i. 390 f.) that the conception arose from the large number of hieroduleia connected with the worship of Artemis at Ephesos and elsewhere in Asia Minor. It is more probable that the presence of inconstant obsidian and iron weapons in the armies of northern and eastern races started the legends, that incursions of these races into Asia Minor determined the locality with which they were associated, and that war dances performed by women in the worship of Ares, Artemis, etc., aided the growth of the legends. To bring the Amazons into conflict with Bellerophon, Achill, and Herakles, and Theseus was the natural means of emphasizing the prowess of feminine warriors.


AMBER.—An ancient, now ruined, city in the native State of Jaipur in Rajputana. Formerly it was held by the non-Aryan Minas, from whom the Kashchawah sect of Rajputs conquered it in 1763 A.D. It then became their capital, and so continued to be until 1728, when Jai Singh II. founded the present city of Jaipur, and Amber became deserted. It was in olden days much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of India, but its glory has departed. At a temple of Kali within the ruined city a goat is daily sacrificed, a substitute, as it is believed, for the human victim offered in former times to the goddess.


W. Crooke.

AMBITIOUS.—'Ambition,' derived from Lat. ambitio, the 'going round' of a candidate for office canvassing for votes, signifies primarily a desire for a position of power or dignity; thence a desire for eminence of any kind, and so, by an easy but well-defined and recognized extension (in the absence of any other word to cover the idea), the will to attain, obtain, or perform anything regarded by the user of the word as high or difficult. The same term thus becomes applicable to Jaques' 'ambition to know the worst' (II. 3), as well as to Milton to write something which the aftertimes would not willingly let die. It is obvious that almost any desire may in certain circumstances become our 'pride'; but the word 'ambition' may, therefore, be dismissed at once—especially as in default of a qualifying term one of the first two is always intended. The present article will accordingly be confined to these. The native in question had no unique position for two reasons; one of its moral position is more uncertain in general estimation than that of any other, and it is repeated by tradition to have been the first sin. These points will be taken in order.

1. Bacon, in his essay, 'On Ambition,' says of it that it 'is like cholera, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped; but if it be stopped and cannot have its way, it becometh wand, and thereby maligne and venomous.' Spinoza (who defines it, however, as 'an excessive love of glory') says: 'Ambition is a Desire by which all the Affections of the Mind are strengthened and on that account this particular Affection can hardly be overcome. For so long as a man is influenced by any Desire at all, he is inevitably influenced by the same.' The opinions of these high authorities imply no particular censure. A reference to any Dictionary of Quotations, however, will reveal it indeed as
AMBITION

'divine' and 'accursed,' 'blind' and 'eagle-eyed,' 'base' and 'sublime'; but for one epithet of
honour ten will be found of blame. At the same
time, this proportion does not appear accurately
to represent the average man's feeling towards it
which may be described as two parts of fear
and distrust to one of secret admiration. Now,
amid this clash of opinion, it is clear that ambition is
in itself a twofold power: first, as an exciting
analysis, desired for itself, but always from an
ulterior motive, namely, for the opportunities it
affords, whether for enhanced activity, for the
exercise of peculiar faculties possessed, and, for
the furthering of a desired end, or the gratification
of vanity. Logically, therefore, it should be
directed more against the prosecutor, whose main, if often
unrealized, ground of attack (apart from religion)
rests upon the means by which the ambitions are
tempted to gain their ends.

To the following views entertained on
the subject may be summed up thus; the atti-
itude of religion being reserved for separate
point: From the view of society, it is well
to realize that the topic of ambition should not
be directed to check rather than to encourage
ambition, as the danger of an excess of it is greater
than that of a deficient supply. Morally, such
a desire can in no case be generally considered
virtuous, in view of the obvious personal advan-
tages which power, from whatever motive sought,
confers upon the possessor. To many philosophers,
again, it is especially anathema as a chief enemy
of that peace, mind and independence of ex-
tension which is the end and province of mankind. These
reasons apply to the desire for power in any
degree of development; but what is after all
perhaps the chief cause of the invincible sense
attaching to the word 'ambition' lies in a subtle
implication which modifies the meaning, without
equally restricting the use, of the term itself.
In the words of Aristotle (Ethics, ii. 7), 'There
is such a lining as a due and proper desire for
distinction; the desire may be excessive or
defective: the man who is excessive in this desire
is called 'ambitious;' the man who is deficient,
'unambitious;' for the middle state there is
no name.' Thus, in fact, a distinction in some
degree in almost all members of the white races,
and hence the definite term 'ambitious' is applied
only to those in whom it is prominent, and there-
fore over-developed. It stands, in short, self-
condemned as excessive, in which condition it is
pregnant with danger alike to the State, the
neighbour, and the morality of its subject, and
lies justly under the censure of political, ethical,
and philosophical thought. At the same time it is
viewed by many, even when in excess, with a
certain reluctant admiration as the infirmity of
a noble mind. For, whatever its own demerits, it
is generally held in company with the qualities
most admired in Western civilization—ability
and energy. It implies also a certain length
and largeness of view, in themselves admirable, and
in many cases only with difficulty be dis-
tinguished from its twin-virtue—ambition.
Finally, it is a motive with which, though per-
haps faulty, the world, in the present condition of
religion and morals, could ill afford to dispense;
for power, whatever its abuse, is generally
given to those who not only desire, but also in
some degree at least deserve them, and the noble
actions, prompted either wholly or in part by
ambition, fill not a few of the most distinguished
epochs of the human story, such as the
frequent manifestx virtutum ost' (Quintilian).

The verdict of religion upon worldly self-
aggrandizement could hardly be doubtful, and in
all countries it is unanimous in condemnation.
For Greek religious thought it was the direct
forerunner of Christ, which in the third and
fourth centuries, in Buddhism it is a wife of muñga, entangling
the soul in the world of becoming and desire; for
Muhammadan it is a choosing of this present life and
its braveries, for which there is nothing in the
next world but the fire.

In the Bible the word itself does not occur, and in
the OT hardly even the idea. The Jewish
historians confined themselves practically to the
acts of kings, lesser men being introduced only
when they came into contact or conflict with the
king. But a violent change in the kingship of a
people essentially and always theocratic, in
the view of the writers, was ascribed as a rule to the
direct intervention of God using a man as His
instrument; and any private motives of such an
instrument were disregarded. Thus it is unlikely
that such men as Jeroboam or Jehu were
ambitious, but they are set in action by the word
of a prophet. The Prophets again scourge the
abuses of power under the guise of the vice of
ambition. The absence of any reference to it in the
'Wisdom-
literature' of the nation (Proverbs, etc.) is more
remarkable. Even Ecclesiastes, in considering the
vanity of human wishes, travels round the idea; but rather than refers to it directly, in a way which
suggests that power as a direct object of desire
was unfamiliar to the author. The view of the
NT, so far as expressed, is uncompromising. In
the Christian community there was for
ambition. The 'Kingdom of Heaven,' or Church of
Christ, is for the poor in spirit (Mt 5); 'Who-
soever would become great among you shall be
your minister (20); 'Set not your mind on high
things, but condescend to things that are lowly.'
(Ro 12). Quotations need not be multiplied:
the humility and renunciation of the things of
the flesh, which are the badge of the followers of
Christ, leave little room for the self-assertion
inseparable from ambition. What (if any) modi-
fications of this rigorous doctrine may be involved
in or justified by the transition of Christ's Church
from a limited and purely religious community to
the creed of the world, is not within the province
of this article to discuss.

1. In a current belief that ambition was the first
sin which disturbed the harmony of heaven. 'Crom-
well, I charge thee, flee away ambition: by that
sin fell the angels' (Henry VIII. III. ii. 440). The
origin of this tradition, which has no authority in
the Bible, is obscure; but it may perhaps be traced
to the old identification of the 'king of Tyre' in
Ezk 28 with Satan. ('Thine heart is lifted up, and
thou hast said, I am a god, I sit in the seat of
God' [v. 7]. 'Therefore . . . strangers . . . shall
bring thee down to the pit' [vv. 7-8]. 'Thou hast
been in thy pride in the garden of God.' Satan and the
anointed cherub that coveted' [vv. 35-36], etc.).
According to the more elaborate version of Milton,
however (Paradise Lost, v. 690 ff.), pride claims
precedence. For it was jealousy of Christ, whose
hegemony threatened the angels' pre-existence
in heaven, that stirred Satan's ambitions aim
against the throne and monarchy of God. Dante
appears to adopt the same tradition ('di cui è la
invitata tierra . . . confutando'), and the
principio del ced e in il maladetto superbi dir colui,' etc., ib.
xxix. 55). (For an elaborate discussion of the point
see the Dict. Encyclopédie de la Théol. Cathol., s. v.
'Diable'). It is worth noting that the idea of the
connexion
of Plato's Ideal State is marked by the appearance of

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AMBROSE OF MILAN. I. Life. Ambrose was born, probably, at Trèves, the seat of government of his father, the Pretorian prefect of the Gauls. The family was noble; his father was one of the four highest officers in the empire; his elder brother Satyrus became the governor of a province, name unknown (de excusis Saturi, i, 49, 58). The family was also Christian in sympathy. Ambrose's great-aunt Sotheris had suffered as a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian (de Virgin. iii. 7; Exhort. Virg. xii. 82). The year of Ambrose's birth is a little uncertain. Either 334 or 340 a.D. will suit the data given in his letters (Ep. lx. 3, 4; see PL xiv. 68, for a full discussion). But probably 340 best meets all the circumstances. On the death of his father, his mother removed with her family to Rome (352), and there Ambrose received the best education. Of Latin authors Vergil was his favourite; he was also well read in Greek literature. In the doctrines of Christianity he was instructed by Simplicianus, whom he loved as a father (Ep. xxviii.; not to be confused with the Simplicianus who succeeded him). Adopting the law as a profession, he rose very rapidly. When he was but little over 30 (372), Valentinian I., on the advice of the Christian bishops, the protectors of Italy, appointed him 'consular' of Liguria and Æmilian, an office which he discharged with great ability and integrity. In 374 both Dionysius the Catholic and Aëtius the Roman bishop de facto died. Both parties strove hard to secure the election of the successor, for at that time Milan was perhaps the first city in Europe in population and importance. Ambrose, in whose province it lay, went to preside at the election, and to suppress the customary tumults. While but the consular was addressing the people in the church on the duty of maintaining order, a voice was heard proclaiming "Ambrose is bishop!" The cry, according to Paulinus, first started by a child, was repeated by bishops and priests by Arians and Catholics. In spite of the protests of Ambrose—which on which Paulinus enlarges con amore, with disregard both to truth and to the good name of his master, in the most interesting part of the passage of Valentinian to be given in this irregular election, which won the approval also of the bishops of East and West (Basel, Ep. lv.; for Ambrose's statements about the election see de Offic. i. 1, 4, Ep. xiii. 65, de Pontif. ii. 8, 72. Ambrose says that Valentinian promised him 'quicem futuram, Ep. xxi. 7). Ambrose was as yet only a catechumen; he had shrunk from baptism under the common feeling of the day which led so many to postpone the same until near death—the dread lest he should lose the baptismal grace. Within eight days of his baptism he was consecrated bishop (Dec. 7, 374, Migne, xiv. 71). His first step was to give up his property to the poor and the Church. The administration of his household was handed over to Satyrus († 379), who left his province that he might recognize his younger brother (de excusis Saturi, i. 201.) Ambrose's life as a bishop was one of incessant work. His moments of leisure were filled with self-culture, in which he improved, and in the main part he learned by teaching (de Offic. i. 1, 4). Throughout his diocese Arianism almost ceased to exist, largely through his constant preaching and the care he bestowed on the preparation of catechumens. The Arians, thus bitterly disappointed in the bishop they had elected, found an opportunity for attacking him in his sale of Church plate to procure funds for the redemption of prisoners captured at Illyricum and Thrace by the Goths, after their great victory at Adrianople (Aug. 9, 378). Ambrose's reply was characteristic: Which did they consider to be more valuable, church plate, or the prestige of the Arians? (de Offic. i. 353.)

Of his life at this time Augustine has given us a delightful picture (Conf. vi. 3, Ep. xlvii. 1): "He was surrounded by an army of seculars who kept me from him. He was the servant of their infirmities, and, when they sparred a few minutes for himself, he gave his body the food necessary, and nourished his soul with reading... Often when I entered his retreat I found him reading softly to himself. I would sit down, and after waiting and watching him for a long time in silence (for who would have dared to disturb attention so profound?), I would withdraw, fearing to interrupt him if I troubled him in the short time he had reserved to himself out of the tumult of his multifarious business."

In his opposition to the Arians, Ambrose did not limit his efforts to his own diocese. At Siracusa in Sicily, the great-aunt of St. Scholastica Justina, the Arian widow of Valentinian I. (Nov. 17, 375), Ambrose succeeded in carrying the election of the Catholic Anemius to the see. In 381 the Emperor Theodosius, coming from 378-381 lived chiefly at Milan, and followed in most things the advice of Ambrose, whom he called his parens, and who composed for his instruction (see de Fide, i. pro. iii. 1) his treatise against Arianism, entitled de Arianismo. Ambrose was the first bishop of Milan to be appointed (383) by a separate and independent council, which met in September at Aquileia. Through the influence of Ambrose, who presided, the council deposed two more Arian bishops, Valtinulius and Socinius, and gave the Gesta Conc. Aug. inserted in Ambrose, Op. after Ep. vii. (Migne, xvi. 916), or, more fully, Mansi, iii. 599 ff., and cf. Epp. i. ix-xii. If in the following year he attended the abbot-curate council at Rome, he seems to have taken no part in the discussion, perhaps for this somewhat uncertain council, see Mansi, iii. s.v.

The murder of Gratian, who had estranged the soldiers by foolish and unpatriotic conduct, at Lyons (Aug. 25, 383) by the agents of the British usurper Maximus, led Justina, acting for her young son Valentinian II., to persuade Ambrose to journey to Trèves as her ambassador (de Grat. i. 25). As the result of his visit (winter, 383), or rather of the delays caused thereby, and the knowledge that behind Ambrose would be, if necessary, the forces of Theodosius, Italy seems to have been saved for Valentinian; but in 385, however, falling to the usurper (Ep. xxiv. 6, 7).

On his return to Milan, Ambrose came into collision with Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the prefect of Rome, Pontifex Maximus, Princes Senatus, the leader in the Senate of the conservative and pagan majority (on this question of the majority, Ambrose, Ep. xvii. 10, 11, is untrustworthy). In 384, Symmachus had sought from Valentinian II., in spite of the Statute of the ancient golden statue and altar of Victory, whose removal had been ordered by Gratian (382), This Statute of Victory (Op. Sym., ed. Seeck, x. 3, in M.G.H.; see also Migne, PL xvi. 360), or defence of paganism, followed the usual line of argument of the times. Symmachus traced the greatness of Rome to the help of the gods; the divine decline and disasters, including the losses in the previous year, to the new emperors. He eloquently appealed to the charm of old traditions and customs. Ambrose's answer (Ep. xvii. a nasty appeal to Valentinian) was to dispose of the matter by a hasty appeal to Valentinian (cf. Ep. xvi. 2, 3) is not altogether happy in its claim that Rome owed her greatness not to her religion, but to her own intrinsic energy—a weak concession to secularism. For
the rest, he dwells on paganism as the world's childhood, Christianity as the evolutionary and progressive factor and result. The request of Symmachus was refused, as also were three other similar petitions through Gratian (Cassian, Theod. 392, to Valentinian II. [Amb. Ep. iv. 5]), chiefly through the zeal of Ambrose and the zealous orthodoxy of Theodosius. To Theodosius was a triumph of Christianity by the series of his edicts which prohibited pagan rites, culminating, so far as sacrifices were concerned, in the deadly nullus omnino of Nov. 8, 392 (Cod. Theod. iv. t. x. §§ 12, 13). The difficulties which the usurpation of Eugenius (see infra) threw in the way of the carrying out of this edict in the West explain Ambrose's antagonism to this shadow of an emperor.

But the great conflict of Ambrose was with the Arian court. Under the influence of a Scythian Arian, Mercenarius, better known by his name of Austenius, adopted from the Arian bishop whom Ambrose had succeeded, the emperor Justinus demanded the surrender, first of the Portian basilica, then of the Church of St. Victor, then of the new basilica (see infra), for the use of the Arians. Ambrose refused, but with a foreboding which culminated in the event. [Ep. xxviii. 1]. On Jan. 23, 386, Justinus retorted by a decree drawn up by Austenius, giving the Arians full freedom to hold religious assemblies in all the churches. The edict was a failure. So Justinus sent orders that Ambrose should be removed by the miracles (especially the alleged healing of a blind butcher named Severus) attending his discovery of some gigantic bones, which he believed to be those of two brother martyrs, Protasius and Gervasius, and of whose localization he had a 'present' or vision. The discovery of these relics was welcomed with enthusiasm by a church somewhat barren of local martyrs. In spite of their removal they were soon transferred under the altar of the new basilica then awaiting dedication, which Justinus had claimed, and which Ambrose now called by their name [Ep. xxviii.; August. Cit. Dei. xxviii. 6, Conf. ix. 7; Paulin. Vitæ, cc. 14, 15; for Ambrose's view of the miracles, Ep. xxii. 17-20].

Realizing its hopelessness, Justinus abandoned the struggle, the more readily that he needed the bishop's help. In 387 she requested Ambrose again to act as her ambassador with Maximus (de Obitu Valentin. 28). It was probably on this second visit to Trèves that Ambrose refused to communicate with the followers of the Spanish bishops Ithacius and Idatius, because they had persuaded Maximus to sentence and torture to death Priscillian and certain of his followers as heretics (see Priscillianism), and also because they held communion with Maximus, the slayer of Gratian. We see the same resoluteness in his refusal to give Maximus at the first interview the customary kiss of peace, and in his demand for the body of Gratian. We need not wonder that his embassy was unsuccessful, and that Ambrose was 'himself thrust out' of Trèves (Ep. xxiv. ; and for Ithacius, etc., cf. Ep. xxvi. 3). Maximus crossed the Alps (Aug. 387), and for a while was a thorn to St. Ambrose. During this usurpation Ambrose withdrew from the city, while the death at that time (Bury's Gibbon, iii. 177 n.) of the exiled Justinus rid the bishop of all further trouble from the Arians. As regards Ithacius, it may be added that Ambrose presided over the church in the spring of the same year (387) at the Synods of Gaul and Northern Italy at Milan which approved of his excommunication.

After the defeat and execution of Maximus at Aquileia (Aug. 288), the great Catholic emperor Theodosius took up his abode at Milan. Emperor and bishop were soon in conflict. The first struggle is of some moment in the history of the growth of intolerance. The Christians of Callinicum in Mesopotamia had burnt down a conventicle of the Valentinians and a Jewish synagogue. Theodosius ordered the bishop of Callinicum to rebuild the same at his own expense. Ambrose protested in a long letter written at Aquileia (Ep. xli.); he seemed to glory in the act; for the Church to rebuild the synagogue would be a triumph for the enemies of Christ. On his appealing to Theodosius in a verbose and rambling sermon at Milan (in Ep. xlii.), the emperor yielded. 'Had he not once,' he wrote to his sister, 'I would not have consecrated the elements' (Ep. xlii. 28). In such incidents as these we see the beginnings of the claims of the Church of Rome as ecclesiastical capital. Of almost equal importance is it to notice the intolerance which treats the Valentinian village chapel as if it were no better than a heathen temple (Ep. xli. 16), and considers the death of Maximus a crime. The bishop's authority was to allow the dispute between Austenius and himself to be settled by (secular) arbiters, or should leave Milan. Ambrose declined to do either. To employ the people who guarded the Portian basilica in which he was in a way imprisoned, Ambrose had introduced among them at this time the Eastern custom of antiphonal song [Sermo de basilicis tradendis (Migne, xvi. 1907), esp. c. 34; August. Conf. ix. 7]. Ambrose's victory over Justinian was completed by the miracles (especially the alleged healing of a blind butcher named Severus) attending his discovery of some gigantic bones, which he believed to be those of two brother martyrs, Protasius and Gervasius, and of whose localization he had a 'present' or vision. The discovery of these relics was welcomed with enthusiasm by a church somewhat barren of local martyrs. In spite of their removal they were soon transferred under the altar of the new basilica then awaiting dedication, which Justinian had claimed, and which Ambrose now called by their name [Ep. xxviii.; August. Cit. Dei. xxviii. 6, Conf. ix. 7; Paulin. Vitæ, cc. 14, 15; for Ambrose's view of the miracles, Ep. xxii. 17-20].

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henceforth undisturbed. During the narration of Engenuis (392-394), whom Arbogast the Frank, after strangling Valentinian II, took to Rome, Virgil (May 15, 29 B.C.-May 19, 7 B.C.) was raised from the professor's chair to the purple, Ambrose retired to Bologna and Florence and stood loyally by Theodosius, in spite of all the friendly overtures of Engenuis. In England he was quoted for the danger of the recrudescence of paganism, as part of his political programme (Ep. ivii.; Paulin. Vita, 26, 31). No one, therefore, rejoiced more than Ambrose in Theodosius' victory, his gift of the panoply of the Emperor and at his majestic headdress (Ep. Wipchen 9, Sept. 8, 594 (Epp. Ixvi. and ivii.; Enarr. in Psalm xxxvi. 22; Paulin. Vita, 26-34; August. Civ. Dei, x, 26), though he was careful to intercede with Theodosius not to punish the people in general. A few months later, Theodosius died at Milan (Jan. 17, 395), in his last hours sending for Ambrose and commending his sons Arcadius and Honorinus to his care (Amb. de Obita Theod. 35). It was Ambrose who in the presence of Honorius pronounced over the dead Theodosius the funeral oration. The death of Ambrose two years later (Good Friday, April 4, 397) was more than the passing of a great bishop: 'In his death we lose both the valiant and ill-fated Stilicho (Paulin. Vita, 45). Ambrose was buried by the altar of the great church which he had built and consecrated to Protasius and Gervasius (see supra), but which now bears his own name (S. Ambrogio).

2. Influence.—The reputation of Ambrose must always rest upon his courage and skill as a practical administrator of the Church in most troublous times. In spite of sacrificial claims which later were to bear much fruit, few would grudge him the tribute of their admiration. He combined the loftiest qualities of the Roman senator with the goodness and self-denial of the true Christian. Though his methods may not always commend themselves to our modern notions, in his results Ambrose was usually in the right. He saved Italy from Arianism, and restored her to the faith. Even the growth of sacrificial claims was not without its services. In the approaching barbarian deluge it was no small gain to civilisation that there was a power before which tyranny should quail. This is one side of his famous saying at the Council of Aquileia, 'Sacerdotes de laeicis judicare debent, non laicis de sacratibus' (Gesta Conc. Aquil. 51; see supra, p. 579). The other side is its development into the deeds and theories of Huss and Calvinism.

By his introduction of antiphonal singing (on the details of which see Groves' Dict. Music, new ed. s.e. Antiphony, Ambrosian, Gregorian), Ambrose enriched the Western Church far beyond. His own hymns, though repeatedly imitated in later days (see the full list of hymns falsely attributed to Ambrose, Migne, PL xvii. 1171-1222), are few in number, according to the testimony of the primitive editors not more than twelve in all (primarily in Migne, xvi. 1410), but of great interest and value. Their construction is uniform: 8 strophes in Iambic acastatic diatonic meter (in-um-um-a). The inscription to death of Ambrose (Ep. De Dieu) as composed at the baptism of St. Augustine is a legend of late growth. His morning hymns, Aeterno rerum conditor, Splendor patrum gloriosa (O Jesu, Lord of hosts), and his evening hymns, Confiteretur omnium, his Christmas hymn, Veni redemptor gentium, and his hymn, O lux beata Trinitas, are permanent possessions of the Church universal (Lrench, Sacred Art. Poetry, 80-86; Julian, Dict. Hymn. 56 and s.e.).

The reputation of Ambrose as a writer and thinker must not be rated high, in spite of his being regarded as one of the four Latin Fathers of the Church. Gibbon is correct: 'Ambrose could not better than he could write. His compositions are . . . ornaments. . . . It is a just praise of this copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerome, or the grave energy of Augustine' (iii. 175 n.). As a thinker he is completely overshadowed by his great convert St. Augustine, whose baptism in S. Ambrogio, at his hands, is one of the great spiritual events of the world (April 25, 387). But his influence was strongly exerted in certain directions, some of which we may discern all the way back to the school of Ancil. His extravagant regard for relics (Gervasius, supra), and his enthusiasm for virginity (see especially the three books de Virginibus addressed to his sister Marcellina) and asceticism were signs and times and indications of the future. His theory of the Sacraments (de Sacramentis libri sex) tended to the emphasis of materialistic conceptions; for instance, he praises his brother Satyrus for tying a portion of the Eucharist round his neck when shipwrecked (de excessu Satyri, i, 43, 46). He deduces the necessity of daily communion from the clause of the Lord's Prayer (cuius est superius; superubasubstabilis, Vulg. adjuncta). In the Epp. (e.g. Epp. 349) he has developed in medieval theology; cf. Abelard, supra, p. 109). His sermons are remarkable for their manliness and sober practicalness, enforced at times by felicitous eloquence. His letters are more valuable as materials for the historian than because of any charm or personal revelation. His expositive writings, as we might expect from his lack of special study, contain little that is original, and are excessively biassed according to the fashion introduced by Origen (cf. August. Conf. vi. 4). But his knowledge of Greek enabled Ambrose to enrich Latin theology with many quotations from the Eastern Fathers, e.g. Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. Jerome, in fact, by reason of his dependence on these sources, especially Basil, compares him to a crow decked out in alien feathers (Rutilius, Insect. ii). We see this dependence in his de Bono Mortis (The Blessing of Death), written about 357, in which his exceedingly mild view of the future punishment of the wicked is plainly indebted to Fourth Eusebius. 'It is more serious,' he writes, 'to live in sin than to die in sin' (op. cit. 25). Nevertheless he 'does not deny that there are punishments after death' (ib. 33).

As a moral teacher Ambrose is seen at his best. His de Officiis Ministerorum, founded on the de Officiis of Cicero, is an attempt to establish a Christian ethic on the basis of the old philosophic classification of four cardinal virtues (virtutes principales)—prudentia or sapientia, justitia, fortitudo, and temperantia (l.c. i, 24). Of these he identifies prudentia with a man's relation to God ('pietas in Deum'; de Offic. i. 27). The classification is essentially faultless, as it leaves no place for humility, a grace unrecognized by pagan writers, and which Ambrose has difficulty in bringing in (de Offic. ii. 27). Virtue, he claims, is not the summum bonum of the Stoics, but rather the means to it. Ambrose further follows the Stoics in distinguishing between the external duties ('officium medium aut perfectum'; constitutio evangelica et praecepta (de Offic. i. 11, 36 ff.; iii. 2)), a doctrine later developed into the medieval 'works of supererogation'. He has been accused of his excessive zeal in the Montanist matter. The taking of the oath is unconditionally rejected; the Christian should not even defend himself against robbers (l.c. iii. 4), though, remembering his Old Testament, he does not go so far as absolutely to condemn the soldier (l.c. i. 40). As was usual in the early Church, he disapproves of capital punishment, though he shows that he was somewhat embarrassed by the position
in the matter of Christian judges (Ep. xxv.).

We see his leanings to monasticism in his declaration that "céleste" is doubt, borrowed from the Greeks, but "célestial" is a more correct translation. His attempt to resolve the question by means of a comparison between the words "céleste" and "célestial" is thus the partial adjustment of a wrong, and, as such, able to cancel sin (de Elia et jejuniis, c. 29, from Tobit 12:2; Serino de ecleomiasis, 30, 31).

We see the new note of humanity in his declaration that the tera "démons" must not be expelled from a city in time of famine (de Offic. iii. 7).

LITERATURE.—A. For the life of Ambrose we are dependent on the materials to be found in his own works (first arranged by Eusebius in his "Life"), the vast number of sources, all dedicated to Augustine, is most unsatisfactory, and full of the absurdities prodigies (with which cf. the contemporary Sulpic. Severan. P. Martini (ed. Hain, CSEL), cc. i, 3, 7, 8, 16; Dial. l. 24, 25, ii. 3, 5, 6, 7). It will be found in Migne, PL xiv. 27-46; or ed. Bede. App. An anonymous life in Greek (Migne, PL xiv. 46-60) is valueless. Other sources of knowledge from Augustine, etc., are indicated in the text.

B. The chief edition of the works of Ambrose, including a great many that are spurious, are (1) the ed. of Erasmus, exp. the Basel ed. of Prosen in 1527; (2) the Roman ed. in 6 vols., 1585-1587; (3) the Benedictine ed. of du Fresle and le Noury, 1688-1699; (4) Migne, PL xiv-xv. (the chief); (5) the newly spurious; (Migne has excellent notes); (6) the new ed. in progress (text only) in the Vienna CSEL (the Epp. unfortunately as yet [1897] not printed) (7) the ed. of Balderston (Ottob. 1576).

C. Of modern works, mention may be made of Th. Forster, Amb. B. v. Wilden (1844); H. M. Studia Ambrosiana (1850); Frueh, A. v. Wilden, Amb. (1869); F. A. D. Deutscher Leherr, on, S. und S. und S. (1877); P. Wald, Der Einfluss der italienischen Literatur auf die engl. Dicht., 3rd ed. (1885). For the historic setting, Gibson, ed. Bury; and Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders (1896, vol. i), are indispensable.

H. R. WORKMAN

AMERICA (Ethnomology, Religion, and Ethics*).

—Although many of the ethical questions presented by the Amerinds or American aborigines, as wrongly named "Indians" by the Spanish discoverers, still await solution, the more fundamental problems affecting their origin and cultural development may be regarded as finally settled. Little is now needed of the "American school," which derived the Amerinds and all their works from the Eastern Hemisphere in comparatively recent times, that is, when the inhabitants of the Old World—Egyptians, Babylonians, Malays, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese—were already highly specialized. Such an assumption necessarily gave way when more critical study of the American physical and mental characters, religious and social systems, etc., are not in contact with those of the Old World, but pointed rather to independent local growths, owing nothing to foreign influences except the common germs of all human action and reaction. On this point we may, for instance, be shown by the survival of some language closely traceable to an Eastern source; or some old buildings obviously constructed on Egyptian, Chinese, or other foreign models; or any inscriptions on such buildings as might be interpreted by the aid of some Asiatic or European script; or some sailing craft like the Greek trireme, the Chinese junk, or Malay prau, or even the Polynesian outrigger; or some such economic plants and products as wheat, barley, rice, silk, iron; or domestic animals such as the ox, goat, sheep, pig; or pottery; things which, not being indigenous, might supply an argument at least for later intercourse. But nothing of the sort has been found, and the list might be prolonged indefinitely without discovering any cultural links between the two hemispheres beyond such as may be traced to the Stone Age. In the domain of archaeology, as in that of the ethnology of mankind. Mention is made of the oil-lamp, which, however, is confined to the Eskimo fringe, and was doubtless, borrowed as a beverage from the Siberians in Greenland. There are also the Mexican pyramids, which have been likened to those of Memphis by archaeologists who overlook the fundamentally different details, but neglect the fact that the Toltecs had ceased to build pyramids some 3000 years before the Mexican teocalli were raised by the Toltecs. Lastly, recourse is had to the Aztec and Maya calendrical systems, although they were, not Oriental borrowings, as they have never been so; but normal local developments on lines totally different from those of the Eastern astronomers.

Mainly on these grounds, the late J. W. Powell finally rejected the Asiatic theory, holding that there is no evidence that any of the native arts were introduced from the East; that stone implements are found in the Pleistocene deposits everywhere throughout America; that the industrial arts of America and Asia are not separate, but are different, so that normal local developments on lines totally different from those of the Eastern astronomers.

Recent exploration, especially in South America, supports the view that this "general homogeneity of type, customs, social and religious institutions, which separates the Amerindians from the rest of the world, and held in isolation by a change in land distribution and by the continued glaciation of the northern portion of the continent" and such "welded into an ethical unity, which was impressed by restive influences in modern times" (The North Americans of Yesterday, 1901, p. 458). Hence the general homogeneity of type, customs, social and religious institutions, which separates the Amerindians from the rest of the world, and held in isolation by a change in land distribution and by the continued glaciation of the northern portion of the continent; and thus "welded into an ethical unity, which was impressed by restive influences in modern times" (ib. p. 358).
in the Eastern Hemisphere. The Atees, following the still bridged Doring route, appears to have arrived with speech, to have taken to language, and to have developed along the lines of human. The picture-writing presented by the Basques, while the curious system of the Tchoukot inscriptions, in which the Mongolic (Asiatic) characters are perhaps more marked than the Caucasian (European), follows the development of a similar order. Thus the complication is reddish-brown, coppery, olive or yellowish, in light, and black in heavy; while the hair is uniformly black, long, often very long and round in section, like that of all Mongols. The high cheek-bones, too, point to Mongol descent, as does also the low stature—5 feet 8 inches and under to 5 feet 6 inches—in the west (Thinlsets, Eskimos, Haidas, Pueblos, Aztecs, Peruvians, Aymaras, Arakanians). On the other hand, the large convex or aquiline nose; the straight though rather small eyes, never oblique; the tall stature (5 feet 8 inches) evident from the fact that, as we shall see, they are exclusively *dominated by the customs and religious ideas of the Amerind race, which were practically the same everywhere in different stages of development. In picture-writing we can trace the growth of letters, so by the aid of Amerind sculpture and carving we have a line of art progress from infancy to the present time" (op. cit. p. 192.).

Hence even a stronger proof of independent growth in a long-secluded region is presented by the Amerind languages, not one of which has yet been traced to a foreign source. From all other forms of speech they differ not only in their general phonetic, lexical, and structural features; they differ in their very morphology, which is neither agglutinative, inflecting, nor isolating, like those of the Old World, but holophrastic or poly-synthetic, with a tendency to fuse all the elements of the sentence into a single speech act of prodigious length. Here culture makes no difference and the same holophrastic character is everywhere presented by the rudest as well as by the most highly cultivated tongues current between Alaska and Patagonia, by the Aztecs of the south and the Patagonians, no less than by the Eskimo, Algonquin, Cherokees, Amazonian, Ipuria, and Tehuelche of Patagonia. Yet of this remarkable linguistic phenomenon not a single instance has been recorded, perhaps, in the Eastern Hemisphere. There is incorporation with the verb, as in Basque and the Mongol-Turkic family, always limited, however, to pronominal and purely formative elements. But in Amerind speech there is no such limitation; and not merely the pronouns, which are restricted in number, but the nouns, with their attributes, which are practically numberless, all enter necessarily into the verbal paradigm. Thus the Tarascan of Mexico cannot say *haponi, 'to wash,' but only *hopocuni, 'to wash the hands,' *hopocini, 'to wash the ears,' and so on, always in one synthetic form, which is conjugated throughout, so that the conjugation of *haponi, *hopocuni, *hopocini, is endless. Specimens only can be given, and they fill many pages of the native grammars without even approximately exhausting a theme for which six or eight jargonics, or alternately, words in English or Danish. The process also involves much clipping and phonetic change, as in the colloquial English *halfpenny worth, *I would, etc., forms which give just a faint idea of the Amerind permutations.

It is obvious that such a linguistic evolution from a common rudimentary condition of speech, as in the Pleistocene Age, implies complete isolation from foreign contacts, by which the curious process would have been disturbed and broken up, and also a very long period of time, to expand and consolidate the system throughout Amerindia. But time is perhaps still more imperiously demanded by the vast number of stock languages which form another remarkable feature of the American linguistic field. Some are known to have died out since the Discovery; but many others, variously estimated at from one to two hundred, or perhaps more than are found in Asia and the whole of the Eastern Hemisphere, are still current, all differing radically in their phonology, vocabulary, and general structure—in fact, having little in common beyond the striking likeness of their word-stems and very limited formative possibilities. But even this statement conveys a fair from adequate idea of the astonishing diversity of speech prevailing in this truly linguistic Babel. Powell, who has determined nearly sixty stocks for North America alone, shows that the practically distinct idioms are far more numerous than might be inferred even from such a large number of mother-tongues. Thus in the Algonquian family there are quite forty members differing one from the other as much as, and sometimes even more than, for instance, English from German: in : ; in ; in ; and in Shoshonean, a still greater number (op. cit. andpong family, of the Algonquian, and the principle has been extended by Dr. N. León to the Mexican and Central American families, and by A. H. Keane to those of South America. Beyond all reasonable doubt, of the latest information, comprises seventeen stocks, including the great and widespread Nahuahtlan (Axeican) and Maya-Chichéan families, and ranging from Lower California and the Rio Grande del Norte southwards
to Panama (Familias Linguisticas de Mexico, etc., Madison: National, 1902). The imperial expeditions have already yielded over fifty stocks, of which the more important are the Quichua-Aymaran, the Tupi-Guaranian, the Cariban, Arawakan, Guaranian, and Aruacan. But some of these stocks have become secondary groups, such as the Ticuan, Moxosan, and Pururan, each of which will, on more careful analysis, probably be found to comprise several stocks (Keane, Central and South America, New York, 1885). The geographical limits of these groups are also rapidly becoming better defined, and the geographical distribution of the different stocks has received much more study than formerly.

So uniform are the physical characters, that systematists have failed to establish an intelligible classification of the Amerind races on strictly anthropological data. Hence all current classifications are mainly linguistic, and make no claim to scientific accuracy. Thus Sir E. H. Thompson declares that for Guiana, where 'it is not very easy to describe the distinguishing physical characters,' and where 'there are no very great differences other than those of language,' this factor 'must be adopted as the base of classification' (Among the Indians of Guiana, 1883, p. 161). At the same time, the linguistic grouping is convenient, and often more important in the northern fringe, where, owing to the astonishing tenacity with which the Eskimos cling to their highly poly-synthetic language, their pre-historic migrations make themselves felt from Greenland and Labrador round the shores of the frozen ocean to Alaska, and even across the Bering waters to the opposite Asiatic mainland. So with the Algonquins, whose cradle is shown to be about the Hudson Bay lands, where, the most archaic of all Algonquian tongues, still survives.

Perhaps even more striking is the case of the Siouans (Dakotans), hitherto supposed to have been originally located in the prairie region west of the Mississippi, but now proved to have migrated thither from the Atlantic slope of the Alleghanian uplands, where the Catawbas, Tutelos, Wocos, and other Virginian tribes still spoke highly archaic forms of Siouan speech within the memory of man. So also the Niquirans, Pipils, and others of Guatemala and Nicaragua, who are known to be of Nahuan stock, not from their somatic characteristics, but solely from the corrupt Aztec language which they have always used in the northern fringe.

As the tribe is thus identified only or mainly by its speech, it becomes important to determine the distribution of the Amerind tongues in their several areas. But though the census of Powell's families, about forty altogether, are crowded in great confusion along the narrow strip of seaboard between the coast ranges and the Pacific from Alaska to Guatemala; key notes are dotted round the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to the Rio Grande, and two disposed round the Gulf of California, while nearly all the rest of the land—some six million square miles—is held by the six widely-diffused Eskimos, Athapascans, Algonquians, Iroquoians, Siouans, and Shoshonean families. Similarly in Mexico, Central and South America, about a dozen stocks—Opta-Piman, Nahuanian, Mixteco-Spanish, Maya-Cholan, Arawakan, Tupi-Guaranian, Tapuyan (Gesan), Tacanan, Aymara-Quechuan, Araucan in the south—are spread over many millions of square miles, while scores of others are restricted to extremely narrow limits. The system has been advanced to explain this strangely irregular distribution, and, at least in the North American prairie lands, the Venezuelan savannahs, and the Argentine pampas, a potent determinant must have been the scaring action of fierce, predatory steppé nomads, so that here, as in Central Asia, most of the heterogeneous groups huddled together in confined areas may perhaps be regarded as 'the sweepings of the plains.' The chief stocks, with their many groups, will be found in art. Ethnology, Conspectus.

None of the Amerind languages has ever been reduced to written form except by the missionaries, and in one instance by a Cherokee native (Sequoyah or George Gist) using a group of characters, such as the Tucanos, Moxosan, and Pururan, each of which will, on more careful analysis, probably be found to comprise several stocks (Keane, Central and South America, New York, 1885). The geographical limits of these groups are also rapidly becoming better defined, and the geographical distribution of the different stocks has received much more study than formerly.

The art is perhaps the most perfect of the kind anywhere devised, since the scratchings are quite legible, and handed round to be read as we might hand round a printed or written book. A few descriptive and illustrative notes, 'towards the Banneux in their cave paintings; and the evil spirits which swarm everywhere are also thwarted by being sketched in fanciful forms on the calabashes (Science, July 1, 1880).

Far more advanced than any of these primitive methods are the Aztec, the Zapotec, and especially the Maya pictorial codices, painted in diverse colours on real native (maguey) paper, and mainly of a calendrical or astrological character. Several have been reproduced in facsimile with long commentaries by Förstemann and Seler, but still remain undeciphered, although they express numerales quite clearly. They had also reached the robust state, but apparently fell short of a true phonetic system, despite the claim of Bishop Linda's 'alphabet' to be regarded as such. There are also long mural inscriptions on many of the temples and other structures of Mexico, Guatemala, and Yucatan, and elsewhere in Chiapas, Yucatan, and Honduras. But these also have so far baffled the attempts of Mr. Cyrus Thomas and others to interpret them, although the ciphers are a highly artificial form of the current alphabetic systems, and represent the appearance of a real script. It is admitted that many have phonetic value, but only as rubbies, and the transition from the rubus to true syllabic and alphabetic systems has apparently not been made by any of the Amerinds. But even so, these codices and wall writings, believed to embody calendrical systems on a level with the reformed Julian, represent their highest intellectual achievements, while the palaces and temples in the above-mentioned districts rank as their greatest architectural triumphs, rivalling only by those of the Chimús, Quichuans, and Aymaraes in Peru and on the shores of the Titicaca.

Elsewhere there is nothing comparable to these monumental remains of Central and South America, and the less cultured Amerinds of North America have little to show of aesthetic interest. Beyond their beautiful ceramic products, the earth-mounds thickly strewn over the Ohio valley and some other parts of the Mississippi basin, and the casas grandes of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona are the chief causes which must have been the scaring action of fierce, predatory steppé nomads, so that here, as in Central Asia, most of the heterogeneous groups huddled together in confined areas may perhaps be regarded as the sweepings of the plains. The chief stocks, with their many groups, will be found in art. Ethnology, Conspectus.
Keresan, and Zuñi tribes, driven to the southern uplands by the Apache, Navajos, and other predatory nomads of the plains. Their communal homes began to grow out of the kivas that these tribes built. The kivas of the Zuñis are a high state of savagery; that they were skilled in several arts, but excelled in none; that they were not even semi-civilized, much less possessed of the "lost civilization with which they have been credited" (Primitivo Men in Ohio, 1892, p. 32). Hence the general inference of Cyrus Thomas that there is nothing in the ruins that the modern Indians could not have done, that many have been erected or continued in post-Columbian times, consequently by the present aborigines, and that there is therefore no reason for attributing them to any other race of which we have no knowledge (Twelfth An. Report of BE, Washington, 1894). Taking a broader view of the whole horizon, Dr. Haney ventures to suggest that the mound-builders, the Pueblo Indians, and the cliff-dwellers, all belong to the historic race, whose prototype may be a fossil Californian skull from the Calaveras nurseries graven assumed to be of Pleistocene age (L'Anthropologie, 1896, p. 149).

For most of these Northern Amerinds a higher moral standard may perhaps be claimed than for the more civilized Central and South American peoples. Our general impression of the native American, white men, was that the present and the future of the American Indians was, and is, a problem of government control. The Iroquois League maintained the 'covenant chain' with the British unbroken for over a century; the Delawares never broke faith with Penn; and for two hundred years the Hudson Bay Company have traded all over the northern part of the continent, without a serious rupture with any of the Chipewyan, Cree, and other rude Athapaskan and Algonquian tribes.

We are blind to our own shortcomings, and exaggerate those of the Amerind. In estimating their traits we do not regard them enough from their own standpoint, and without so regarding them we cannot understand them. The hatred and fear of earlier days was by no means bloodthirsty, and the scalping-knife was no more the emblem of pre-Columbian society than the bayonets is of ours. In most localities he achieved for all, what all are with us still dreaming to obtain,—'liberty and a living,' and his methods of government possessed admirable qualities (op. cit. p. 335 f.).

The aborigines, however, were not free from the taint of cannibalism, which, if it assumed a somewhat cerimonial aspect in the north, was widely practised by many of the Brazilian, Andean, Colombian, and Amazonian tribes in the south, without any such religious motive. Thus the nearly extinct Cacique, between the Amazon and Guayas rivers, were reported, like the Congo negroes, to 'fatten their captives for the table.' Their Darien neighbours stole the women of hostile tribes, cohabited with them, and brought up the children till their fifth or tenth year, when they were eaten with much rejoicing, the mothers ultimately sharing the same fate (Cieza de León). The Cocoms along the Rio Maranon ate their own dead, grinding the bones to drink in their fermented liquor, and explaining that 'it was better to be inside a friend than to be swallowed up by the cold earth' (Markham, JAF, 1895, 233 f.). The very word cannibalis is a variant of carríbal, derived from the man-eating Cariris; and the universal was the custom in New Granada, that 'the living were the grave of the dead; for the husband has been seen to eat his wife, the brother his brother or sister, the son his father; captives also are eaten roasted' (Steinmann, Ethnographia Ammìtiana, p. 19). But the lowest depths of the horrible in this respect were touched by what J. Nieuwenhof relates of the wide-spread East Brazilian Tapuya savages, although some of them were nearly bared along the coast by the holder of some of the primitive Guarani tribes in Paraguay (ib. pp. 17–18). The Seri people of Sonora, most debased of all the Northern Amerinds, are certainly cannibals attained; perhaps McGehee's {379} a high state of savagery; that they were skilled in several arts, but excelled in none; that they were not even semi-civilized, much less possessed of the 'lost
kind prevailed in many tribes; _always, ostensively_, a religious ceremony, not a means of satisfying hunger. The victims were offended and feasted, and generously treated for some time before being executed" (Dellenbaugh, p. 388). Yet Payne declares that the Aztec custom of consuming captives at religious feasts was in reality a means of procuring rich food and thus maintaining the supply, and that perpetual war was waged mainly to obtain prisoners for this purpose (History of the New World, etc., ii. pp. 435, 493, 601).

The mound-builders, as described by the northern aborigines is specially applicable to the Iroquois, in many respects the finest of all the Amerinds,—unsurpassed, says Brinton, by any other on the continent, 'and I may even say by any other people in the world. In language, eloquence, in fortitude, and in military sagacity they had no equals. They represented the highest development the Indian ever reached in the hunter state. They were developed under their social system that the Iroquois can scarcely be said to have a criminal code. Theft was barely known, and on all occasions, and at whatever price, the Iroquois spoke the truth without fear, courage, pride, or interest (Race, p. 82). Even in the literary sphere they rank high, as attested by Sequoyah's most ingenious syllabic script (see above), and by the stirring poetic effusions of Miss Pauline Johnson (Teka-thonawake), who can thus sing of the departed Amerind's 'Happy Hunting Grounds':

'Into the rose-gold westland its yellow prairies roll,
World of the bison's freedom, home of the Indian's soul.
Roll out, O sea, in sunlight bathed,
Your plains wind-tossed, and grass-enswathed.
What would his lovely faith condone?
Who enlists not the Red-skinn's soul
Sailing into the cloudland, sailing into the sun,
Into the crimson portals ajar when life is done.'

(The White Wampum, 1903)

This vision of a cloudland, the glorified abode of departed souls, is a purely anthropomorphic notion common to all the primitive Amerind peoples. It has nothing to do with the supernatural, or with rewards and penalties after death, or even with the development of the higher classes of the human race, but to be conceived as a purely natural continuation of the present life, freed from its cares and troubles. Sky-land is only a distant part of this world, which is better yet,—it is a part of the whole earth, and the departed continue to live in a state of absolutely material comfort and happiness, exempt from all present anxieties, and, so to say, without a thought for the morrow.

'The key to the whole matter may be provided by remembering that these (Guiana) Indians look on the spirit-world as exactly parallel to, or more properly as a part of, the material world known to them. Spirits, like material beings, differ from each other only, if the phrase be allowed, in their varying degrees of brute force and brute cunning, and none are distinguished by the possession of anything like divine attributes. Indians therefore regard disembodied spirits not otherwise than the beings still in the body whom they see around them' (Sir E. J. Thorndyke, Among the Indians of Guiana, 1833, p. 139). Such is the first stage of the purely animistic religions common to the more primitive Amerind peoples in North and South America. The essential point is that man remains man in the after-world, at least he is allowed to follow their ordinary pursuits under more pleasant conditions. Thus the Eskimo has his kayak, his harpoons, and great schools of cetaceans; the prairie-redskin his bow and arrows, his hunting grounds, and the like. Bisons, and so on. Thus is explained the secondary part played by ancestor-worship, and also the great variety of burial rites amongst the Amerinds. If a man is not quite so rich, he may be carefully shipped; and if he is still interested in human pursuits, he needs attendance and attendants. The Guiana native is buried in his house, which is then deserted, so that he may visit his former dwelling without interference from his survivors. He will also need his hammock and other necessaries, which are accordingly provided with him. In the northwest he was accompanied by a slave, who, if not dead in three days, was strangled by another slave. In Mexico, the custom of burying live slaves with the dead was general. Elsewhere they were wrapped in fine fur, or in fine woollen blankets and matting, to keep them warm. Then there were burials in pits, mounds, cists, caves; also cremation, embalming, and sepulture in trees or in the water, or in the sand, or in the earth, and then turned adrift. In Tennessee, old graves are found which were made by lining a rectangular space with slabs of stone, exactly as during the reinderv period in France. And in Ancon, on the coast of Panama, families were mummified, clothed in their ordinary garb, and then put together in a common tightly corded pack with suitable outward adornments, and all kinds of domestic objects inside (Narratives of Ancon in Peru, A. H. Keane's Eng. ed. 3 vols., 1880-1887).

In the evolution of the Amerind Hades, the next step is the recognition of two separate departments, one for the good and the other for the wicked, more often consigned to the nether world, but both at times relegated to the same shadowy region of difficult access beyond the grave. Thus the Saponi (eastern Siouans) held that after death both good and bad people are conducted by a strong guard into a great road, along which they journey together for some time, till the road forks into two paths—one extremely high, the other stony and mountainous. Here they are parted by a flash of lightning, the good taking to the right, while the bad are hurried away to the left. The right-hand road leads to a delightful warm land of perennial spring, where the people are bright as stars and the women never die. Here are deer, turkeys, elk, and bison innumerable, always fat and gentle, while the trees yield delicious fruits all the year round. The rugged left-hand path leads to a dark and wintry land covered with perpetual snow, where the trees yield nothing but icicles. Here the wicked are tormented a certain number of years, according to their several degrees of guilt, and then sent back to the world to give them a chance of meriting a place next time in the region of bliss (J. Mooney, The Siouan Tribes, etc. p. 48).

This discrimination between the two abodes thus obviously coincides with the growth of a higher ethical standard, such as is seen even amongst the pitiless Aztecs with their frightful religious orgies. If the Spanish historian, Sahagun, can be trusted, their moral sense was sufficiently awakened to distinguish between sin and crime, and they even recognized a kind of original sin, which was washed away by cleansing waters. Xochiquetzal, the 'Mexican Eve', the 'first sinner', was deprived of weeping for her lost happiness, when driven from Paradise for plucking a flower; and the Earth-goddess Tlacuiteotl was represented as an embodiment of sin, which was 'from the beginning of time.' Hence the newborn babe is conducted to a ceremonial washing, with the words, 'My son, come unto thy mother, the Goddess of Water, Chalchiuhltlicue, thy father, the Lord Chalchiuhltlicue, and enter the world, but he who washes may it cleanse thee from the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world' (E. Seiler, Aubin Tolotammati, A. H. Keane's Eng. ed., 1901).

A further development of this respect for the moral sense, is seen in the beautiful vision of the Araucanian people, who consign the departed spirits, not to an invisible heaven or hell, but to the visible
constellations of the starry firmament. Their forefathers are the bright orbs which move along the Milky Way, and from these ethereal heights are still able to look down and keep watch over their earthly subjects. May it not be that the great gods of these Southern Amerindians had a far higher motive than the hope of reward or the fear of punishment, to avoid wrong-doing and to practise all the virtues, that is, all the principles of a true religion. Thus, without any legal codes, pains, or penalties, the social interests were safeguarded, while even personal conduct was controlled; for who would dare to wrong his neighbour beneath the glittering eyes of his ancestors? Scarcely any more complete fusion of the ethical and religious systems has elsewhere been realized (L'Anthe, 1884). It will be seen at once that these Araucanian ancestors, though warded aloof, still remained human, with human cares and interests, and hence could not be worshipped as gods. The Delawares also would say to a dying man, to comfort him, 'You are about to visit your ancestors, or, as we might say, you are about to go with the chief god who has any sense of an apocalypse to the expression. So it is nearly everywhere amongst the Amerinds, and Herbert Spencer's broad generalization that all religions are as an ancestor-worship ('ghost propitiation') does not apply at all to the New World. His further statement (Eccles. Instit., p. 657), that 'nature-worship is but an aberrant form of ghost-worship, has here to be reversed, since the prevailing Amerindian religions were various forms of what American writers designate as zotheism, that is, the deification, not of men, but of animals. Dellenbaugh says emphatically: 'Savage races worship animal-gods and natural objects personified as animals... as in the case of the thunder and lightning generally attributed to the Amerinds to the mysterious 'thunder-bird' (op. cit. p. 390). In their creation myths the aborigines themselves are sprung from animals: three, say the Mohicans, a bear, a deer, and a wolf; one, say the Delawares, the 'Great Hare,' called the 'Grandfather of the Indians.' Their personal and totemic gods were everywhere conceived to be in the form of animals, and to these various acts of homage were made, thus leading up to the universal zotheism common to most American tribes.

But there is no absolute uniformity, and amongst some of the more advanced nations there occur instances of what may be called hero-worship, resulting, as elsewhere, in some form of apotheosis or ancestor-worship. Thus the Aztecs have their Quetzalcoatl, answering to the Mayan Kukulcan, both meaning the 'bright-feathered snake,' and both appearing under two forms, as a deity and as an historical person. Hence they may very well have been real men who arose as teachers and civilizers amongst their people, and became deified as their good deeds became traditions and memories. To them corresponded the Quiché Gokumatz (same meaning), one of the four chief gods who created the world; Volon, the eponymous hero of the Tzends; the Algonquian Michabo; the Iroquoian Iokécha, and many others. But the Andronic temas was essentially a sun-worship. In the three extant Maya codices—the Dresden, Paris, and Madrid—Dr. P. Schellhas could find only about fifteen figures of gods in human form and about half as many in animal form, and these figures 'embodied the essential part of the religious conceptions of the Maya peoples in a tolerably complete form' (Deities of the Maya Manuscripts, 1905, p. 7). Most of the gods here figured—the Death-god, the God of the Maya culture hero, the Night, Sun, War, Snake, Water, and Storm-gods—and their counterpart in the Aztec Olympus, which may have a few others of its own. But the more primitive Amerind religions cannot boast of more than five or six; and in 1616, before contact with Europeans, the chief of the Potomac Algonquians told the missionary that 'five gods in all; our chief god appears often unto us in the form of a mighty great hare [see above]; the other four have no visible shape, but are indeed the lesser deified brothers of the great god of the earth' (W. Strachey, Historie of Travailke into Virginia, p. 98). Frequent mention occurs of these four deities of the Four Cardinal Points, or of the Four Winds, or of four invisible powers, bringers of rain and sunshine, rulers of the seasons and the weather, with a fifth represented as greater than all, 'who is above,' and is identified by Brinton with the god of Light, of whom 'both Sun and Fire were only material emblems' (The Lénape and their Legends, 1885, p. 65). This is the Mansion of the early writers, who is described by the missionaries as the Creator, the Supreme Being, the true God of the really monotheistic aborigines. But this Mansion, which of the New Jersey natives (Amer. Hist. Record, i. 1872), and in the Delaware Waled Onom, edited by Brinton (Philadelphia, 1888), there are all kinds of groups of names of manitous, 'manitous,' or 'manitou to manitous,' who was 'a manitous to men and their grandfather,' and 'an evil Manitous,' who makes 'evil beings only, monsters, flies, gnats, and so on. The claim of this Manitous, the grandson of the Delawares, to rank as the Eus Suprennum must therefore be dismissed with the like claims of the Dakotan 'Wakanda' and other Amerindian candidates for the highest honours. On the general question of a Supreme Being it is pointed out by Gatschet that the deities of the early Algonquian natives are better known than the so-called 'gods' of most of the present North American aborigines. This is due to the observations made by Capt. John Smith, Strachey, Roger Williams, and a few other pioneers prior to Christian influences. The first preachers translated 'God' and 'Jahweh' by the Algonquian terms manitou, manitou, 'he is god; also manitou (whence our manitou), which simply means 'ghost' or 'spirit,' so that the plural form manitouek served to express the gods of the Bible. Here m is an impersonal prefix which is dropped in polysemous composition (see p. 375). The root ant, ant, and, i.e. any spirit, not the Spirit in a pre-eminent sense. It was equally applicable to one and all of the gentii loci, and to restrict it to one was reading into it a meaning puzzling to the natives, though required for the right understanding of the Christian and Biblical concepts. One of these gentii was Kautantow-weit, the great south-west spirit, to whose blissful abode all departed souls migrated, and whence came their corn and beans. The same root appears in K echtanait, the 'Great Spirit, which by the epithet lhcic (=great) acquired sufficient pre-eminence to be used by the missionaries for 'God' and 'Jahweh.' But great is relative, not absolute, and does not necessarily involve the idea of an Eus Supremum. K echtanait again is the K iehsan of Eliot's Massachussets Bible, and also the Tawon of Kehtanlan, 'our great god') of the Penobscots, who associated him with Hobbomock, the Evil One, thus suggesting the two principles of good and evil as more fully developed in the Waled Onom, and among the Araucanians and others. E. Winslow (Good News from New Eng., 1624) thinks K iehsan was the chief god of the Algonquins, maker of all the other gods, and himself made by none. But if there were one god, the Moonsomposum, made him K iehsan was merely the head of a pantheon, the Zeus or Diespiter of the New World. Hence he
naturally dwells above, in the heavens towards the setting sun, whither all go after death. But he had a rival, Squauntan, 'whom they acknowledge,' says Joselyn, 'but worship him they do not.' In any case, the name of Squauntan, from which the word M cascata, which the Narraganset in his mysterious sheet of paper, whom they believe in, has been explained by the sturdy character, — though it is easy to understand how the superficial inquirer, dominated by definite tribal concepts, perhaps interpreted by crafty native informants, came to adopt and perpetuate the erroneous interpretation (Fifteenth An. Report of BE, Washington, 1897, p. 182).

Nobody pretends that the sublime notion of a Creator, who created the world and its inhabitants with their undoubted animal-cult, ceremonial snake dances, and gross symbolism; or by the Cheyennes, Poncas, and allied groups, whose elaborate animal and sun dances have been so fully described by G. A. Dorsey (Field Columbian Museum Publications, Chicago, 1905). Hence nothing more is heard of a Supreme Deity till we are confronted by the Mexican Tonacatecutli who was represented as the cosmic god of the Aztecs, ruler of the world, the supreme Lord, to whom no offerings were made because he needed none. But in describing him it is suggested that the early interpreters were biased by Biblical conceptions. A more plausible view, advanced by Seler, is that Tonacatecutli was a later invention of the Nahuan rationalists, 'the outcome of philosophic speculation, of the need of a principle of causality, such, for instance, as the God of our modern theosophic systems' (Seler. Aubin Tonalamatli, 39).

The Mayas also, however advanced in other respects, were but indifferent theologians with whom the local tutelary deities still survived in their names. Appeal is likewise made to the 'Feather-Snake' god of the Huaxtecs, creator of man, but also father of the Tripeollan people, and founder of the Totonan empire, whereby his universal godhead is destroyed (see art. Toltecs); and to Piyexwac, chief deity of the Zapotecs, the Creator, the uncreated Pitaq-Cozamal, who, however, was only the first among many patrons of all the virtues and of all the vices, to whom horrid sacrifices were made (de Nadalica, Prehistoric America, p. 368). The Bochica of the Chibchas was almost certainly an eponymous hero (see art. Chibchas), and this Columbian nation, the Sun-worshipers, like the neighbouring Quichua and Peruvians, amongst whom it would be idle to look for an Ens Supremum. We are indeed told that one of the Incas had his doubts about the divinity of the sun, and a mysterious being, the Huicapatu, or supreme god, is spoken of who was worshipped under the name of Pachacamac or Viracocha, the sun, moon, and stars being merely the symbols under which its higher natures, but for the mystification involved in this conception the reader must be referred to art. Viracocha.

Thus a rapid survey of the whole field has failed to discover an Ens Supremum amongst the Amerindians, whose primitive beliefs being essentially animistic, the worship of animals greatly pre-dominating over that of ancestral spirits, which plays a very subordinate part in the American systems. Conscious features are totemism and shamanism in the north, true polytheism in the south, with higher religions, gods and goddesses, solar worship in those of South America, and various forms of lycanthropy everywhere. These subjects have here been barely touched upon, as they will be found more fully treated in special handbooks.

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AMERICA, SOUTH.—The religious ideas of the savage peoples of South America are, in comparison with those of the North Americans, strikingly undeveloped. They have not advanced beyond the crudest forms grasped by the lower animals, which are as produced by the vague fear of the souls of the dead, or of the demons, which express themselves in certain natural occurrences. Their religious beliefs are thus not essentially superior to those of the Australians or the natives of the East. Want of a belief in gods, in the proper sense of the term, speaks less for the low stage of religious culture than the almost total absence of forms of worship that are not merely, e.g., prayer, sacrifices, idols, and sanctuaries.

The few un doubted traces of a real cult belong to tribes in whose case we are inclined to suspect that influence has been brought to bear on them from the side of the so-called and half-civilized peoples of the region of the Andes and of Central America. We find such traces among the Arhuacos (Kikjarga) of Colombia, the Tainos of the Antilles, the Ymacas of Eastern Bolivia, the Arnas and the native nats of Paraguay and the Pampa, which are in connection with them, especially the Guarayo group, who have also adopted numerous elements of Peruvian culture.

Of course the mythology of the South Americans can tell us of creators and world figures, but still those are within the character of natural phenomena, like the legendary figures without religious significance, without influence on man and his fate, and thus also devoid of religious worship or veneration. The Peruvian religion was the first to raise the heroes of the legends, so far as they were personifications of the sun or moon, to the position of divinities. Among the Chibchas of Colombia are to be found the first approaches to this.

The earliest reports regarding the religious ideas of the savage tribes of the time of the Conquest and the first missionaries are, in general, obscure and contradictory. While some deny all religious feeling to the Indians, others tell of reverence for God, or at least of devil-worship, and others again of the dualistic opposition of a good and an evil spirit.

On the other hand, reverence for one all-ruling highest being was expressly ascribed to many tribes. In particular the following are named: Tupan among the eastern Tucupins, Sunne among the southern Tucupins or the Guarani, Puman among the Guarani, the Quechua and Huancas, the Quequeu among the Alphones, Sochuy among the Patronogens, and others. As a matter of fact, we have in all these cases by no means to do with formalised Ideas of God. These beings are, on the contrary, mere natural demons or defiled ancestors or heroes of the tribe.

Without doubt, the demonic figures which took part in the masked dances of the Indians have
often been regarded by the missionaries as gods or devils. The festive busts, houses of the community or of the bachelors, in which the masks were preserved, were supposed to be inhabited by the gods. And yet, all the contemporary observers even at that date emphasize the absence of specific actions of worship (prayer and sacrifice), except in the above-mentioned cases of probable foreign influence from region to region of the culture. Still, the masked dances might be regarded as the first traces of a primitive culture. As the analogies among other savage peoples teach us, the ceremonies are in the main directed towards exerting a magical influence on animals or animal spirits (in the sense of an allurement, defence, or multiplication), or towards driving out destructive demons that manifest themselves in natural phenomena.

Often too, of course, they are primitive dramatic representations of achievements of the tribe and of the legends of the heroes, as, e.g., those connected with the Yupurap or Iri noveties of the tribe of the Guapan, and probably those of the Paro and Tikuna, and those of the Chiquitos of Bolivia, which were described by the Jesuit Casorla in 1550. The Tainos in Cuba and Hispaniola (Hayti), the so-called Arotes, were of this nature.

So masquerades seem to be especially important at the initiation ceremony of the young men, at funeral celebrations, and at the laying away of new settlements. The use of masks seems to have been confined to the basin of the Amazon. In Guiana, the former native peoples of the region, the east coast, and farther south than 15° south latitude their existence has not been proved.

We know more particularly only those of the Maranon (Tikuna), those of the Zarac and Tupi, and probably those of the upper Xingu (Ikakali, Mekhun, As沽, and Truma) and of Aragnay, those of the Karaya (which present a striking resemblance to the so-called dudukuk masks of New Britain).

Idols of wood and stone belonging to a more ancient period are frequently mentioned in the Antilles, in Darien, Venezuela, and on the Amazon; still, we are ignorant of their appearance or signification. Only with regard to the Tainos do we know that they represented their ancestral gods (Zemex) in grotesque figures of wood and cotton, of which a few have been preserved. On the lower Amazon various peculiarly formed sculptures of men and animals have been found, whose style points to the Columbian sphere of culture (according to Barboza Rodriguez and R. Andre). The so-called birds of the Takamakas of Eastern Bolivia have not yet been more closely investigated. The wooden ‘Santos’ of the Caduves (Guaycuru) are in all probability representations of ancestors, but perhaps influenced by Christianity. Unlike the other literature actual divinities of individual peoples are mentioned; in particular Tupaia, the ‘god of the eastern Tupi,’ whose name was adopted in the Popular language as the general designation of God, and, through the influence of religious instruction carried over to many tribes of the interior. Thus he frequently obtained the signification of ‘the God of the white man.’ In reality Tupaia is simply the ‘bird,’ i.e. a thunder-demon of the Tupi, who, however, pays him all sorts of worship. In the magic rattle (marakas) his worshippers believed that he heard their voice, and so it came about that Hams Staden pronounces this rattle to be nothing else than the god of the tribe. In his nature he has absolutely nothing to do with the one God in the Christian sense of the term.

Other cases the supposed divine beings are of a purely mythical nature, the ancestors of the tribe, or culture-heroes, who are active as demi-gods, like Tannoi or Sume of the Tupi-Guanarís, which are always identified with St. Thomas, who in some mysterious fashion was reported to have been the first to bring religion and civilization to America.

Other similar figures are Quetzalcóatl and Kukulcan in Central America, Iochica in Colombia, and Viracocha in Peru. The same is also true of anachronism of the Ahkakak of the Chiriguanos or Huecas of the Puelches and Araucans, and the fox-god of the Chiriguanos (see above).

We can thus gather exceedingly little positive information from the older references. The more recent material for observation is also still scanty and incomplete. The following may be regarded as certain, so far as it goes. The belief in souls (animism) forms for these peoples the basis of all their supernatural ideas. The spirits of the dead are thought of as demons which are for the most part hostile, or at least terrifying—seldom indifferent,—or good spirits stand over against these evil demons.

Of such a nature are the Opayan and Maporayan of the Caribbean islands, the Anangas of the Tupis, the Ramyrey of the Ipiaras. Only among the Tainos do we find a completely systematized spirit worship of the Zemex, which are represented by idols.

The belief in the incarnation of the souls of the dead in animals is widely diffused. Jaguars, snakes, and in particular birds like araras, hawks, eagles, are such soul-animals. Besides these there are everywhere spiritual beings the so-called ‘natural’ cobolds, which appear in animal or in grotesque human forms, but as a rule invisible to the eye, manifest themselves in certain natural sounds, such as in the echo, in the rustling of the leaves of a tree, or in the croaking sounds of an indefinite kind, or have their seat in remarkable rock formations.

The best known are the forest demons of the Tupis—Kaspora, Kurupira, and Yurupari—which were adopted in the popular religion of the colonists. Similar beings dwell in the water as gigantic snakes or crab-like monsters.

Where a special ‘land of the fathers’ in heaven, or more seldom in the lower world, is accepted, the souls of the dead return to it. Among the Chaco tribes the stars are the souls of warriors, which combat one another in the thunder-storm. As falling stars, they change their places. Certain constellations, in particular Orion the Cross, Pleiades, the Milky Way—were regarded as representations of beings or objects of mythical significance belonging to the primeval time. They illustrate in this way incidents in the activity of the culture-heroes in the cosmological legend.

These peoples have not advanced to a delineation of cosmic bodies and natural powers. Even the sun and the moon have remained, in spite of their personifications in the myth, without any significance for the religious ideas. Atmorphic phenomena, too, have been little observed, a fact which probably is connected with the great regularity of the rain-fall and thunderstorms throughout the whole continent. In a few cases proof can be given that demons or spirits of nature were supposed to manifest themselves in these phenomena.

Among the Eastern Tupis, Tupaia reveals himself in the lightning flash; among the Machakalis, Akpayin makes the rain fall out of his beard. The Caribbeans islanders know demons who control the sea, the wind, and the rain. The rainbow, too, is widely regarded as an evil spirit that brings sickness (polak), ‘devil,’ of the Caribbean peoples of Guiana. Among other peoples he is a mythical animal, snake (luranis) or electric eel (Karaya).

Tendencies towards the development of actual religious divinities and belief in the antecedents among the Tainos, who, besides the spirits of their ancestors, revered the sun and the moon; and probably also among the old tribes of Darien and of the north coast (according to Peter Martyr de Ango, Ortado). In later times, among the Takanas of Eastern Bolivia, gods of water, of fire, of sicknesses, etc., are mentioned, and their images were worshipped in temples by means of sacrifices and dances (according to Labre, Oviedo, and others). But these details have not yet obtained scientific confirmation. Again, with
regard to the sacrifice of horses which the Pata- 
gonians or tribes of the Pampas are said to offer, we have no exact information. In individual cases the mighty phenomena of volcanic action have led to such extraordinary conditions of growth that the minds of the ancients were impelled to the formation of their most beautiful conceptions. Thus the Javero of Ecuador are supposed to look upon the volcano Cayambe as the seat of a mighty spirit, to whom they offer sacrifices. The Anasazi, Pueblo, or Ancas, Filaments of a theory as to the tenuous and of volcanoes. Subordinate to him are the Churraves, the incendiary demons, who in like manner are thought of as dwelling in volcanoes.

The cause of this imperfect development of the belief in gods is probably to be sought in the entirely different condition of the agricultural people of the whole of South America, with the exception of the slopes of the Andes. Agricultural rites of a magical nature, from which, as a rule, divine cults are developed, do not easily arise among tribes who, though practising primitive agriculture, do not require heavenly helpers. Only under the auspiciously natural conditions of the high lands of the Andes in Peru and Bolivia did the farmer recognize his dependence on higher powers, at the head of which he placed the sun, or light, the soul.

The mythology of the South Americans, now unfortunately only partially known to us, seems to have been more plentiful than might have been expected from their crude religious ideas. The most that we know comes from more recent times; still, even from the 16th cent. we possess a comparatively complete cosmogony and cycle of heroic legend of the eastern Tupis, related by Thevet, Cadaverina, Paris, 1574 (cf. Deuxième Fête brésilienne, Paris, 1851). Further, we have fragments of a creation-legend of the Tainos, according to Peter Martyr. The subsequent missionary period has supplied us only with scattered and unreliable material.

It was not till recent times that more valuable sources were again furnished by the investigations of travellers, such as D'Orbigny (for the Yurakaré of Bolivia), Brett and E. im Thurn (for the tribes of Guiana), Cardus (for the Guarayos of Bolivia), von den Steinen and Ehrenreich (for the Bakairis, Paressis, and Karayas of Central Brazil), Lenz (for the Araíkas), Boba (for the Kaingang of the Guiana), and the Tritable (for the Tiapé of Brazil). Of great importance is the so-called Inurupi myth of the Uaupé tribe, communicated by Stradelli (Bol. soc. geogr. Bol., Rome, 1890), the only complete legend handed down regarding the worship of a secret society. A critical collection of all the materials discovered up to the present time was given by Ehrenreich in his Mythen und Legenden der südamer. Ursölder, Berlin, 1905. They yet be said to follow an almost purely hunting or fishing life, and owing to the perfectly regular change of kinds of weather and the certainty of copious showers, do not require heavenly helpers. Only under the auspiciously natural conditions of the high lands of the Andes in Peru and Bolivia did the farmer recognize his dependence on higher powers, at the head of which he placed the sun, or light, the soul.

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goes to prove that the conception was well known at that period. This latter fact, among numerous others which are generally advanced by Darmesteter, that the conception of the Amesha Spentas in Zoroastrianism was late, and owes its origin to the influence of Philo Judaeus.

The list of attributes which the Zoroastrian scriptures apply to the Amesha Spentas are in harmony with the spiritual qualities represented by these allegorical personifications. This will be manifest at a glance, if reference be made to the Amesha Spentas, or the Amesha Spentas as they are called, in the Yasna, iv. 4, xi. 12; Yasna, iv. 4, xiv. 9, viii. 5; Yasht, xiiii. 82-84.

The Gāthic adjectives vohu 'good,' vohīta 'best,' vairya 'wished-for,' spenta 'holy,' which are the most common titles of the first four Amesha Spentas in the earlier period of the religion, become in later times standing epithets, practically indispensable to the qualities to which they are added by way of nearer definition. The last two pertain to the earth, and, as such, have no standing attributes, but are commonly mentioned together as a pair.

The Amesha Spentas were Ahura Mazda's own creations (Bundahisn, i. 25; Dinkar, tr. Sanjana, p. 103), and their function is to aid him in the guidance of the world (Yasht, xiii. 16, i. 25, ii. 1-15; Vendidad, xii. 9; Bundahishn, i. 23-28). They are invisible and immortal [Dinkar, tr. Sanjana, pp. 47-48], good rulers, givers of good, ever living and ever bestowing (Yasna, xiii. 99).

They have their Pravashis, which are invoked (Yasht, xiiii. 82). They receive special worship in the ritual, and are said to descend to the earth and dwell upon paths of light (Yasht, xiii. 84, xiv. 17). They dwell in paradise, where at least one of them, Vohu Manah, sits on a throne of gold (Vendidad, xii. 32); but they are not infinite and unproportioned, like Lord Ormazd (Dinkart, tr. Sanjana, p. 114). They are spoken of as the givers and rulers, moulders and overseers, protectors and preservers of the creation of Ormazd (Yasht, xiii. 18).

For that reason the guardianship of some special element in the universe is assigned to each. To Vohu Manah is entrusted the care of useful animals; to Asha Vahista, the fire; to Khshathra Vairya, the supervision of metals; to Spenta Armaiti, the guardianship of the earth, whose spirit she is; and to Haurvatat and Ameretat, the care of water and vegetation (Shahast tā-šōhast, xv. 5; Great Bundahishn, tr. Darmesteter, in Le Zend Avesta, translation nouvelle, Paris, 1892-93; of the Harzana, Die Ursprünge des Zarathushtram, pp. 49-50, Paris, 1878-79, Avesta traduit, Introds. pp. 90-94, Paris, 1881; Casartelli, Mazdean Religion unter den Sassaniden (tr. from French into English by Firoz Jangas), London, 1871, Bombay, 1859; Juist, 'Die älteste iranische Religion' in Preuss. Jahres. 48, 72-74; Tiele, Gesch. der Religion im Altertum bis zum Ausflug des Glaubens, ii. Teile, Leipzig, 1892-93, Kuhn's Zend-Avesta, translation, Leipzig, 1878-80, Scheidweiler, Zend-Avesta, translation, Leipzig, 1887, Zarathustra, ii. 44-62; Gray, 'The Double Nature of the Zoroastrian Archangels' in Arch., 37, 315-372).

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

'AM HA-ARES' (Yasht, xvi. 9, tr. R. R.),—A term used in Rabbinic Hebrew to designate, either collectively or individually, those who were ignorant of the Law, and careless as to its observance. It is almost invariably a term of reproach. Its literal meaning, 'people of the land,' may suggest that its origin is similar to that of the words 'pagan' or 'heathen.'

In the OT it occurs several times, but never with the significance which it afterwards acquired (cf. 2 K 244, Ezr 9, Neh 10).

The chief authority for the use of the term is the Mishna, where it frequently occurs (see list of passages given below), and in those passages the 'Am ha-ares is, as a rule, contrasted with the Hēḇḇēr (companion) who had bound himself to a very strict observance of the Law. In all matters regarding questions of the Law or other sacred and unclean' the 'Am ha-ares is not to be trusted. Thus we find it stated in the Mishna: 'He who takes it upon himself to be a Hēḇḇēr sells neither fresh nor dry fruits to the 'Am ha-ares, nor clothes nor furniture of any kind, nor enters into their house as a guest, or receive them as guests within his walls' (Děmos, ii. 3).

The majority of the passages in the Mishna deal with similar topics in connexion with the 'Am ha-ares, viz. the fact that he must not be trusted in matters concerning the agrarian laws and ritual purity. One passage, however, is a notable exception to this, and is of peculiar interest as showing the feelings of the earlier Rabbis on this point. It is the well-known saying of Hillel: 'No boor (טוע) is a sin-fearer, nor is the 'Am ha-ares pious' (Aboth, ii. 6). In order, however, to obtain a definition of the 'Am ha-ares, we must turn to the Bab. Talmud, where the following passage occurs (Bīrūkhāh, 47b):

'Who is an 'Am ha-ares? One that does not eat his ordinary food in a state of ritual purity.' These are the words of R. K. 'Who is he that does not eat his fruit properly,' R. R. 'Who is an 'Am ha-ares?' One that does not read the Shemoneh Esreh upon entering or leaving the house. In answer to the questions of R. Eleazar, R. Joshua says, 'One that does not put on the phylacteries upon the forehead or arm,' R. Eleazar says, 'One that does not put on his garment.' R. Nathan says, 'One that has not a Mezuzah on his door.' R. Nathan ben Joseph says, 'One that has children, and they are not taught the laws of the land.' Others say, 'Even if he have read and learnt, yet if he have not associated with wise men he is an 'Am ha-ares.' (Cf. also Bab. Sota, 236, Gittin, 61a, where this passage occurs with some variations).
From this passage it would appear that the 'Am ha-areq was regarded by the Rabbis as a person who was the protagonist of various enactments of the Law, and the general attitude of the Pharisees towards him was one of contempt and hostility. As we have seen, the Habbēr is warned against having intercourse with him, and it naturally followed that intermarriage between the two classes was regarded with the greatest disfavour. 'One that gives his daughter in marriage to an 'Am ha-areq', R. Meir used to say, 'is as if he sold her and set her free a lion' (Bab. Pesah. 490).

In another place it is stated that the 'Am ha-areq is disqualified for acting in certain capacities, which are enumerated under six heads, viz. (1) he must not be appointed to receive evidence; (2) his own evidence is not to be accepted; (3) a secret must not be confided to him; (4) he must not be appointed as the guardian to orphans; (5) he must not be appointed as overseer of the charities; (6) it is right to give a loan on a journey (Bab. Pesah. 490, and Rashii's comment, ad loc.). The attitude of hostility was apparently mutual, as would appear, among other passages, from the saying of R. Hima (Bab. Pesah. 49b) which opposes the passage cited above. He is reported to have said, 'When I was an 'Am ha-areq I used to say, 'Would that I had a talmaid hakahm ('disciple of the wise', 'scholar'), and I would bite him like an ass.' Or again, a little later, 'The hatred with which the 'Am ha-areq hates the talmaid hakahm is greater than the hatred with which the heathen hates Israel' (Bab. loc. cit.). These passages offer a sufficient explanation of the words in Jn 7:42. 'This people who knoweth not the law are accursed,' in which we may probably see a reference to the attitude of the Pharisees towards the 'Am ha-areq. Some difference of opinion exists as to the identity of the Habbēr, with whom the 'Am ha-areq is so frequently contrasted in the Mishna. Schürer and others identify the Habbēr with the Pharisees, making the two terms practically synonymous. Others are rather inclined to regard the Habbēr as a member of some kind of religious guild bound to a strict observance of the Law. But one thing is perfectly clear, viz. that the Habbēr was not necessarily himself a talmaid hakahm, though he might incidentally be one. This would appear from the following passage: He who would take upon himself the decrees of the association (hakahmuth) must be at the same time a talmaid hakahm; if he is not a talmaid hakahm, he must do it in the presence of three talmaid hakahmim (Bab. Bekhor. 30b).

Two passages may be cited which appear to indicate a less hostile attitude towards the 'Am ha-areq. The first is from Abath de R. Nathan (ed. Schechter, p. 646), the other is from the Midrash Shir ha-Shirim Rabba. In the first of these we are told that it is not right for a man to say, 'Love the wise man, but hate the charlatan; love the disciples, but hate the 'Am ha-areq'; but love them all, and hate the heretics and apostates and informers.

An attempt has been made to mitigate the severity of the statements concerning the 'Am ha-areq, which have been quoted above, by suggesting that in reality they refer to informers and political enemies (see Montefiore [Hibbert Lectures] and Rosenthal, cited below), but sufficient evidence for a contrary view is forthcoming: and the quotation given above from Abath de R. Nathan seems to point in the contrary direction. This also appears to be the view of the writer in the JE, who states as a theistic and mystical attitude that it was this contemptuous and hostile attitude of the Pharisaic schools towards the masses that was the chief cause of the triumphant power of the Christian Church. A new and independent investigation of many points connected with the 'Am ha-areq is to be found in the recently published work of A. Büchler, cited below.

LITERATURE.—Mishna, Demai, 1, 2, 3, ii. 2, 3, iv. 9, 12, Shenuid, v. 9, Mo'asser enumi, iii. 5, 6, Horay, iii. 1, Gitrin, v. 9, Edquist, l. 14, ii. 10, Horay, iii. 5, 6, Tosea, iv. 5, vii. 1, 4, 5, viii. 1, 2, 3, 5, Mahāshirin, v. 3, Tovat Yose, iv. 5; Jerus. Hor. iii. 45a; Bab. Berah, 1, 57, 32a, 52a, 52b, Gitrin, 61a, Bash. miz. 95a, Bash. beth, 56, Leitschua Babba, 57, Abel de R. Nathan, ed. Schechter, 16, 64; Shir ha-Shirim Rabba; Schürer, l. c. p. 204; Has- burger, RE 54–59; Geiger, Ussericht (1837), 131; Rosenbath, The Talmud (ed. and tr. by Schofield), 255–259, 1868, pp. 497–502; JE, &c.; Friedländer, Enzyklopädisches Christenthums (1894), ch. ii.; Ad. Büchler, Das galiläische 'Am ha-areq (1900).

H. LEONARD PASS.

AMITÄYUS or APAΣRIMITÄYUS (Tibetan 'o-dag-med), 'The Boundless or Everlastiing Life,' is one of the mystical or superhuman Buddhas invented in the theistic development of Buddhism in India. His worship was wide-spread in India in the Middle Ages, although hitherto unnoticed, for the writer found his image frequent in the ruins of medival Buddhist temples in mid-India. In Tibet, where the cult of a class of divinities with similar attributes, namely, the Sages of Longevity, had long been prevalent, his worship has become a very popular and a supposed means of prolonging the earthly life of votaries. His image is to be seen in nearly every temple in Tibet; it is also worn in amulets, and carved on rocks by the pilgrims. He is specifically invoked in the prayer-flags which flutter from every point of the compass, and he is especially worshipped in that sacramental rite, the so-called 'Eucharist of Lamaism,' where consecrated bread is solemnly 'Ertaken of by the congregation.

He is represented in the same posture as his prototype Amitābha, not, however, as an ascetic Buddha, but crowned and adorned with thirteen ornaments, and holding in his hands the symbols of life-giving powers, which are five of the eight auspicious symbols (mangala) of ancient India, and the vessel for holy water on Tibetan altars.


L. A. WADDELL.

'AMM, 'AMMI.—The word 'amn (אָמֶן) ( Cf., etc.) is common to all the Semitic languages,
and must have been found in the original tongue from which they are sprung. A comparison of its meanings in the dialects, together with a study of the social organization and religious beliefs of the several races, leads to the conclusion that the word denoted originally a higher name connote the generation. The Semites passed once through a stage of fraternal polyandry, and in such a society the distinction between father and paternal uncle is imposed. The mother was a common husband, who might be either father or uncle, was known by the child as 'amm. Cf. Gn 19:2 where Ben-raham is equivalent to 'son of my father,' and the phrase חיזא יא which alternates with בּ יא; ו. The name 'uncle' was naturally applied to this male deity, as 'father' was in later times. Long after polyandry had passed away 'amm continued to be used as a title of deity; and as it lost its primitive associations, it tended more and more, like Baal, Adon, Melek, and other epithets, to become a proper name. The Katabân people in South Arabia designate themselves in their inscriptions as 'Children of Amm' (כז יא), just as thebespi, but only 'kinsman' in Lebanon, itself was called וּלֶא דָבִד, showing that among them 'amm had become a Divine name (cf. Hommel, ZDMG, 1895, p. 525; Glaser, Mittellungen der Gesellschaft, ii. p. 231). According to II. Rawl. 54, 65, V. 46, 11, Ennu (=Nergal) was a god of the land of Subi on the west side of the Euphrates (cf. Sayce, BP, 2nd ser. iii. p. xi; KAT 481). According to King (Ismamrab, 1917, p. 175), Hammam ='Ammi is written with the determinative for 'god' in the name of the king Hammarrabi. The proper name Dur-'Ammi, 'Fortress of Amm,' also indicates that 'Ammi was regarded as a relative, as its significance in any given compound. When fraternal polyandry gave place to monogamy and polygamy, and the father became a recognizable relative, abû, but only 'kinsman' in old Babylon, itself is called Abi-'ammi, showing that the name 'Ammi had received the more specific meaning of 'paternal uncle.' This is a common meaning in Arab. (cf. but 'amm for 'wife,' lit. daughter of 'paternal uncle'), also in Min. and Sabean. From this 'ammi came to mean any relative in the ascending line on the father's side, just as 'father' was used to denote a remotest ancestor; then it was used for 'relative' in general. It is used in this sense in one of the Tell el-Amarna letters (Winkler, 429). Jensen also cites an instance in Babylonian (LCBL, 1902, col. 693 f.). In Gn 17:4, LV 576 = ל 590, Nu 6:15, Ex 31:14, Lv 19:21 'āmm cannot mean 'people,' 1990, Nu 4:19 'הוּ אָמָמ cannot mean 'people,' and the name of Hosea's child, must mean primarily 'not my kin,' insinuansuch as it was given with reference to the mother's adultery. The Carthaginian proper name 'Ammi, 529, 533, 358 may mean 'kinsman' or 'uncle,' but cannot mean 'people' (cf. Aram.-Tahn. אָמָמ as a personal name). The final stage in the development of meaning was reached when 'amm came to denote 'people'—a common usage both in Hebrew and Arabic.

The question now arises, Which of these meanings is found in the numerous proper names compounded with 'āmm? These names are widely scattered through the Semitic races, and must have been one of the earliest types of name formation; it is natural, therefore, to conjecture that in them 'āmm has its primitive meaning of 'father,uncle,' and is used in some cases at least as a title of the Deity. Whether this title be determined only by an inductive study of the names in question.

I. The first class of 'Ammi-names consists of those in which 'Ammi is followed by אָמָמ, 'father-'uncle.' In most of these the translation 'people' for 'Ammi gives a very unlikely name for an individual, e.g. 'Ammi-el, 'people of God,' or 'people is God'; 'Ammen-erati, 'people of Baal,' or 'people is Baal'; and so with the other names given below. It is generally admitted, accordingly, that in all names of this class 'Ammi has the sense of 'kinsman' or 'uncle.' This view is confirmed by the fact that compounds with Abi, 'father,' and Abi, 'brother,' run parallel to names with 'Ammi, e.g. Abi-el, 'Ammi-el; Abi-hud, Abi-hud, 'Ammi-hud. The next question is, whether the epithet 'uncle' or 'kinsman' is understood of a human being or of a divinity. This is difficult to decide upon the grammatical relation in which 'Ammi stands to the following noun. There is high authority for the view that it is a construct with the old genie, and scholars would derive it from the construct state, i.e. 'Ammi-hud means 'kinsman of glory,' which, like Abi-hud, 'father of glory,' means 'glorious one.' This theory is open to many serious objections: (1) This construction is a pure Arabic, and there is no evidence that it existed in the other dialects. (2) It is very unlikely that any man should have been named Abi-Eli in the sense of 'father of God,' Abi-Yah in the sense of 'father of Yah,' or a true father, or a true brother, or a true uncle, or a true husband, or a true wife, or a true child, or a true neighbor, or a true wife, or a true son, or a true father-in-law, or a true mother-in-law. (3) These names are paralleled by names in which the same elements occur in reverse order, e.g. Eli-'am (2 S 11:21 = 1 Ch 3:18 'Ammuat), Baral-am, An-aham (Yah-aham), Naban-aham, Shulmanu-tanne, Shematn-tanne. There is no reason to suppose that Eli-'am differs in meaning from 'Ammi-El or Bar'al-am from 'Ammi-El. If the elements in these names are regarded as standing in the construct relation, they will mean respectively 'God is uncle,' 'God is uncle,' 'God is uncle.' These have no relation to their inverted counterparts, and are most unlikely personal names. If, on the other hand, the nouns are regarded as standing in the relation of subject and predicate, the compounds are synonymous whatever be the order of the elements: 'Ammi-El means 'uncle is God,' and Eli-'am means 'God is uncle.' (4) Conclusive evidence that 'Ammi, Abi, Abi, Dod ('uncle'), Haf ('maternal uncle'), 'Ammi ('father-in-law') are not constructs before the following nouns, is found in the fact that they are used in forming the names of women. Abi-gal, Abi-soam, 'Ammi-tel cannot mean 'father of pleasantness,' 'father-in-law of dew,' but must mean 'father is joy,' 'father is pleasantness,' 'father-in-law is dew' (cf. Abi-tal).

If 'Ammi is not in the first position before the following noun but is an object of a sentence, a further problem arises as to the meaning of the vowel / which appears not only in Hebrew but also in Canaanite names in the Tell el-Amarna letters and in Biblical names. 'Ammi-tel regard it as the suffix of the first pers.; but against this view are the facts that no other pronominal suffixes are used in forming proper names, that the analogy of other names leads us to expect a general affirmation in regard to the Deity rather than the expression of a per-
sonal relation to Him, and that the ' is omitted in parallel forms, e.g. 'El-am 'Ammi-El, 'Ammi-Ba'al = Ba'al-am, Ab-shalom = Abi-shalom, Ab-ram = Abi-ram. Probably, therefore, it should be regarded in this conjunction as a title, the previous role of the ending 4 still appears in Ammu-ladin, Ammu-nir'a, Ammu-rabi, and other names in Bab. and Assyr. records (cf. Heb. Ham-ul). If this be so, 'Ammi-must be translated, not 'my uncle' but 'uncle'.

From this conclusion it follows that 'Ammi in all these names is not a designation of a human relative, but of the Deity. In such names as 'uncle' is God's uncle, 'uncle' can only be a title of a divinity. This conclusion is confirmed by the facts that Abi, Abi, and other names of relationship, except Ben 'son' and Bith, Buth 'daughter', invariably refer to a god; 'Amon forms compounds also that are parallel to sound with Yah, cf. 'Ammi-El and Jo-El, 'Ammi-hud and Hud-Yah. The substitution of 'El-iam in 2 S 11 for 'Ammi-El of 1 Ch 3 also shows conclusiveness that 'Ammi at the beginning of a compound is a Divine name. The change is analogous to the various substitutions for Baal in the Book of Samuel. Cf. also Abi-hail in the Heb. text of Est 2; 29 instead of 'Ammi-nadab of the Gr. text.

The following names belong to this class: - 'Ammi-uncle is 'god' (Nu 35:5, 26 94 157 177; 1 Ch 3:39 = 'Uma-d'se (Obekeb of Manishtusu, Scheil, Textes Elam.-Sin, p. 63)); 'Ammi-h'am, 'uncle is Lord,' an Aramaic of the middle Euphrates region (Ashurbanipal, b. 12, 131); 'Ammi-hud, 'uncle is glory' (CS 199, Qrd, a king of Geshur, Nu 19:23) 217 4227 245, 26, 1 Ch 29); 'Ammi-hur, 'uncle is white' (2 S 15:27 Rev); 'Ammi-in, 'uncle is in the light' (Winckler, 1199 1295 etc., cf. Ab-Yah and Asam); 'Ammi-ki, 'uncle is light' (Etm, 277, Rev 33, 10, Letters, H. 411); 'Ammi-nam, 'uncle is light' (Ob of Manishtusu, Gi 3 36); Scheil, Textes Elam.-Sin), a proph. 2727, 1 Ch 3:7 perhaps) is a name of the type 'El'a, 'uncle is in the clouds' (Winckler, 199 1233 139 091-nuru, 17 11 6 123 1283; 13 32 29, 33); 'Ammi-nadab, 'uncle is in the light of the sun' (Winckler, 199 1233 139 091-nuru, 17 11 6 123 32, 33); 'Ammi 'Ammi-nadab, 'uncle is in the light of the sun' (Winckler, 199 1233 139 091-nuru, 17 11 6 123 32, 33); 'Ammi-nam, 'uncle is in the light of the sun' (Ob of Manishtusu, Gi 3 36), cf. letters, Textes Elam.-Sin, p. 64.); 'Ammi-nah, 'uncle is Shaddai', 'uncle is Shaddai' (Nu 14:22 391, 12:25 249); 'Ammi-nam, 'uncle is a gift' (1 Ch 5:25; 11:9; read 'v'29, 'c'29).

2. A second class of 'Amon-compounds consists of names in which 'Amon is followed by another word that may be either a verb in the perf. 3 sing. or a verbal noun, e.g., 'Ammi-nadab. In names of this class, as of the preceding, 'Amon cannot be translated 'people'. Such combinations as 'people has been supposed of bestowing of bestowing of bestowing of people is generous,' 'people is friendly', have no sense as names of individuals. 'Amon must here be translated 'uncle', 'of kinsman', and is clearly a title of the Divinity that has given the child. Nearly all the names in this class of 'Amon of which we are paral- leled by compounds with Abi and Abi, where also the name of relationship is a title of the deity; cf. 'Ammi-nadab, Abi-nadab, Abi-nadab; 'Ammi-rum, Abi-ram, Abi-ram. The parallelism between 'Ammi-nadab and Jeho-nadab; 'Ammi-rum and Jeho-rum; 'Ammi-nadab, Jeho-nadab, Chemosh-nadab; also shows that 'Amon is treated as a Divine name.

Mention has already been made of the fact that 'Ammi-nadab, the equivalent of 'Amon, is written with the determinative of 'god' in the name Ham-rabi.

Those who take 'Amon is a construct in the pre- ceding class of names take it also as a construct in this class, and translate 'Amon-nadab as 'uncle of generosity' but all the objections urged against this view in the last class hold good here. 'Jeho-rum, Chemosh-nadab, Jeho-nadab, Chemosh-nadab, 'judges are translated 'Jahweh is generous,' 'Chemosh is generous,' 'Jahweh is high'; and on this analogy the only natural translations for 'Ammi-nadab and 'Ammi-ram are 'uncle is generous,' 'uncle is high. 'Ammi-nadab, a Sabaean (Hommel, Ahit 54); 'Ammi-nam-en-shi (Gen 3:22), nephew of Upper Tunu in the Egyptian tale of Sinuhe (c. 1800 B.C.), apparently the same as the Sabaean name 'Ammi-nam-en-shi.
AMMONITES
no new names of this sort were coined during the
Ammonites.
period covered by the OT. See
123 De Jong, Over de
LiTERATHRB.— Derenbourgr, REJ
ii.

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met ab, ach, eiiz. zainengestelde Uebreemvsche Eujennamen,
1880 G. B. Gray, Stuilies in Hebrew Proper Names, 1890, pp.
;

Grunwald, Kigeimamen dea AT, 1895, p. 4Cf. ;
Altisr. Oberliefrnmn, 1897, p. 83 ff., Avfsatze und
x.
Abhandlunnen, 1S92, p. I.'i4, ZD31G xlix(1895); Jensen,
342 f., GGA. 19(10, p. 979, LCJil, 1902, col. 69.'-. f. ; Kerber, Die
6 ff. ;
religionsgesch. liedeiituny der heb. Eigennainen, 1897, p.
lS88,p. 280ff. ;
'Oas Verwandtschaf tswort ny,"
41-CO, "ri-SO;

Hommel,

ZA

ZATW,

Krenkel,

Lenormant, Lrttres Axsyriologiques, 1872, 1 ser. ii. 84 Mordtmann, ZDMO, 1872, p. 427 Nestle, Die isr. Eiijennameii, 1876
;

;

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ZDMG,

in Stiidia Biblica, 1885, i. 225 ; Pratorius,
him. Imchriften,
1.S72, p. 4J7, ;Vt't«! Beitriige zttr Erkldrunq der
Smith, Kinship'^,
1873, p. 25
Sayce, 1(1', 2 ser. iii. p. xi;
1902,
1893, p. 480 f.;
1903, p. 71 f. ; Wellhausen,
p. 480ff.

Neubauer

W.R.

;

KAT^,

GGN,

Lewis Bayles Paton.

AMMONITES.—

During the period covered by
the Old Test anient literature the Ammonites occupied the eastern portion of the region now known
Dt 2'" describes tlieir territory as
as the BelVa.
the whole side of the torrent of Jabboq, and the
cities of the hill-country,' i.e. the region about the
upper course of the modern Wady Zer^a (cf. Dt
Jos 13-* speaks of the towns of Ja'zer
3", Jos 12-).
and 'Ar5'er as marking the frontier between Amnion
and Israel. Ja'zer is also named in Nu 21^ accordIt is described by
ing to the Gr. text (BAFL).
Eusebius and Jerome as lying 10 R.m. west of
'

Philadelphia (Kabbah) and 15 R.m. from Heshbon.
Its precise location and also that of 'Aro'er have not
The capital city of the
yet been determined.
country was Kabbah, or liabbath benfi-'Ainmon,
at the head-waters of the Jabboq (cf. Dt 3^^ Jos
13=*, 2 S IP 12-«-2» 17", 1 Ch 20', Jer 49='-, Ezk
2is5(20)

-255^

Am

Philadelphus
its

was rebuilt by Ptolemy
and received from him
Philadelphia. Its modern Arabic

1'*).

It

(B.C. 285-247),

Greek name

of

of 'Amman is a survival of the ancient name
The other towns Minnith and Abelof the land.

name

cheramim are mentif)ned

in

Jg

IP''.

In regard to this people there are no native
sources of information.
Even inscriptions are

wholly lacking.

Our knowledge

of their religion,

accoruingly, must be derived from the scanty
notices of the OT and from the allusions in certain
Assj'rian inscriptions.
According to Gn
were sons of Lot by

the ancestors of Moal) and Amnion
They were thus nearly
related to Israel (cf. Dt 29- '»). In the case of the Moabites this
is sustained by proper names and by the Mesha
Inscripopinion
tion, which is written in a dialect almost identical with Hebrew.
In the case of the Ammonites it is sustained by the proper
names Nahiish (1 S 11'), HanOn (2 S 10'), Shobi (17^0. Zelek
(2337), Na'lmah (1 K 14=1), Ba'sa and Ruhub (Shalmaneser,
Monolith, ii. 9.1), Sanipu (Tiglath Pileser, Clay Tablet Ins., rev.
10), Puduilu (Sennacherib, J'rism, ii. 52; Esarhaddon, Broken
Prism, V. 18), AmminadM (.\shiirbanipal, 'Frasment,' in Keitintchrift. Bill.

ii.

19-''3 3S,

his

two dauRhters.

p. 240), Ba'alis (Jer40l'»), Tobiah (Neh 219); also
.Milc<Jm, and the city names Rabbah, 'Ar6'6r,

by the divine name

Minnith, .\bol-rheramini,
from the Hebrew.

all

of

which are

easily interpreted

Ammonites were a part

of the same wave of Semitic
Israel belonced. and their settlement east of
the Jordan did not long precede Israel's occupation of Canaan.
According to Dt 2-W., they dispossessed a people Ivnown as the
Zainzummim, a branch of the Rephaim, which it has been proof Gn 14^ (cf. Dt
posed to identify with the Zuzim in

Tlie

mit,'ration to

which

Ham

3ii).

According to Jg 11'^^, Jos i:i"\ they occupied originally the
whole of the repion east of the Jordan, but were driven out of
the western half of this by the Amorites (cf. Nu 21--''-'i). The
Amoritc kingdom of Sihon the Israelites conquered, but the
land of the .\mmonites they did not disturb (Nu 21'-'4, Dt 2i!*- 37

pt

represent* the Ammonites as participating with the Moabites in hiring Balaam to curse Israel, and,
Nu
to
Balaam
came from tlie land of the children
22^,
according
of .\mnion (read 'Ainmdn with Sam., Syr., Vulg., instead of
'his
'ammA,
people').
According to Jg 313, the Ammonites
assisted Eglon, king of .Moab, in his conquest, and,
according to
107-1133, they di.^putefl the possession of Gilead with the
Israelites.
A similar attack upon Gilead by Nahasb, king of
Ammon, was warded off by Saul, and was the occasion of his
elevation to the throne, according to the older source of the
Book of Samuel (1 S 111 H). Nah.ish 'showed kindness' unto
Da\id, I.e. kept peace with him and paid his tribute, but his son
Hanun, trusting to the help of the Arama»ins of the adjacent
regions of Beth-Uehob, Zobah, and Maacah, revolted, and had
to be conquered by David (2 S lOi-ll' 1236-31, i ch
316,

jp

1115).

2.^4<3)f.

IQi-^OS).

The

389

campaign David dedicated to Jahwoh (2 S 81'-! =
and the Ammonites remained tribuUiry during the
rest of his reign and during the reign of his successor.
Zelek
the Ammonite appears in the list of David's bodyguard ('2 .S
TS-^'J).
Solomon cultivated friendly relations by marrying a wife from
this nation (1 K 111), and this account is confirmed by the fact
that the mother of Uehoboani was an Aiiimonitess (14-1.31).
According to one recension of the LXX, she was the daughter of
Hanun, son of Nahasb. For her benefit the cult of Milconi, the
god of Ammon, was established on a hill near Jerusalem (1 K
115. 7. M, 2 K 231").
After the death of Solomon, the Ammonites
appear to have regained their independen(;e, and to have remained free until they fell beneath the yoke of the Assyrians
along with the other small nations of Western Asia. The victories of Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, and Jotham over them re.st only
upon the authority of the Chronicler (2 Ch 20. 2G8 275). In
B.C. 854, Ba'sa (Baasha), son of Ruhnb (Rehob), with 1000 men,
came to the help of the king of Damascus against Shalmaneser II., along with Ahab of Israel and ten other kings of
1

Ch

spoil of this
isii),

In the reign of JeroS3Tia (Shalmaneser, Monolith, ii. 95).
boam II. (c. 760 B.C.), Amos denounces the Anmionites because of
the atrocities that they have committed in Gilead (Am 113). In
B.C. 734, Tiglath Pileser iii. records that he received the tribute
of Sanipu of Bit-'Amman (Beth-'AmmOn), along with that of
Ahaz of Judah (Clay Tablet Ins., rev. 10). From Zeph 291"-, Jer
926('JC) 491-6, it appears that after the deportation of the Israelites
east of the Jordan by Tiglath Pileser iii. in 734 (2 K 15**), the

Ammonites moved

in and occupied their land.
Sennacherib
52) records that he received the tribute of Puduilu
(Padahel) of IJit-'Amman at the time of his invasion of Syria in
701.
This same Puduilu is mentioned by Es.arhaddon (Broken
'
Prism, v. IS) as one of the twenty-two kings of the land of the
Hittites who furnished building materials for one of his palaces.
In his place in a similar list of twenty-two kings Ashurbanipal

{Prism,

ii.

'

names Amminadbi (Amminadab) (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothck,
At the time of Nebuchadrezzar's first invasion
p. '240, I. 11).
of Syria the Ammonites assisted him (2 K 24-).
Subsequently
they joined a league against him (Jer 27^, Ezk 21'-0- '^), but
before they were attacked they managed to make peace, and
participated in his assault upon Jerusalem (Ezk 251 7. lO). in
spite of this, many of the Jews took refuge among them at the
time of the siege, and Ishn:ael was incited bj- Baalis, king of
Amnion, to murder Gedaliah, the governor whom Nebuchadrezzar had appointed at the time of the fall of the city (Jer
The name Kephar ha-'AmmOnai in Jos 18^ (P), aa
4011. 14 4110).
ii.

one of the villages of Benjamin, suggests that during the Exile
the Ammonites, like the Edomites, made settlements west of
the Jordan. If so, this will explain the denunciation of the
exUic prophecy. Is 111-*. As early as the time of .Ashurbanipal,
two main divisions of the Arabians, Kedar and Nebaioth, were
menacing the old lands of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and were
prevented from ov^-running them only b.v the activity of the
Assyrian monarch. Ezk 25 anticipates that these children of
the East will bring these three nations to an end (cf Ob 1") ;
and, as a matter of fact, after the Exile we find, instead of Moab
and Eklom, Geshem the Arabian as the chief enemy of the Jews
(Neh 219 4" 61.6). Ammonites are still mentioned, but they
seem to lead no independent national existence.
Tobiah, the
"
Ammonite who opposed Nehemiah (210- 19 43- 61" IS-i), bore a
name compounded with Jahweh, he and his son both had
Jewish wives, iie was connected by marriage with the hich
priest, and he appears regularly in company with Sanballat the
Horonite and the Samaritans. .Apparently he had nothing to
do with the old land of Ammon, but was a resident of Kephar
ha-'Amm6nai (Jos IS^-i). No king of Ammon is named after the
Exile, and it seems probable that this people peri.'shed as a
nation, along with Moab and Edom, at the time of the Nabat«an
Ar.abian migration. Surv ivors of these nations found refuge in
Judah, and gave rise to the problem of mixed marriages, which
caused Nehemiah and Ezra so nnich trouble (Ezr 91, Neh 131- 23).
Where Ammonites are mentioned in the later history, we have
merely an apphcation of an old geographical term to a new race.
The Ammonites under Timotheus (1 Mac 56-»), and the Ammonites of Ps 837 and Dn ll^i, are Nabatsans or Greeks living
in the old land of Ammon.
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We must now endeavour to construct from these
meagre sources a picture of the religion of the
ancient Ammonites. From 1 K ll'-^s, 2 K '23'^ it
appears that Milcom was their chief national god,
just as Chemosh was the god of Moab, Kozai of
Edom, and Jahweh of Israel. In 2 S 123"= 1 ch
20- the LXX reads Milcom instead of rn'ilrnm,
'their king.' This is the reading of the Talmud
{'Abodd zara, 44a), of the old Jewish commenta-

most modern authorities.

In that case
the crown of
Milcom from ofi" his head, its weight was a talent
It
of gold, and on it there was a precious stone.
David placed upon his own iiead.' P'rom this it
appears that Milc5m was represented by an idol of
human size which was adorned with the insignia of
royalty like other ancient images. In Jer 49^-3^
LXX, Vulg. Svi". also read Milcom instead of
malcdm, and this reading is undoubtedly correct,
Hath
so that the passage should be translated.
tors,

and

of

the passage reads,

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Israel no sons? hath he no heir? why then doth Milcom inherit God, and his people dwell in the cities thereof? . . . Milcom shall go into captivity, his priests and his princes together. This shows that Milcom bore a relation to Ammon similar to that of Amalek to Israel. 1868, and that Malak-Bel had a priesthood that was the counterpart of the Jahweh priesthood. In 2 S 12:1, Am 1:5, Zeph 1:5, some of the versions and certain commentators also read Melech instead of malam and malamim, but this was not on account of the sound of the words as deduced from these passages in the OT no mention of Milcom is known.

The name Milcom is with Baudissin (Jahve et Moleck, 50) and Lagarde (Übersicht über die . . . Bildung der Nomina, p. 190) to be regarded as milk ‘king’ (Phon. mîk, Heb. melêk) with the old nominative ending and magnification. It means, therefore, simply ‘the king.’ Others regard it as compounded of melek and ‘mâk, and as meaning ‘king of the people’ (so Kuenen, Theol. Tijdschrift, ii. 1869, 555-558), or ‘Am is king’ (so Eerdmans, Melodekienst, 112); but these explanations are unsatisfactory, because the meaning of the root is inaccessible. In etymology and meaning accordingly, Milcom is identical with Molech, the god worshipped by the Israelites, according to Lv 18:19, 20a; 2 K 23:19, Jer 32:35.

The vowels of this word are generally believed to be phonetic, though both have been lettered added by the Massoretes to express their abhorrence of the cult. The original pronunciation was Mêlekh. The name is always accompanied by the article (except in 1 K 11:1, where the text is corrupt), and means ‘the king.’ In Is 30:35 57:15 it seems that ‘the king’ refers to this god, and there are other passages in the OT where it is possible that the expression has the same meaning.

On the basis of the etymology and meaning of Milcom and Molech it has been conjectured that the two gods are identical, and that Molech-worship was borrowed by Israel from the Ammonites. If so, we can learn something in regard to Milcom from a study of Molech. In support of this theory it is claimed that the only passages in the OT which mention Molech-worship (2 K 23:19, Jer 32:35, Lv 18:19 20a, Is 30:35 57:15) were written after the time of Manasseh, and have his abuses in mind.

This seems to show that Molech-worship was an innovation introduced from Ammon. There are several difficulties in the way of this view. Even if we grant that Molech was a borrowed divinity, it is by no means clear how it should have been borrowed from the Ammonites. They had no such political importance in the time of Manasseh that their god should have been sought as a refuge against the Assyrians. If Molech was borrowed from them, why did he not retain his original name of Milcom? Mêlekh as a divine name is found in all branches of the Semitic race. In Babylonia and Assyria it appears as Melek (Marov, Bel. Bab. & Assyr. 175 f.) among the people of Sepharvaim as Adram-Mêlekh and Anam-Mêlekh (2 K 17:31); in Palmyra as Malak-Bel (Baudissin, Studien, ii. 193); in Phoenicia, as Melkart (a-me-kart); in Edom, in the proper name Malchammon (Benjamin, Petri, ii. 54).

If Molech-worship is a really a borrowed cult in Israel, it may have been derived from any one of these sources quite as well as from the Ammonites. It is not certain, however, that Molech-worship was a borrowed divinity. Mêlekh is a title frequently applied to Jahweh Himself (e.g. Ps 5:16 10:29 20:1 24:22 44:4 47:5 53:14 69:4 78:66, Is 6:3 35:2, Jer 8:9 10:5 46:14, Mic 3:12, Zeph 1:14, Mal 2:10). A characteristic feature of the Mêlekh cult was child-sacrifice, and this is known to have been an early cult of Jahweh. The Book of the Covenant in Ex 22:28 enjoins, ‘The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me,’ and contains no provision for redemption, such as we find in 13:21 and 34:19. The story of Abrahamic’s sacrifice of Isaac in Gn 22 (E) shows that child-sacrifice was practised in the early religion of Jahweh, but that the exact form was growing in prophetic circles that Jahweh did not demand these offerings. In spite of prophetic opposition, however, they continued to be brought (cf. 1 K 18:30, and Winckler, Gesch. Isr. i. 163, n. 3; 2 K 16:2, 27; Jer 7:19, 31). Jerahmeel expressly insists that Jahweh does not require these sacrifices (Jer 7:19 32:20), and this indicates that in the popular conception they were part of His requirements. The Holiness Code (Lv 18:10) also suggests that Molech sacrifices were popularly regarded as Jahweh sacrifices. Ezekiel goes so far as to quote the law of Ex 13:2, ‘Thou shalt sacrifice unto Jahweh everything that openeth the womb,’ and to say that Jahweh gave this commandment in wrath to destroy the nation because it would not keep the good statutes that he had previously given it (Ezk 20:23-24). These facts make it clear that Molech-worship was regarded by the nation in general as a form of Jahweh-worship. The absence of early prophetic polemic against child-sacrifice is, accordingly, to be explained by the fact that the prophets did not regard it as being their concern to condemn child-sacrifice. Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who hold the Deuteronomic standpoint in regard to sacrifice, are obliged to specify that Jahweh does not require child-sacrifice, although He requires animal-sacrifice.

Molech-worship was ancient in Israel, then it cannot have been borrowed from the Ammonites in the time of Manasseh.

Another theory which identifies Milcom with Molech supposes that this cult was introduced into Israel by Solomon. This opinion makes its appearance as early as the Gr. versions, and has been the source of much textual corruption. It seems to be supported by 1 K 11:23, which speaks of ‘Milcom, the abomination of the Ammonites,’ as worshipped by Solomon after his marriage with an Ammonite wife (cf. 2 K 23:19, 1 K 14:24-25); and by 1 K 11, which calls this god Molech. Granting the historicity of Solomon’s worship of Milcom, which is disputed by a number of critics, it appears from 1 K 11:2, 2 K 23:7, that the high place of Milcom was on the right hand of the Mount of Destruction east of Jerusalem, i.e. somewhere on the ridge of the Mount of Olives. It is clear according to all the OT references, was in the Valley of Hinnom (cf. 2 K 23:7, Jer 22:25 19:32), 2 Ch 23:33). From this it is clear that Milcom and Molech were not identified by the ancient Israelites (cf. Baethgen, Beiträge, 15). The substitution of Molech for Milcom in 1 K 11:7 is evidently a textual error; the MT points without the article, and Lucian’s recension of the LXX reads Milcom.

A third theory is that there was a primitive Semitic god, Melek, of which Milcom and Molech are local variants. Against this view is the fact that Milcom and Molech are not personal names, but titles, like Baal, ‘owner’; Adon, ‘master’; Manna, ‘our lord.’ There was no primitive Semitic god Baal, whose cult came down in the various branches of the Semitic race, but there was a multitude of names. Melek probably formed part of various holy places and who were distinguished from one another as the Baal of this place or the Baal of that place. These Baalim were different in functions and were never distinguished by tribal names. In like manner there were as many Makim as there were nations, and there is no reason why the Mêlekh of Ammon, or the Mêlekh of Israel, or the Mêlekh of Tyre, or the Mêlekh of Palmyra should
be identified with one another, any more than why their human rulers should be identified because they all bore the name of 'king.'

Although there was no primitive god Mēlek, it is probable, however, that all the various M'lkām of the Ammonites was compounded on the idea of child sacrifice; but this is not the same as identifying one another, just as the Baalim bore a family resemblance, so that it is possible to draw inferences from the character of one Mēlek to that of another. The Baalim were gods of nature. They manifested themselves to men in storms and streams and trees. They gave the fruits of the earth, and they were worshiped with offerings of firstfruits. The M'lkām, on the other hand, were tribal gods conceived after the analogy of human rulers. They gave the fruit of the womb; and, accordingly, they were worshiped with the born children and firstborn animals. Wherever we know anything of the cult of the M'lkām, child-sacrifice is its most conspicuous feature. When this rite was practised in Israel it was always in the name of the Mēlek, even though this might be understood as a title of Jahweh. From Dt 12:18-20, Lv 18:2, Ezek 16:1, Rev 13:10, and Rom 13:11, it appears that child sacrifice was also offered by the Canaanites, and this testimony is confirmed by the excavations at Gezer, Megiddo, and Taanach, where the remains of sacrificial altars have been found in many numbers. Child-sacrifice was a conspicuous element in the cult of the Tyrrh. and Carthaginian Melkart, and 2 K 14:17 states that the people of Sepharvaim sacrificed their children to Adram-Mēlek, and Anam-Mēlek. These facts seem to show that sacrifice of infants was intimately connected with the conception of deity as Mēlek, or ruler of the tribe; and we are probably warranted in thinking that worship has been transferred from the one to the other. This word of sacrifice was celebrated in his honour. In the case of Milkom, accordingly, infant-sacrifice is probable, although this is never mentioned in the OT; and this opinion is confirmed by the fact that the closely related Moabites sacrificed children in honour of their god Chemosh (2 K 3:27).

In regard to the manner in which children were sacrificed we have only the analogy of Molech-worship in Israel to guide us. The technical name for the rite was 'making over children to the King by fire' (Lv 18:20-24, Dt 18:12, 2 K 16:17, 21, 2 Ch 33:9, Ezek 20:9). The same expression is used of children of the king of Tyre in Jer 41:5. From Gn 39:4, Ezek 16:10, Is 57:3, etc., it appears that children were slain like other sacrifices, and from Dt 12:3, 18, 2 K 17:10, 2 Chr 34:21, 24:29, that their bodies were afterwards burnt in a place known as Tipheth (Tipheth, with the vowels of bēhēth, 'shame'). Analogous rites are found among the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and we may perhaps assume that they existed also among the Ammonites.

Besides Milkom there is no clear evidence that the Ammonites worshipped any other god. Jg 10:8 speaks of the gods of the children of Ammon,' but this is a late editorial passage. From Jg 11:24 it has been inferred that Chemosh was the god of the Ammonites as well as of the Moabites, or else that Chemosh and Milkom were identified; but it is now generally recognized that the section Jg 11:24-26 has been interpolated in the story of the Ammonites as well as of the Moabites. It is a fragment of a narrative of a dispute between Israel and the Moabites which has been combined with the Jephthah story by the compiler of the Book of Judges (cf. Moore, Judges, 233). More can be said in favour of the view that the Ammonites worshipped a god called 'Am or 'Ammi. The name 'Ammon (Assyr. Amann) is apparently a diminutive or pet-name from 'Am, as Shimshūn (Samson) is from Shemesh. Ammon alone is never used as a tribal name, except in the late passages, Ps 83:10 and 1 S 11:1, where the Gr. reads τοῦ Άμμωνού. The regular expression is 'children of Ammon.' Even the race of the ancestor is not called Ammon, but 'Ben-'Ammi (Gn 19:19). 'Am or 'Ammi means primarily a father, and the tribe, being in the patriarchal society, then 'paternal uncle,' then 'kinsman,' then 'people.' The narrator in Gn 19:19 has chosen the meaning 'father-uncle,' and has derived from this the store name 'Ammon' of the Ammonites. Their ancestor, he thinks, was 'Ben-'Ammi, 'son of my father-uncle,' because his father was also his mother's father. It is more likely, however, that 'Am was used here originally with reference to a god who was called the 'father-uncle,' or 'kinsman' of the tribe.

This use of 'Ammon as a divine name is wide-spread in the Semitic dialects. In Hev. we find it as the first element of the proper names 'Amuel, 'Ammonith, 'Ammonish, 'Ammonishah, 'Ammonisheh, 'Ammonizahab, 'Ammonizabad, and as the final element in the names An'am, Elian, Jelab'am, Jeob'she'an, Jereboam, Rehoboam, Jibe'am, Jok'de'am, Jok'mi'am, Jok'ne'am, Jaroh'ime'am. In Babylonian it appears in names of kings of the first dynasty, 'Ammalisata, 'Ammaludug, 'Ammalug of Amurru, and in South Arabia in 'Ambarit and other proper names. One of the main Arabic names into which Ashur signalling bore the name Ammon (Ammonis), 'son of father-uncle,' or 'very generous,' where 'Ammon is clearly the name of a deity. Bab'am is also a name compounded with 'Am, and is probably not 'Baal'im,' i.e., the name of the fruit of the children of Ammon (cf. Dt 23:9, 10). Rehoboam also bore a name compounded with 'Am, and he was the son of an Ammonite mother (1 K 14:17). On the basis of some of these facts, Denzinger, in RER (1890) i. 125, proposed the theory that 'Am, or 'Ammi, was the name of the national god of the Ammonites. This theory is correct if we regard 'Am as merely a title applied to Milkom by the Ammonites, as it was applied to Jahweh by the Israelites. In this sense there is no reason to regard 'Am as a separate deity. There is no evidence that there was a primitive Semitic god 'Am, any more than that there was a primitive Semitic god Baal or Mēlek. 'Paternal uncle' is a title like 'father,' 'brother,' 'king,' 'lord,' that might be applied to the most diverse gods (see 'AMM, 'AMMI).

The word Ilu, or El, which appears in the name of the Ammonite king Pudu-ilu (cf. Pedu-ilu, 'God has redeemed,' Nu 34:9), is also generic, and may refer to Milkom, as it does to Jahweh in the parallel Heb. form (cf. Padaia, 2 K 23:23). Baalīs (בּעַלְּיָּס, 'son of exultation') Baetthegon (Baetthegon, 16) regards it as equivalent to Baal-Isis, 'husband of Isis,' or 'Isis is Baal,' and compares Adu-is, 'servant of Isis' (CIS 308). Both interpretations are exceedingly doubtful, and all that can be gathered from this name is that Baal was in use as a generic name for deity among the Ammonites as among the other Semites. To 'Ammon the Ammonite and his son Jahchon (Neh 23:27) have names compounded with Jahweh, and this has been made a basis for the conjecture that Jahweh was one of the gods of the Ammonites, as of the people of Hamath (el-Tadmur), as of the gods of the inscriptions of Sargon, and of the people of Yaudi in Northern Syria (cf. Azri-yau in the inscriptions of Tiglat Pileser III.). The conclusion is, however, not valid, for this implies that in the time of the Ammonites settled in the land of Israel during the Exile and adopted the cult of the god of the land. The other Ammonite names that have come down to us are not theophoric, and, therefore, yield no information in regard to the religion of this race. Stephen of Byzantium (cited by Baetthegon, 16) states that the original name of the capital of Ammon was Amman, then it was called Azartare, and finally Philadelphia. If this be true, it indicates the worship of the primi-
tive Semitic goddess Ashrat. From the gigantic sarcophagus of Og that was pre-
served at Rabbah (Dt 3:11) we may, perhaps, infer that ancestor-worship was practised among the Ammonites as among other branches of the Semitic race.

From the foregoing survey it appears that there is no convincing evidence of the worship of any other god than Milcom among the Ammonites. It is possible that Milcom's importance as the god of the vineyard, for which there is some evidence, is due to the seaminess of our sources, that Milcom occupied the same unique place in Ammon as Jahweh did in Israel; and to use this, as Renan did, as proof of a tendency to monotheism in that branch of the Semitic race to which Israel belonged. In all probability the Ammonites were polytheists, like their neighbours and near relatives the Moabites and Edomites, and it is merely an accident that we know the name of only the head god of their pantheon.

In regard to the rites of their religion we know practically nothing, except what we may infer from the analogy of the religions of kindred races. We have only an idea of circumcision, in common with the Egyptians, Israel-
ites, Edomites, and Moabites. In other respects probably their customs did not differ widely from those of the Moabites.

* * *

Ammon (Conn. on Gen.) infers that the Ammonites and Moabites were characterized by an extreme lewdness that aroused the moral repugnance of Israel; and he appeals to Nu 25 for proof of this in the case of the Moabites; but Gn 19:28 so evidently derived from a fanciful popular etymology of the names Moba and Ben-'Ammi that no historical conclusions can be based upon it.

* * *

Lewis BAYLES PATON

AMNESY. The word is used somewhat loosely by modern writers with reference to several episodes in Greek history. Strictly and properly, it is the word used by writers of the post-classical age to describe the resolution adopted by the Athenians after the expulsion of the so-
carried out by Thuc. (IV. 224) is characterized by Cicero (in the Fourth book of his De Re Publica). B.C. 405, a reconciliation was effected, through the mediation of the Spartan king Pausanias, between the oligarchical party of the city and the democrats of its opposition.

All persons who, having remained in the City during the oligarchical regime, were anxious to leave it, were to be free to settle at Elaeus, retaining their full civil rights, and possess-
ing full and independent rights of self-government, with free enjoyment of their personal property. * * * There should be a universal amnesty concerning past events towards all persons (τῶν οίκοι οὐκ ἡμίτοιο μηδὲ γνώσις ἡμῖν εἶναι), except the Thirty, the Ten (who were their successors), the Eleven (who had carried out their decrees of execution), and the magistrates (ten in number in the Parians); and these should also be included if they should submit to give an account of their official acts (ἐνδείξεις εἰς οἴκοις) in the usual way. See Thuc. (IV. 224); Renan's note to Thuc. (IV. 224), ii. 4. 3, and reference in Aristoph. Plut. 1168: ἡμῖν ἀφετῆρας, ἐστίν Φυλᾶς κατελθεῖσιν. * * * οἱ δὲ ὡσεὶς ἀνθρώποι ἑαυτῶν ἐπιταγής μηδὲ γνώσις ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίων ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμιλίωn ἡμῖn ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμиl
known from Greek history, taken in times of great danger, with the object of stilling disputes and uniting all forces in defence, by which political exiles were recalled and civic rights conferred upon those who had been partially or wholly disfranchised. The Corinthians thus adopted this measure shortly before the battle of Salamis (Arist. Hist. Pol. 22. 4. 2, ed. Wachter).  

Again, a similar resolution was passed at the time of the siege of Athens by Lyons, under the pressure of Patrokles (Aristoc. op. cit. 78: επε γαρ αι γεωργες νπερισκέοντας θηραμωρίαν και τοις αγιμοις επιτιμον ποθον. Cf. Arist. Ath. Pol. 22. 4. 2) the location of this passage is not certain.  

Such acts of grace were known with reference to individuals, e.g., the regularity of Alcibiades (Xen. Hell. i. 4. 11, his return in n. 408; the vote of recall actually passed in n. 411, Thuc. viii. 97) and of Democthenes in n. 325 (Plut. Dem. 25), as well as of the historian Thucydides—to take only conspicuous examples in Athenian history.  

Such acts of grace or pardon on the part of the sovereign people in reference to individuals, or comparatively small groups or classes, are clearly different in their nature from Acts of oblivion, where, in Greek history at any rate, the sovereign body itself has been burdened in twain upon a conflict of principle concerning the forms of government. Both, again, are to be clearly distinguished (and the confusion is not uncommon in the books of reference) from what the Greeks called denoi, or acts of oblivion, as used by Polybius.  

Such denoi or guarantee against penal consequences was always necessary to enable anyone to exercise any privilege that did not properly belong to his status, i.e., to enable slaves, resident aliens or disfranchised citizens to perform those higher functions which were part and parcel of the notion of civic status. It was also necessary before a proposal for the State to forego any of its rights against individuals, as, for example, a proposal for the removal of ατιμία or disfranchisement (Dem. Or. xxiv. 47: άνω των ἀτιμίων των ὑποκείμενων n. 25 περί των ατιμίων των άνθρωπων οὐδὲ στάζων, καὶ πάντες μὴ ἄλλως ἢ ἑρμηνευόμενοι νπερισκέονται. Cf. CIA i. 180-183, and i. 32). A vote of denoi also guaranteed informers against punishment for crimes in which they might have been participators; but their free agency was not involved. In general a denoi was a preliminary surrender of specific rights of the State in favour of an individual for a particular purpose (see Goldstaub, De atimia notione et usu lib.), in whatever way its adoption.  

We must distinguish, then, the following three categories: (1) denoi, indemnity for acts which involve or may involve penal consequences; in general retrospective; only when retrospective does it coincide in practical effect with amnesty. (2) Pardon, in cases in which the penal con-

sequences are already in operation. In this sense the word ‘amnesty’ is incorrectly used, as above explained. The Greeks apparently possessed no single term to cover this sense. (3) έλεος μηδεμιανος (= Lat. oblivio and late Gr. εμεμινιον) = Eng. ‘amnesty’ in the strictest sense of the word, or refusal to make investigation of matters of fact with a view to a punishment.  


W. J. WOODHOUSE.

AMPHIARAUS.—A seer and, along with Adrastus, the chief hero of the legend of the Seven against Thebes. He had early become the subject of heroic legend, and his character was portrayed in legend in Argos as well as around Thebes. These local legends had been, too, at an early date united to the Theban cycle of legends by the two Homerian epics, ‘The expedition of Amphiarus’ and ‘The Thebaid.’ But his cult is older than the legend.  

Amphiarus was worshipped in the Peloponneseus (Sparta, Pausanias, i. 12. 5; Argos, Pausanias, ii. 25. 2; Phlius, Pausanias, ii. 13. 7; and the colony of Byzantium, FHG iv. 149. 16), and especially in Orops near Corinth, where his sanctuary was excavated (Panly-Wissowa, i. 1895 ff.). He was worshipped as a god of the lower world, often at his own grave, where he gave oracles. That is the original form of the belief regarding him. This is the reason why he is a seer in the heroic legend, and why he does not die but descends alive into the depths of the earth.  

As seer, Amphiarus was genealogically connected with the house of the Thebans. He was the son of Polybus, who married his father’s sister Αίρη as a result of the marriage of Amphion and the Syracusan princess Ερυθρα (Herodotus, vi. 27; also Boden and L.  

In Nemea also, which lies on the road between Argos and Thebes, there were legends of Amphiarus, traces of which have been preserved in the legends of the games of the Nemean Games, especially in the 3rd Hypomein in Pindar’s Nemene Odes; Aelian, Var. Hist. iv. 5; Pausanias, iii. 18. 12, ii. 15. 2; Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, iii. 6. 4.  

In the war against Thebes, Amphiarus slays the powerful Theban hero Μέλανη (Herodotus, v. 67; Pausanias, ix. 18. 1). But he cannot with-
stand Pericyменноς, and flees from him; however, as the latter is about to stab him in the back, Zeus divides the earth with a lightning flash, and sinks Amphiarauς with his chariot alive into the depths. This tradition is a unity, and thus probably derived from the epic Thesaid (Pindar, Nemean i. 34; Euripides, Supp. 925; Apollodorus, Bibl. i. 29); but it is a tradition of unimpeachable authority. There are, however, early in the 5th century, not later than 170, as W. Diod. 320, the Haliartus, E. 394, the battle of Amphiaraus, which was lost, and which is mentioned in the 4th century, preserved between Attica and Boeotia. These historical recollections in connexion with the cult, which remained ever living, have provided the material of the legend and determined its character.

**LITERATURE.**—Welcker, Epischer Cyclogus, ii. 320 ff.; Bette, Thebanische Heldensieder, 42 ff., 76 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, i. 189 ff.; E. Bette.

**AMPHICTYONY.**—An amphictyony was a union of different cities or peoples centred in the temple for the common performance of certain religious duties. The name is derived from ἄμφικτιοι (with a variant form ἄμφικτοι in later times, ἄμφικτοι), which, with its equivalent ἀμφικτότες, is the modern adjective ἀμφικτότους and the adjective ἄμφικτων, or ἄμφικτος and the adjective ἄμφικτων, are often used. The ideas attached to these words were coloured by the history and constitution of the Delphian amphictyony, and we need not assume that all amphictyonies were formed on similar principles or function. Many local unions in early times which were formed on a religious basis, and would fall within the definition given above, are not expressly described as amphictyonies. This may be accidental, for some amphictyonies are mentioned only once in ancient literature, and there were primitive religious leagues, which did not survive in later times, that seem to have possessed the characteristics generally regarded as amphictyonic, and we know of no essential difference which should exclude them from the present survey.

An amphictyonic form of union which can be traced in the earliest times is the union of people of kindred race within a continuous area round a common temple. Such a federation is perhaps implied in the beginning of Odys. ii., where the men of Pyles in their companies feast and offer sacrifice to Poseidon. So Strabo records (viii. 343) that the Tryphilians met at Samium in the grove of the Samian Poseidon, had the sacred tree proclaimed, and united in sacrifice. So also the twelve Ionian cities of the Peloponnesus, before the Ionian migration, combined in a religious league centred in the temple of Poseidon at Helice (Strabo, viii. 344), and on this league was modelled the federation of the Ionian colonies in Asia Minor. Strabo (ix. 412) refers to the 'amphictyonic' league of Onchestus, whose meeting-place was the grove of Poseidon in the territory of Halkartus, founded perhaps before the immigration of the Boeotians. The Boeotians, after their conquest, celebrated at the temple of Itonian Athene, in the plain of Coronea, the festival of the Panboeotia (Strabo, ix. 344), and the Ionian assumption of the temple of Poseidon, a religious character. It may have been the original basis of the political federation of later times.

Strabo (viii. 374) also records an 'amphictyony' of Calauria, an island off the coast of Troezen. This met, probably at a very early period, at the temple of Poseidon (which was always an asylum), and included the following cities: Hermione, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasiae, Nauplia, and the Mantinean Spartan. At a later time Argos and Sparta took the place of Nauplia and Prasiae. This league combined states which were not neighbours. Whether it had any objects other than religious we do not know; if it is possible, as it is generally assumed, that it was an union of sea-states, designed to secure intercourse by sea.

The amphictyony of Pylae, which afterwards became so important from its connexion with Delphi, was originally a combination of different races (not cities), united in the worship of Demeter. Its history will be studied in detail below.

There are possible references to an amphictyony of Doric states centred in Argos (Paus. iv. 5. 2; Plut. Per. 3), presumably meeting at the temple of Apollo Pythaeus. The allusion in Pindar (Nem. vi. 44) to the festival of the 'amphictyonies' in the grove of Poseidon is held by some to imply a Coriinthian Delphian amphictyony, which is used in a general sense. It has been suggested that we should assume a Euboean amphictyony meeting in the temple of Anar臾yntian Artemis, as there is evidence of the Euboean cities combining in a festival to the latter divinity. Of these cities, Athens, Thessaly, Arcadia, and Boeotia also formed a league, which, like the Delphian, was an amalgamation of several states. Little notice has been taken of it in the history of early Greece. If we may trust the evidence of the coinage of the Greek colonies, the Aegaean, or, in Asia, we have warrant for calling only that of Delos an amphictyony. This league from a very early date united the Ionians of the islands in the worship of Apollo, as is more fully discussed below. There are other leagues which have amphictyonic characteristics. The twelve Ionian colonies of Asia Minor (of which a list is given in Herod. i. 142) met at the Panionium, a precinct on the promontory of Mycale dedicated to the Heliconian Poseidon, and celebrated a festival called Panionia (Herod. i. 148; cf. Strabo, viii. 384; Diod. xv. 49). The league, which was probably founded on the model of the original league of the Ionian cities in the Peloponnesus, had also political objects, and the meetings at the Panionium were used for the discussion of questions of common policy and to promote trade (Herod. i. 174). The Panionium was also a place of common festival for the Ionians (Thuc. iii. 104; cf. Dionys. Hal. iv. 25, who says the precinct of Artemis was the place of meeting, and Diod. xv. 48, who says the πανωνιονιον was transferred from the Panionium to Ephesus). The grove of Poseidon at Tenos seems to have been the site of a πανωνιονιον (Strabo, x. 487).

The three Doric cities of Rhodes (Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus), Cos, and Chios, with Halicarnassus (which was afterwards excluded from the union), celebrated a festival on the Triopian promontory at the temple of Apollo (Herod. i. 144). Dionysoi (i.e.) says that these Dorians and the Ionians meeting at Ephesus took the great amphictyony as their model, and attributes to their leagues, besides religious functions, powers of jurisdiction and control of policy for which we have no evidence elsewhere.

Before discussing the Delian and the Delphian amphictyonies, each of which had a special character, it will be best to consider the general functions of such religious leagues.
It is clear that the amphictyony was a primitive form of union, the origin of which in all probability preceded the coming of the Achaean invaders. The gods whose temples supplied the meeting-places are for the most part the gods of the earliest inhabitants of the Argolid, such as Apollo, Poseidon, Athena, and the Isthmus (if we interpret Pindar’s allusion as showing the existence of an amphictyony), and at Mycale and Tenos. At Pylenae, Delos was the presiding god, and the priest’s palace was the common worship, at set times, of the god; and the offering of a common sacrifice and the celebration of a common festival were essential elements. (Terms like ἀρχοντία, ἀρχοντικός, ἀρχοντικόν, τοῦ ἄρχοντος, τοῦ ἄρχοντος, τῆς ἄρχοντος may denote the festival generally, or the sacrifice; cf. Strabo, viii. 384, διονύσιος θεός τῆς νήσου.)

At the meeting (παραγγείλα) a sacred truce (εἰκερία) was proclaimed. The cities or peoples participating sent sacred conveyos (θεοῦς, in some instances denoted by special titles, Ποισικρατεῖον, ἄρχοντικόν, but many of the ordinary citizens flocked to the gatherings. Usually there were athletic and musical contests, together with dances and orgies of various kinds. Olympia had its origin in amphictyonic meetings (see Gilbert, GrieCh, Staatsstudiumer, ii. p. 406).

The gathering often served other purposes: fairs were held, military manoeuvres and private transactions were conducted on the marketplace, and the exchange of markets. Peaceful intercourse between the states was encouraged, and combination for political purposes was facilitated by these meetings, which were sometimes used for definite political ends. Thus the Ionians discussed their coming in to a tribal god gave expression to the idea of kinship; intercourse at the sacrifices, festivals, and marts tended to break down the barriers between different states, and to encourage commerce and commercial peace and political union. The names Pamboeotia and Panonia, given to two of these gatherings, emphasize the idea of unity. When the amphictyony included cities which were not neighbours, or which did not recognize the bond of kinship, its function was even more important. The association of different peoples in the worship of a common god broke through the exclusiveness of local cults, and tended to find that religious unity which was regarded as one of the bases of Hellenic nationality (Herod. vii. 144). The Delphian amphictyony certainly contributed to the idea of Hellenism, and, in concert with the oracle, had great influence in establishing common religious observances among the Greeks. Its political importance was in some sense accidental: its religious functions it shared with the other amphictyonies, whose importance in the history of religion is not to be exaggerated, in uniting different states in the common worship of the same gods.

The Delian amphictyony.—Delos, the sacred island and the birthplace of Apollo, was from early times a religious centre for the Ionians of the Aegean. The legends speak of a transfer of the island from Poseidon to Apollo (Strabo, viii. 250) and of its itself as an amphictyony (Paus. viii. 45. 3; cf. Plut. Thes. 21). It is thought that the connexion of Theseus with the festival was an invention in the time of the Athenian domination; but, at least from the time of Solon, Athens sent sacred conveyos, ἄρχοντικόν, chosen from certain Empatrid families (Athen. vi. 234). There is evidence for the existence of the παραγγεῖα at a comparatively early date: so states the Hellanicus, who mentions the Delian Apollo (i. 166-184; cf. Thuc. iii. 104, ὀλοκληρώματα καὶ τὸ πλήγμα καθ. ἐπὶ τὴν Δήλου τῶν Λόγων ταῦτα, and Strabo, x. 485).

To Delos came the Athenians. The right to celebrate the festival with their wives and their children. There they offered sacrifice, performed sacred dances and hymns, and engaged in contests. Doubtless a sacred truce was proclaimed, and a fair was held upon the seashore, where the visitors to the festival exchanged their goods. The union of the states celebrating the festival probably bore the name of an amphictyony. Although it is not expressly described as such, the existence in later times of officials called ἀμφικτυόνων is best explained on the theory that the title is a survival from earlier days (see below, and cf. Thuc. i. 61, περικτικοὶ). As Mycale and Ephesus rose in importance as meeting-places for the Ionians, the existence of the islands near the coast, the festival at Delos waned. The islanders (presumably of the Cyclades) and the Athenians continued to send their bands of sacerdotes to celebrate the festival. In the troublous times of the 6th and 5th centuries the great festivals were abandoned (Thuc. i. 61).

Delos was too small in extent and population to possess any political strength. Hence it was unable to come under the patronage of the great dominants. Pisistratus had purified the island, and Polykrates had shown it favour (Thuc. i. 61). The Athenians, on the institution of their confederacy in 477, chose Delos as its place of meeting. Political reasons may have moved them, but it is probable that their choice was partly determined by the desire to represent their league as an amphictyony, centred in what had been a holy place of the Ionians, of which Athens claimed to be the natural head. At Delos the meetings of the allies were held, and the federal funds were stored. With the growth of Athenian domination and the transfer of the treasury to Athens (in 454), Delos lost its importance in the confederacy, until, in 426-5, the Athenians purified the island, and established a great festival, to be held every four years. Whether the Delian amphictyony in its form survived or not, we do not know, but the Athenians seem to have wished to represent it as still existing. Thus, although the temple and its funds were controlled by Athenian magistrates (the earliest direct evidence refers to the year 434-3), of the form embraced by such officials in literature is in Athenaeus, i. 173, ἀμφικτυόνων ἅπαξ, a resolution of the 4th cent. only the Athenians appointed such magistrates, the fiction of an amphictyony government was kept up. (Our knowledge is based on literary evidence. The acquaintance of such officials in literature is in Athenaeus, i. 173, ἀμφικτυόνων ἅπαξ.)

The amphictyony of Delos thus ceased to be a religious union in the strict sense, and became an instrument of Athenian supremacy, so that its history is bound up with the varying fortunes of Athens.

The festival (Δήμοι) was celebrated in the spring of the third year of each Olympiad. (A lesser festival took place every year.) It was regulated and presided over by the Athenians (Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 54. 7, reserving to them the prerogative of Theseus inscribed the Athenian festival; the Athenians sent a theatrical at the sacred ship, and at every celebration an offering.
of a gold crown was made to Apollo (Ἀρμακτών τῷ θεῷ, ΚΙΑ ii. 814); and from the number of crowns recorded in the inventories, the number of celebrations can be estimated. The festival was modelled on the great Pan-Hellenic festivals, and was doubtless open to all the states of the Aegean, possibly to all the Greeks. To the old athletic and musical contests the Athenians added horse races. (For the order of proceedings see Plut. Nic. 3). Boxed for the first time at the festival, at which the Delians served the tables, and hence bore the title of Ἐξεδώται (Athien, iv. 175).

The first celebration was in 425, and was probably the occasion of the magnificent θεωρία of Nicia (Plut. Nic. 3; others attribute this to 417). The Delians seem to have respected the rule of the Athenians, and in 422 the Athenians expelled them from the island (Thuc. v. 1), intending, no doubt, to make it a mere appendage of Athens. But in 420, at the bidding of the Delphian oracle, they were restored.

The festival was celebrated every four years during the Peloponnesian war. An inscription of 417 (IK 188, p. 229) shows that the Delian superintendence and sharing in the administration with the four Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτυονες (for whose title this is the earliest definite evidence). After the fall of Athens, it was regarded as a Delphian title. Delphi, as the place of origin, were reconciled in the legend that Acrisius, summoned from Argos to help the Delphians, instituted a συνέθρον at Delphi, and organized the constitution of the amphictyony (see to Enr. Oract. 1093; cf. Strabo, ix. 420). Little further is recorded until the first Sacred War (B.C. 585), when the amphictyonic peoples are said to have attacked Crisa, with a view to take the treasure and transgression of the amphictyonic ordinances (Eschines, iii. 107-8; Strabo, ix. 419). After the destruction of Crisa, the Pythian games were instituted (369).

The truth underlying the legends may be somewhat as follows. At a remote period, probably before the great migrations within Greece, the peoples then settled near Thermopylae combined in the worship of Demeter, the festival possibly being connected with the harvest. That Pylea was the original meeting-place is probable on the following grounds. The cult of Demeter Amphictyonia was always maintained at Pylea; as the meeting of the Amphictyony, whether at Pylea or Delphi, bore the name Πελάιαι, and Παλαγόρα was the title of the official envoy; the peoples in after times belonging to the amphictyony were called Πελαγόρες or Πελάιαι. It is a matter of speculation which of these peoples originally belonged to the amphictyony. There were, no doubt, fresh accessions consequent on the migrations, and, by the end of the 7th cent., probably most of the peoples in eastern Greece between Thessaly and Laconia had been admitted. The Thessalians were presidents. At some period before the first Sacred War, Delphi had been taken under the protection of the amphictyony, and became a second place of meeting. (Legend placed this at a very early date, and the tradition of the Greeks undoubtedly set it before the Sacred War; that it was not conducted by the amphictyony, which, he thinks, was opened to new states after the war). The war with Crisa marks an epoch; henceforth the history of the league rests on surer information; it is more closely united with Delphi, whose shrine and property came under the protection of the amphictyonic council, which also had the superintendence of the Pythian games.

(a) M. M. The amphictyony was a league of twelve peoples (βοην, called γένος by Paus. x. 8. 2; Strabo, ix. 420, wrongly speaks of πελαγόρες). Whatever changes in the composition of the amphictyony took place, the number of the peoples was constant. The earliest list that comes down to
us is that of Aeschines (ii. 110), who professes to
take twelve names, though only eleven appear in
the text. These are the Thesprotians,
the Ionian Perchaenians, Magnetians, Locrians,
Oceania, Pithians, Milians, and Phocians. It is
generally believed that the Dolopes should be
added to the list, and that Aeschines
describes this council as if it had usually
appear as Aetianae (Herod. vii. 132, in a list of
nine peoples who submitted to Xerxes, cites only
amphictyonic peoples). From 346 to 345 the Mace-
donians had divided the Dolopes into two
councils, and the Delphians were admitted, room being made for
their limit the Perchaenians and the Dolopes as one
people. (An inscription gives us a list of the
peoples in 344–3. See L. Bourguet, L’Administration
financière du sanctuaire pythique au IVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ, p. 145 ff., and BCH xx. p. 322.)
The subsequent changes after the Aetolian
were admitted need not be followed here.

While there was at all periods a conservative
adherence to the principle that races and not
states should be members of the amphictyony,
a measure ascribed to Acrisius, and certainly
adopted by the Aetolian council regulated the participa-
tion of separate states in the amphictyonic council.
Each of the twelve peoples admitted to membership
had two votes (Aesch. ii. 116), and in some cases
these votes were divided between different branches
of the same race (e.g. the Locrians and the
Milians), or between states belonging to the same
race; thus we find the Ionian votes shared by
Athens and one of the Euboean states; the Dorian
votes divided between the Dorians of the metro-
polis and the Dorians of the Peloponnesus, or
at another time between the Laconians and some other state of the Peloponnesus (BCH xx.
1907) or in 348 a vote was given in the different
cities of Boeotia (Thebes being usually repre-
sented). The exclusion of a particular state from the
amphictyony might be effected without
eliminating the representation of the race to
which it belonged, as its vote could be transferred
to another state. We have no information as to
how the apportionment of votes to the individual
states or sections of the people was effected. While
the decision of amphictyonic business was thus
entrusted to the representatives of the states quali-
fied for the time to vote, other states not so repre-
sented, or even states which had no right to a
vote, likewise took part in the amphictyonic meet-
ings, and sent sacred embassies.

(b) Meetings and representatives.—The meetings
were held twice a year, in spring and autumn
(πανησύρμβω τοις μηνοίς ἐγκατέστισαν, Strabo, x. 420), and
on each occasion at both Anthela and Delphi.
Extraordinary meetings might be called (Aesch.
iii. 124). Any members of the amphictyonic peoples
might attend: sacred embassies (εἰρήνας) were
probably sent by the amphictyonic peoples, and
there were also Ἀρχαῖοι (in some writers Ἀρχαῖοι)
and Ἀρχαῖοικοι, who represented the inter-
ests of the states or peoples qualified to vote.
From the 3rd century Τριήμεροι seem to have taken
the place of the Ἀρχαῖοι.

There is some uncertainty as to the respective duties of
the Ἀρχαῖοι and the Ἐνεργοὶ at different dates. In the early
years of the 4th century B.C. the Ἀρχαῖοι and Ἐνεργοὶ were
considered as the executive and deliberative power (Herod. vii. 213; Pind. Thesm. 20; Strabo ix. 420) does not mention any other officials).

The Ἀρχαῖοι (Aesch. vii. 24) was an office of the amphictyonic peoples (Aristoph. Achar. 603). Inscriptions and literary evidence (the
appearance of Ἀρχαῖοι in connexion of the amphictyonic enterprises, Aesch. ii. 116) are the chief authority show that in the 4th
century the Ἀρχαῖοι were the Delphians, while the Ἐνεργοὶ were the Athenians (Herod. vii. 132, 136–7). The question of the
amphictyonic council at Delphi. The Ἀρχαῖοι were still appointed, but had not
representative function. The Delphians were perhaps not included in the number. Thus, Athens sent three to Delphi in 359.
The method of appointing these officials may have been left to the discretion of the different
states. At Athens we find the Ἐνεργοὶ appointed by lot (Aristeophanes, Lys. 9 and the Pythagorians elected. The method
as it is called is described sometimes as the of
Dorians (Aeschines and Aesidian), perhaps to watch over the interest of their state at the amphictyony. From
the narrative of the Delphian amphictyony (Aesch. iii. 338) that the Hieromoneus formed the council (εἰρήνας) of the
amphictyony. The individual members of the council seek advice and support from the Pythagorians of his state. Thus
Aeschines, who was one of the Athenian Pythagorians, was admitted to the council of the Hieromoneus when the other Pythagorians
had withdrawn, and after defending the cause of Athens, retired before the Pythagorians' board took place. After the fall of the
Hieromoneus, all power, deliberative, judicial, and executive, was vested, and it was apparently sometimes described as
προ-
πολεμίου περίπολος (Aesch. iii. 139). The president is referred to as ὁ τιμωτέρων ἐν ἱερομονήμων (Aesch.
iii. 124). The council was not a legal council, which was called by the magistrates of Athenaeum, or by the
Delphians.

Thus, it seems likely that on the special boards of ποιοντες and ρῶν see below.

(c) Competence of the amphictyony.—It is
difficult precisely to define the competence of the
amphictyony. It was not, as in ancient writers that can be relied upon (Dionys.
Hal. iv. 25, vaguely exaggerates), and its powers,
so far as they cannot be inferred from the original
decisions, are mainly due to the tradition of
historical instances of its activity. It should be noted
that the influence and the importance of the
amphictyony varied greatly at different periods. As
most of its members were politically insignificant,
states such as Athens and Sparta at the height of
their power had little respect for its authority.
Thus, the council was called by the chief
magistrates of Athens and Spartan to defend the
amphictyony for its own ends, and find pretexts to
justify an extension of amphictyonic action. It is possible
here to give only broad results without detail.

We may assume that, probably from the first,
the amphictyony had two main objects: the union of
different peoples for common religious purposes,
and the common observance of certain rules affecting
the relations between those peoples. Two
causes combined to increase the importance of
these objects. As the amphictyony came to
include representatives from most of the peoples of
Greece, it tended to assume an Hellenic character,
and when Delphi was taken under its protection
and became its most important meeting-place, the
universal recognition of the oracle and the cult
of Apollo increased the prestige and importance of
the amphictyony. It is not always easy to dis-
tinguish the members of Delphi from those of the
amphictyony, but it must be remembered that the
oracle, though under the protection of the
amphictyony, was independent, and many institutions or
observances which owed their origin to Delphi
should not be credited to the amphictyony.

The members of the amphictyony united in
common religious observances at both Anthela
and Delphi. At Anthela they worshipped Demeter
with the title Άρχαῖοι or Ενεργοὶ and the Deity of
Amphictyon. We know that there were meetings in
spring and autumn protected by the proclamation
of a holy truce (εἰρήνα): sacrifice was offered,
and probably a festival was celebrated with the
accompanyment of contests and market. An
important
inscription (CIA ii. 545) gives us much
information as to the relations of the amphictyony with Delphi. The inscription dates from 370 B.C. AD
and the assertion of the amphictyonic rules and duties may mark a recent restoration of the power of
the amphictyony, perhaps under the protection of Sparta. The date of the inscription is not
ambiguously given, but we may perhaps place it
somewhere between 350 and 320 B.C. (see op. cit. p. 235; Bourguet, op. cit. pp. 158–9). At
Delphi Leto, Artemis, and Athena Pronai (or Pronai) were associated with Apollo as Amphic-
tyonian deities (Aesch. iii. 108, 111), to whom sacrifice
was offered at the spring and autumn meetings.
AMPHICTYONY

In the procession preceding the sacrifice, among other beasts an ox of great price was led (this is the βοῦς τῶν ἀποκαταστάτων of CIL ii. 545, l. 32; cf. Xen. Hell. vi. 4. 29, βοῦς πράσινος. Some think this beast was a special offering at the great Pythian). The amphictyony superintended the meetings and festivals, including the great Pythia, which took place every four years, and the annual Pythia. To these festivals the amphictyonic states sent envoys (perhaps the πενελεύθεροι of Strabo, ix. 404; cf. CIL ii. 545, 45, where Böckh restored πενελευθέροι). The envoys were responsible for the care of the sacred rites, of the property consecrated to the gods, the temples and other buildings, and the sacred land. In the inscription referred to provision is made for a circuit of the sacred land (τεμπεός, cf. Dem. xvii. 150, τεμπεόλους), and agreements or contracts (presumably on the routes leading to Delphi) are to be kept up by the amphictyons (usually interpreted as the different peoples belonging to the amphictyony).

More important duties fell to the amphictyony which a temple had to be rebuilt. In the 6th cent., after it had been destroyed by fire, the rebuilding was entrusted to the Alcmeonidae, as contractors (Herod. ii. 180, v. 62). In 373 the temple was again burnt down, and under the amphictyonic law of 380 the Hieromnemones undertook its reconstruction. We have much detailed information on the procedure from inscriptions recently found at Delphi. (The results are summarized by E. Bourguet, L'Administration financière du sanctuaire pythique au IVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ.) The restoration of the temple undertaken in 380 was not completed for thirty years. The work was interrupted by the Sacred War, but the heavy fine imposed upon the Phocians supplied funds, which enabled the work to be carried through. In connexion with this work two new colleges of amphictyonic magistrates were instituted. From 360 we can trace the activity of the προσωπαί. The members of the College belonged to amphictyonic peoples, but the total number, as well as the numbers from the different states, varied widely. Some of the states represented in the amphictyonic council appointed none, while Delphi had a προσωπόν before it secured a vote in the council. The προσωπαί met twice a year at the ordinary meetings of the Amphictyonic Council, and collected funds for the expense of rebuilding, and made contracts in accordance with the specifications (συγγραφαί) drawn up for the different parts of the work. (For details of the contracts, methods of payment, etc., see Bourguet, op. cit. p. 95 ff.) After the completion of the temple, the προσωπαί were charged with the maintenance of the fabric, and their activity can be traced for a century and a half.

In 339, at the autumn session, a college of twenty-four ἄρατα was instituted (see Bourguet, p. 110 ff.). It is thought that the institution may have been proposed in the interest of Philip, who was anxious to increase his influence in the amphictyony. The result was to make the work of the προσωπαί subordinate, and to concentrate the control of expenditure in the hands of the new college. In 278 the position of the college was identical with that of the council of the Delian Hieromnemones; the same states were represented, and the lists of both were drawn up in the same order. The ἄρατα, from the sums assigned to them, met not only the expense of rebuilding the temple (the money for which was paid over to the προσωπαί), but the other expenses of the amphictyony, both at Delphi and Pylae (see Bourguet, p. 126 ff.). This board was, however, only a temporary institution, and when the last instalment of the Phocian fine had been paid and the temple at Delphi was finished, their work probably ceased. Before 310, and possibly as early as 326, they were no longer acting.

Inscriptions thus enable us to realize in detail the activity of the amphictyony in the case of the sacred property. The protection of the property of the god is one of the objects guaranteed by the amphictyonic oath recited by Aeschines (ii. 115). The other clauses of the oath remind us of another obligation on the part of the hieromnemones to see that certain common principles, the violation of which was a sin visited by amphictyonic vengeance. Aeschines mentions the oath not to raze any amphictyonic city to the ground, or to cut off running water in war or peace. The purpose of those prohibitions, which may go back to the origin of the amphictyony, is not to prevent war altogether, but to modify its harshness and to encourage peaceful intercourse. We do not know whether there were other general obligations of a similar character recognized by the amphictyony. Dionysius (iv. 25) refers to κοινῷ νόμῳ called amphictyonic, and other writers refer to the laws or deliberations of the amphictyony (cf. Strat. x. 420; Schol. to Eur. Orest. 1903). If we could accept the vague statements of these late writers, we might assume a much wider influence of the amphictyony in regulating the relations of the Greek states to one another, and it is possible that there were κοινὰ νόματα or νόμοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων other than those mentioned by Aeschines, which were sanctioned by the amphictyony (see Bz. q.v. cit. p. 190 ff. for certain regulations, possibly but not demonstrably amphictyonic). There are instances of charges being brought before the amphictyony which may have been based on the supposed violation of general rules, though we lack definite testimony. Among the historical incidents quoted in connexion with the condemnation of the Dolopes by Scyros for piracy (Plut. Cim. 8); the price put upon the head of Ephialtes after the second Persian War (Herod. vii. 213); the condemnation of the Spartans, who were fined and excluded from the amphictyony for the seizure of the Cadmea (Dio, xvi. 25); or the charges brought against Athens by the Amphilochians in 339 (Aesch. iii. 116).

Charges brought before the amphictyony were tried by the council, which might fine the offenders or exclude them from the league, or in more serious cases proceed to holy war against the offending state. As we do not know the scope of the amphictyonic laws, we cannot say whether the charges were always based on a supposed transgression of the κοινῶν νόμων. Probably some pretext was assumed to bring them within the jurisdiction, but the competence of the amphictyony might be extended by the admission of charges which did not properly come before its court. Thus an Athenian decree of 363 (CILA ii. 54) asserts that Astyocrates has been condemned παρὰ τῶν ἱστόμων τῶν ἄμφικτων, and in 335 Alexander apparently demanded that the orators of Athens should be tried before the amphictyony before any action was taken against them. Apart from this, disputes might be referred by consent to the arbitration of the amphictyony, and we probably have an instance of this in the submission by the Athenians and Delians of their controversy respecting the temple in 343-4 or 344-3 (Dem. xviii. 134, xix. 65).

The amphictyony might pass votes referring to individuals, as in the honours accorded to the heroes of Delphi and the temple of Pelops (the money for which was paid over to the προσωπαί), but the other expenses of the amphictyony, both at Delphi and Pylae (see Bourguet, p. 126 ff.). This
AMRITSAR

AMRITSAR—Amritsar, in the Panjab, is one of the religious centres of India, and the chief city of the Sikhs. It lies in what is known as the Maur-di country, about 32 miles east of Lahore, and contained in the census of 1901 a population of 16,2,429, of whom 40 per cent. were Hindus, 48 per cent. Muhammadans, and 11 per cent. Sikhs. It is the chief commercial town of the Panjab proper; but its commercial importance is unimportant as compared with its other advantages of position than on the fact that the city is built round the celebrated 'Tank of Nectar' or 'Tank of the Immortals', i.e. the gods (Sanskrit, Amṛtaśarassva), which is situated near the Golden Temple, the central shrine of the Sikh religion. There are stories of the spot having been visited by the first Sikh Guru, Nanak (A.D. 1469-1538), and by the third Guru, Amar Das (A.D. 1572-1574); but the actual purchase of the site and excavation of the tank are believed to have been undertaken by the fourth Guru, Rāmdās, in A.D. 1577, and the masonry work was begun by the fifth Guru, Arjan, in A.D. 1588. The remaining five Gurus seem to have paid little or no attention to the place, but after the death of the last Guru in A.D. 1708, and during the turbulent period which preceded the breaking up of the Mughal empire, the shrine began to lose its importance.

The Gurdwara, the Sikh place of worship, is the most sacred building in the city of Amritsar, and the city has since continued to flourish under Maharaja Ranjit Singh (A.D. 1801-1839) and the British Government (since 1849).

There are five sacred tanks in the city, but the most celebrated is the 'Tank of Amritsar' proper, in which the Golden Temple lies. The form of the tank is nearly square, the sides at the top being 510 feet in length, and it is fed by water from the Barī Doab Canal. The Temple occupies a small island in the centre of the tank, 65 feet square, which is connected with the west side by a line causeway, and one on the north. The central shrine is known as the Har-namdar or 'Temple of God,' and consists of a single room, covering a square of 404 feet, with four doors, one opening to each side. The lower part of the outer walls is adorned with marble inlay, resembling that of the Taj Mahal at Agra, and the upper walls and roof are covered with plates of copper heavily girt, from which the place has obtained among Europeans the name of the 'Golden Temple.'

Among the Sikhs themselves the shrine and its precincts are known as the Darbār Sahib or 'Sacred Audience'; and this title owes its origin to the fact that the Granth, or Sacred Book, is locked up as a living person, who daily in this shrine receives his subjects in solemn audience.

The book is brought every morning with considerable pomp from the Mehenāna (see p. 400) across the causeway to the shrine, and returned at night with similar ceremony. It is installed in the shrine below a canopy, and a gurhāti sits behind it all day waving a charm, or yak's tail, over it, as a servant does over the head of the Granthi. On the south sit a selection from the pača, or hereditary incumbents of the Temple, and on the north sit the musicians (raagis and rabolis—the latter, strange to say, being Muhammadans), who from time to time sing hymns from the Granth
to the accompaniment of divers native instruments. In front of the book is the cloth upon which the faithful deposit their offerings. Although the outer precincts have since 1898 been lit by electric light, the shrine itself is lit with clarified butter or oil, and candles are used within the precincts, and, of course, smoking of any kind, are strictly prohibited; and as the Granth is always installed upon the ground, it is considered irreverent for any one within the precincts to sit upon a chair or to stretch out his legs.

Round all four sides of the tank runs a paved walk 30 feet broad, known as the Prakarama (properly Parikrama), which is frequented by the worshippers who come to bathe, by pandits or ascetics of various kinds, and by vendors of religious and other trinkets. At the south-east corner of this walk, where the water issues from the tank, is the bathing-place assigned to the Mazhabis, or low-caste converts, whom the bulk of the Sikhs still decline to admit to their religion on equal terms. Round the outside of the walk rise a number of picturesque buildings, known as bhangas or hospitalities. They are built by the most renowned Sikh chiefs in the latter part of the 18th cent. for the accommodation of themselves and their followers when visiting Amritsar; and among these the bhangas of the Randhar Sikhs is prominent by its two towers, which dominate the city and neighbourhood of Amritsar.

Attached to the main shrine are three subsidiary institutions, which are of considerable importance in the eyes of the Sikhs. The first of these is the Akalbanga, or ‘Hospice of the Immortal,’ which adjoins the shrine on the west side of the causeway, and is the traditional centre of the fanatical sect known as the Nihangs or Akalis. The Granth Darbar, the building also contains a fine collection of the weapons of Guru Har Govind and other Sikh Gurus and chiefs. The courtyard in front of the Akalbanga is a favourite place for the administration of the pahal, or religious baptism of the Sikh creed; the ceremony may, however, be performed anywhere in the presence of the Granth, and the number of persons baptized at the Akalbanga does not exceed 1200 annually. The second of the well-known subsidiary institutions is the Bābā Atal, a shrine surmounted by a tower, which lies a few hundred yards to the south-east of the Har-mandar. This shrine was consecrated to the memory of Bābā Atal, the young son of Guru Har Govind (A.D. 1606–1645), and is surrounded by the cenotaphs of many of the old Sikh nobility. The third institution subsidiary to the Golden Temple is the shrine of Tāran Tāran, which lies 15 miles south of Amritsar, and which was founded by the fifth Guru, Arjan (A.D. 1581–1606). The Taran Taran shrine, which also is built on an island in a large tank, is the scene of a considerable monthly fair, and the Amritsar temple, too, is the centre of two exceedingly large fairs, the Baisakhi and Divālī, which are held in the spring and autumn respectively, and are attended by immense numbers of persons, both for religious and for commercial purposes, from the whole of northern India.

The actual building of the Golden Temple and its precincts is maintained from the proceeds of a jāra, or tax, on a part of land leased from certain neighbouring villages. The granthis who read the sacred volume are three in number, and are supported by offerings made directly to them by worshippers at the shrine. The pījārs, or incautious, are not of land revenue only. The general offerings at the shrine are distributed, after deducting a fixed sum for the temple establishment,—that is to say, the musicians, office-bearers, mendials, and so forth. The whole institution and its subsidiaries are supervised by a manager, who is generally a Sikh gentleman of position appointed by the Government. The funds of the temple, as well as a certain number of precious ornaments, are kept in a somewhat primitive manner in a treasury over the main gate.

The whole importance of Amritsar from a religious point of view lies in the Golden Temple, and there is little of religious importance in the town outside the precincts of the Darbar Sahib. Mention may, however, be made of two recent institutions, namely the Saragarhi memorial and the Khalsa College. The former is a memorial in the form of a Sikh shrine, which was erected in A.D. 1902 in the centre of the city by the British Government in memory of the gallant manner in which a small body of the 36th Sikh Regiment held the fort of Saragarhi on the North-West Frontier against an Afghan enemy in the Tenth campaign of 1897. The latter is a denominational college which was started some twelve years ago for the encouragement of learning among the Sikhs. It lies some miles outside the city, and is largely supported by the Sikh States of the Panjab as well as by private donors.


E. D. MacLagan.

AMULETS.—See CHAMRS.

AMUSEMENTS.—A. I. In the category of 'amusements' it is usual to include all sorts of pleasant occupations, both mental and physical, by which the attention is disengaged from the serious pursuits of life. An amusement is a light form of enjoyment in which little exertion either of the body or of the mind is required. In this respect amusements differ from recreation, which is a word of a higher order, inasmuch as recreation implies some considerable expenditure of energy, either mental or physical or both, although in the nature of the case the exertion is agreeable and refreshing. Both amusement and recreation are designed to serve the same end, the recuperation of one's jaded mental and physical powers; but amusement secures that by turning the mind into channels where the time passes pleasantly and leisurely, whereas recreation effects its purpose by an agreeable change of occupation, by calling into activity other faculties and muscles than those engaged in work. Amusement, in short, is a form of enjoyment in nature's skin to relaxation; recreation is pleasurable exercise in which the energies, set free from work, are allowed to play in other directions (see RECREATION).

2. The slight demands which amusements make on the mental and physical activities, and their character as a means of lightly beguiling the time and drawing off the attention from the more important concerns of life, no doubt explain why in a serious age the word was used in a deprecatory sense. At the close of the 17th cent. we find amusement defined as 'any idle employment to spin away time' (Phillips, quoted in Oxit. Diet.). It may range from something very coarse or banal to' what has no further aim than to kill time and to render men oblivious of the higher ends of life deserves to be condemned; and the use of the word pastime as synonymous with amusement has been regarded as an unwholesome and inexcusable confession that amusements have no other object and serve no other end than to fill up the emptiness of a life which is devoid of nobler interests, and to make men forget themselves. This pessimistic view of
Amusements finds unquestionably some justification in the actual state of things. It cannot be doubted that amusements are often greedily sought after by those who find in the true business of life, in noble aims and striving, nothing. They fight life in order to afford them joy; and they are indulged in with the object of appeasing the natural craving for happiness which finds no satisfaction in higher pursuits. Where this is the case, the paradox is this: is it not monstrous to witness them to the misery of a life which has missed its true joy? But when a depreciatory estimate of amusements is based on the view that life itself, in the duties and relationships to which men are called, is so rich in delights that any other form of enjoyment is unnecessary, the ground is less secure. It is a severe and exacting philosophy which affirms that, to all who are conscious of the satisfactions which attend the pursuit of high moral aims, life is an absorbing interest which takes the place of all amusements.  'Where men are rightly occupied, their amusements grows out of their work' (Retken, Sesame and Lilies). If one is so engaged, is somewhat too highly pitched for ordinary human nature. It is this view of amusements which has commonly been associated with Puritanism, not altogether with justice. To begin with, at least, it was the Puritans who set us an austere philosophy of life, that called forth the Puritan protest against the amusements of the time. Amusements were condemned, not because they were considered too trifling for men who had the serious business of life on hand, but because they were either sinful in themselves or closely associated with sinful accessories. This was the case, for instance, in the matter of dramatic representation. In the days of Elizabeth, the Puritans reproached Stubbes held that some plays were "very honest and commendable exercises," and "may be used in time and place convenient as conducive to example of life and reformation of manners"; but the gross corruption of the seventeenth century stage drove Dryden and the majority of the Puritans to extreme views (Trall, Social English, iv, 153). It was the unfortunate association of evil with so many forms of amusement that disposed the Puritans in their later days to look askance at mirth and enjoyments perfectly innocent; their abhorrence of tainted pleasures led them to regard with aversion what 'the good spirits call the enjoying nature' of their neighbours found expression, and fostered the growth of an austere and sombre spirit, which regarded life as too serious a business to permit of indulgence in light and pleasant diversions.

3. The Puritanic 'gospel of earnestness' is too narrow and one-sided to do justice to human nature. Healthy-minded men refuse to be satisfied with any view of life which ignores the natural instinct for play, and regards participation in amusements as a weakness which will be outgrown when men have tasted the more solid joys which duty brings. It is, by God, true that wherever duty engages the conscience for its faithful and honorable discharge, it becomes, if one cannot say the chief amusement, at least the chief interest in life. But that does not mean more than the recognition of the subsidiary place that amusements should occupy. It does not justify an ascetic attitude towards amusements. Human nature has an instinct for joys of a light and entertaining kind, and this natural receptive instinct is not disabused and repression, but a wise control and a large-hearted recognition of the part its gratification may play in the culture of life. That is, the nourishment which this instinct needs is, first, the right and mirth, for pleasures which stand in no immediate relation to life's duties, but minister to our natural capacity for enjoyment. And the supreme justification of this generous attitude to amusements lies in this, that where they are wisely indulged in, they serve a high end, and cannot be banished without loss. They give it to life; they pleasantly engage the mind and give it relief from the strain of duty, and enable it to recover its elasticity and tone. However interesting work may be, however congenial the labour, there is a serious pursuit which makes our latitude for the necessity arises, if the freshness of interest is to be maintained, of laying the work aside and seeking other interests. Human nature requires something more than rest for its refreshment; it requires that we should seek diversion for the sheer joy of it—some diversion which shall pleasurably occupy the mind and relax the energies, and afford an opportunity for escaping from the deadening influences of routine. The appetite for enjoyment must be wisely gratified, if the vitality necessary for good work is not to be impaired. Cito rumpes aream at teseam habebis.

4. The main justification of amusements lies, accordingly, in their fitness to renew and refresh our powers for the duties of life. But they serve other ends which are ethically important. They have a social value—many of them at least. The fact that the one is associated with the other constitutes one of the charms of amusements; and, apart from the refreshing influences of such intercourse, there is a further gain in the growth and consolidation of friendship, and in the forging of links which bind us more closely together. There may be indeed, and there are, experiences shared with others which have a far greater uniting power than fellowship in the social pleasures of life. They work to the mutual benefit, to the advantage of the individual, and the value of it is deserving of recognition. Moreover, amusements, like everything else which draws us into association with others, serve as an opportunity for the culture of social virtues—unselfishness, equanimity, courtesy, and the like; while, if we extend our definition of amusements to include the great national games, they afford a discipline for the growth of such qualities as patience, self-restraint, manliness, alertness, readiness to seize an opportunity. Then, further, the pursuit of amusements is a bulwark against the temptations of the leisure hour. Nothing exposes the heart to the allure of evil pleasures, than to want of some healthy interest; and an honest love of innocent pleasure, if it served no other end, would be valuable as a moral safeguard.

5. All this must be freely acknowledged. Amusements have an undeniable ethical worth when they are wisely engaged in. But they cease to be ethically valuable, and indulgence in them becomes a dissipation, when they are sought after without due regard to the serious interests of life. When they are allowed to engross the mind and to become the main business in which pleasure is found, when their pursuit prejudices the performance of duty and the ethical development of higher interests, when they encroach on time which should be devoted to more serious matters, or make one indisposed to engage in one's proper work, they become harmful and morally reprehensible. There is no amuse- ment, however, that if properly used, and an individual's own amusement should occupy. It does not justify an ascetic attitude towards amusements. Human nature has an instinct for joys of a light and entertaining kind, and this natural receptive instinct is not disabused and repression, but a wise control and a large-hearted recognition of the part its gratification may play in the culture of life. That is, the nourishment which this instinct needs is, first, the right and mirth, for pleasures which stand in no immediate relation to life's duties, but minister to our natural capacity for enjoyment. And the supreme justification of this generous attitude to amusements lies in this, that where they are wisely indulged in, they serve a high end, and cannot be banished without loss. They give it to life; they pleasantly engage the mind and give it relief from the strain of duty, and enable it to recover its elasticity and tone. However interesting work may be, however congenial the labour, there is a serious pursuit which requires, if the freshness of interest is to be maintained, of laying the work aside and seeking other interests. Human nature requires something more than rest for its refreshment; it requires that we should seek diversion for the sheer joy of it—some diversion which shall pleasurably occupy the mind and relax the energies, and afford an opportunity for escaping from the deadening influences of routine. The appetite for enjoyment must be wisely gratified, if the vitality necessary for good work is not to be impaired. Cito rumpes aream at teseam habebis.

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only in their timeliness, but also in their excess. They are frequently allowed to bulk so largely in life that serious occupations become distasteful. If, after consulting our consciences and unable to pass with ease to more important concerns, and, instead of feeling refreshed for duty, have an aversion to it, we may fairly conclude that we have transgressed the limits of moderate enjoyment, and have fallen into self-indulgence. That these limits are frequently overpassed is not a matter for doubt. There is no question that at the present day the desire for amusement has in many cases outstripped with whom usefulness is seriously prejudicing the culture of the higher life. In the opinion of competent judges, there is a waning of intellectual interests, a decay of any genuine love for those pursuits which enlarge and enrich the mind, a growing unconcern for the graver matters of religion and social service, and in some degree at least this is to be attributed to the immediate indulgence in lighter pleasures. The fault of our age is not in seeking amusement, but in not knowing where to draw the line. *Nee lussissimae pudet, sed non incidere ludum* (Horace, Epist. 1. xiv. 36).

6. The nemesis of excessive addiction to amusements is not only the destruction of the taste for serious and the decay of genuine delight in pleasure in life. The rationale of amusements is their power to send us back to work re-vitalized and capable of finding joy in it. But when they usurp the throne of our desires, and so dominate our thoughts and interest that work is felt to be a wearisome and uninviting interlude, they kill joy in that region of life where joy is all-important, where alone joy can be solid and lasting. A predilection not craving for amusement is its own end; it renders joyless the whole stretch of life which of necessity must be given to work, and it speedily exhausts the enjoyment that amusement itself can give. Excessive pleasure-seeking brings squalor and decay. Amusements, when they become the chief object of pursuit, lose their power of amusing. There is a world of truth in the well-known saying, uttered in reference to the excitements of a London season: 'Life would be tolerably agreeable, if we were not for its amusements.' Excess of pleasure nauseates and takes the joy out of life.

7. In the choice of amusements, and in the determination of the extent of their indulgence, there are several conditions to be taken into account. From the individual's point of view, it is important that he should learn to avoid every form of pleasure which is physically harmful or morally degrading, and to allow himself only that measure of enjoyment which is consistent with the proper discharge of his work, and with a due concern for higher personal interests, such as self-culture and religious worship. But the question of amusements must be considered also in the light of the obligations which we have towards others. To some extent, of course, a consideration of that kind is always involved. Our conduct is never, strictly speaking, merely self-regarding; faithfulness in work, for instance, with which our amusements should never be allowed to interfere, is not simply a personal matter—it affects all others who are dependent on it. But as members of a family, or of a church, or of society in general, we have duties to others—duties of love, helpfulness, consideration, service; and these must be kept in mind in determining the extent and participation in amusements. Indulgence in pleasures the most innocent is illegitimate when it leads to the neglect of our social obligations. A man has no right to seek amusement to the detriment of his work or to the benefit of others. And this question of duties in pleasures must be presented to ourselves, and to others, most earnestly when we are about to indulge in pleasures which we owe to those of our own family circle. Similarly, one may spend so much time or money on the gratification of one's desire for enjoyment as to render impossible the honourable discharge of one's duties to society. Those most closely identi-fied with the religious and philanthropic sentiments are the most unanimous in the opinion that one of the chief difficulties in finding money for its adequate maintenance arises from the increasing expenditure on amusement. Further, there may be occasions when our obligations to others demand whether we should not deny ourselves the gratification of an amusement which to us is perfectly innocent, but which is a cause of offence to those who are bound with us in duties and in serious obligations. That which we owe to 'weaker brethren' cannot be entirely ignored, although there must be limits set to it. One may feel constrained in certain circumstances to renounce a form of enjoyment which harms another or offends his conscience; but, in the interests of moral education, it should be recognized that one has also a duty of vindicating the freedom of conscience, and of showing that amusements which to some are obnoxious, and even injurious, may be indulged in with perfect loyalty to high ethical standards. But, in still another way, our obligations towards others are bound up with the question of amusements. In all these days amusements have become largely in the hands of professional classes, and it has been maintained that the moral danger to which men and women belonging to these classes are exposed is so great, that the amusements provided by them should not be countenanced by those who have the welfare of their fellows at heart. This is perhaps the chief reason why many refuse to enter a theatre. It should be frankly acknowledged that if, as is frequently alleged, the theatrical career puts the souls of men and women in needless jeopardy, and exposes them to temptations such as no one should be called upon to face; if the conditions and atmosphere of an actor's calling are so lowering to the moral tone as to make a loose manner of life practically inevitable, the enjoyment furnished by dramatic representations is a form of amusement which a good man will refuse to countenance. Now, that there are moral risks of a peculiar kind attending the theatrical profession, it would be idle to deny; but the fact of risk does not necessarily condemn it, any more than the inevitable risks attending all kinds of work. There is a risk in business, and it is the risk of failure; and here again the actor is not so much in danger of losing his work as in seeking to give effect to his vocation. As long as his profession is at heart honourable, and as what he does is kept in due perspective, it cannot be called wrong. Further, the theatre is a refuge for the man of sensitive tastes who is unable to meet life's perils in the way of strenuous activity. In any case, the principle of freedom of conscience is held by all, and the actor is entitled to be considered as exercising his profession as a matter of conscience, and that to all outward appearances. The benefit of this view must be in all cases to the advantage of the theatre: it not only makes it easy for the profession to maintain a good conscience, but also to consider, on the grounds of the fullest knowledge at his command, whether those who provide the entertainment are prejudicially affected in character.

8. In the last resort, the question of amusement is for each individual to decide. It is impossible to lay down hard-and-fast rules which will have universal validity. The science of ethics is one of the most individual of all the sciences. The determination of duty is a matter for the earnest and enlightened conscience of each person for himself. It is not to be denied that the method, which has been largely favoured in some quarters, of setting up lists of allowable and proscribed amusements has a certain practical utility; the deliberate judgment of good men in reference to pleasures, whose worth for the ethical ends of life is a matter of debate, is serviceable; but it must be set aside; never-theless, in all such matters the individual conscience must be the final judge. The free life of the spirit must not be bound; only it should be remembered that, for a man to find happiness in amusement, the individual must have a clear apprehension of the moral obligations resting upon
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him, and be guided by a spirit of devotion to a lofty ideal of life. 'He that is spiritual judges all things.' Let a man realize the true ethical ends of life, let him recognize that life is a gift to be used for the self-cultivation of the soul, and the question of amusements may be left to be settled itself. He who walks according to 'the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus' will never find himself in serious difficulty. He will never be tempted to indulge, or to what extent he may indulge, in things; without doing wrong; he will be so intent on seeking the true ends of life that only those amusements will be desired which are in harmony with these ends, and only that measure of indulgence will be allowed which helps towards their attainment. In the most natural way, amusements will take their fitting place as a means of refreshment. They will be the lighter breathings of an earnest spirit, which finds in them a new zest for duty and a preparation for more exacting pursuits. The ethical ideal which gives unity to life will govern them and lend them value; for the self-cultivating activity in modern life features in high aims are simply the frivolous exercise of a low-toned spirit, are the sparkles on the surface of a deep and earnest nature, the instinctive playfulnings of a heart that finds in relaxation a help for serious work.

B. 1. So far we have been concerned with the general principles which should control the choice and pursuit of amusements; we turn now to consider their character and place in our modern life. It was inevitable that the vast changes which have taken place in business and industrial life within the last two or three generations should affect in a large degree the habits and interests of men in their hours of leisure. The decay of intellectual and spiritual interests had been incidentally referred to as one of the regrettable results of the increasing desire for lighter forms of amusement, but it must be confessed that it is hard to see how that was altogether to be avoided. The growing strain which the conditions of modern life have imposed on those engaged in business, the exacting demands made on brain and physical endurance by the sharpness of competition as well as by the necessity for providing the comforts and aesthetic refinements of a higher standard of living, have made such inroads on the energies of men that their pleasures have inevitably taken the character of recreation which allows them to relax the tension of the mind. In former days, when the strain was less severe, it was possible in moments of leisure to devote oneself to interests which required some intellectual effort, but under the conditions of present-day life the tension in the case of very many is so great that, if the balance is to be redressed and the powers re-energized for the proper discharge of work, amusements must often be of a nature to quicken sensation and act as an agreeable opiate to serious thought. This may be regretted in the interests of wide and harmonious self-culture, but it is part of the price which must be paid for the overdriven activity of modern life. The same consideration is a fair answer to the criticism which decries the craving for spectacular amusement in the name of robust methods of recreation and the blindness to the facts of modern life that leads to the wholesale condemnation of pleasurable excitement which is not accompanied by the healthy glow of exercise. That some measure of recreation in its noblest sense is both desirable and necessary for health of body and mind may be freely allowed; but it cannot be questioned that for the vast proportion of the tollers in our cities what is needed is not so much a further increase of natural energy, as some form of diversification which will quicken the pulse of life by its appeal to the imagination through the senses; and the hard-driven poor ought to be able to secure this in ways that are free from moral danger. Nothing, indeed, is of greater importance for the true welfare of those who are exposed to the strain of city life than the establishment of centres where healthy amusement, freed from all contaminating associations, can be had at a small cost. The Churches are moving in this direction already, and it is to be hoped that when municipal will realize that it is their highest interest to devote some attention to the amusements of the people.

2. It is not merely the strain which our modern civilization imposes that makes the question of amusements of such vital importance; it is much more the unnatural conditions which have been created by the highly specialized character of modern industry. For large sections of the population there is under present conditions nothing in the nature of their work itself to excite any deep and genuine interest. In earlier days, handi- craftsman found in the varied operations of their calling, and in the freedom in which their skill was found scope, a zest which in our mechanical age is almost entirely lacking. It is by no means surprising that men have sought an escape from the colourless monotony of uninspiring work along the paths of least resistance, and have turned to satisfy their craving for a wider and more joyous life by indulgence in vicious pleasures or in forms of excitement which sap instead of renewing the energies. In these circumstances the great problem is to make activity pleasurable again, to find some way by which interest may be re-awakened in the performance of work which in itself is largely devoid of interest. Unquestionably the holiest way of attaining the end in mind is to introduce in men's minds a new sense of the deeper meanings of work, a feeling for its ethical significance to the individual himself, and for its contribution which he is able to make to society in return for the privileges which society confers upon him. But the same end may be served in another way. It has been remarked that 'the most powerful moralizing influences are not always those which are directly moral' (Macaulay, 'History of Character', 58). Accordingly, interest in work, with the formation of good habits which that implies, may be secured by the provision of healthy amusements which will make it easier for men to relax the tension in their minds and satisfy the instinctive desire for a larger life. While the love of life is at present largely exploited by private individuals, with results that are frequently far from beneficent, the aim of the community ought to be to supply forms of entertainment which shall prove a stronger attraction than questionable and vicious pleasures, and shall so enlarge the horizon of men's better desires that they will feel a new inducement to enter into work with all the energies at their command. As an indirect means of attaining moral ends, amusements have a worth which is deserving of greater attention than they have hitherto received. Patten ('The Moral Basis of Civilization') closes a suggestive discussion of this question with these words: 'Amusement is stronger than vice, and can stifle the lust of it. It is a base of economic efficiency upon which depends the progress of multitudes. When men and women have withstood the allurements of vice and learned work habits, then the steps beyond are fairly well paved.' The Churches, for their part, as their character, the school can clarify purpose, and the settlement can socialize the material ready in the industrial world' (p. 143). See also GAMES.

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A. F. Findlay.

AMYRALDISM was the name given, more generally, to the theology of the French scholastic, Amyraut (Moses Amyrauts, the Amio of Baillie's Letters), and, more particularly, to his way of defining the doctrine of Predestination. In the latter sense it was, not quite appropriately, Hypothetical Universalism, a variant of those three-forms (the others being Arminianism and the Covenant Theology) made during the 17th. cent. to break through the iron ring of Predestination within which the Reformless Scholastic of that century had enclosed the theology of the Reformed Church. To understand the theory it is necessary to know something of the workings of that Scholastic, and something of the life and aims of Amyrauts.

The second leads naturally to the first. Moyse Amyraut was born at Bourgoin in Touraine in 1566. His family belonged to the reformed ministry. He mustered a lawyer's career. He had begun his studies, and had attained to the grade of licentiate, when the reading of Calvin's Institutiod brought him to the theological College of Saumur, where the teaching of the celebrated Scoto-French scholastic, John Cameron, must have exercised an impression on him—second only to that already produced by the study of the Institutio. After a short ministry at Aligarn, in Paris, he became Professor of Theology in the theological College of Saumur, and was deputed by the National Synod, which met at Charlestown in 1615, to carry their respective propositions to the Synod of France. Louis xiv. At Court he attracted the attention of Cardinal Richelieu, and retained his friendship. In 1631 he was appointed Professor of Theology in Saumur, having as colleagues, appointed at the same time, Jean de la Place and Louis Cappel. All three had been to the College of Saumur, and all had acquired study for the theology of Calvin as that was exhibited in the Institutio. All three believed that the so-called Calvinism of the day, differed widely from the teaching of the master, and they were not slow to let this be known in their lectures. The College soon acquired a great reputation. Students came to it from the Reformed Churches beyond France, especially from Switzerland. Then doubts began to arise among the orthodoxy of its teaching, both in France and in Switzerland. The individual churches of the latter country began to withdraw their students, and that "after-born" of Reformed creed-making, the Formula Conveniens Elettonis, was framed for the purpose of denouncing the doctrine of the three professors of Saumur.

The criticism of Amyraut were right if orthodoxo was to be tested by the Reformed Scholastic of the day. It was his aim to bring back the Calvinism of the Institutio, which differed widely from the Reformed tradition set up in the doctrine of Predestination. With Calvin, predestination is not set forth at the beginning of his theological system; it is never used as the fundamental thought upon which everything else is to be classed. It is simply an explanation of the sovereignty of grace, which overrides man's sin and man's weakness. Still, in spite of the smaller place and special position which the word and idea of predestination held in the Institutio, there was a master-thought running through Calvin's theological thinking which might easily be displaced by the conception of predestination.

The first of these, as Amyraut pointed out, was the doctrine of God and the nature of the universe. If God is a principle, a creator, a ruler, and judge, the universe is a logical and necessary consequence. This is the notion of God which is involved in the concept of the "Oiios." This is the notion of the universe which is implied in the notion of the "Whole." It is the notion of the universe which is involved in the notion of the "All." It is the notion of the universe which is involved in the notion of the "Whole.

It was this Scholastic that Amyraut and his colleagues protested against; this encloses everything thinkable under the ring-fence of a Divine decree, which was simply the predestination of the universe in the category of Substance. It was, they thought, a narrower thought than the system of Substance under another name. They wished to get back to the experimental theology of the Reformation age as that was exhibited in its greatest master. They felt that the first thing to be done was to break through this ring-fence, within which the metaphysical of the time made all theological thought move. The attempt made be them, which went by the name of Arminianism, did not appeal to them. To Amyraut it was not to do with the experimental theology of Calvin, and was simply the revolt of a shallower metaphysic against a deeper. They accepted the decisions of the Synod of Dordrecht. But they wished to bring the theology back to the experimental life, to connect it with the needs of men and women.

The special doctrine of Amyraut is known as Hypothetical Universalism, or the Double Referenc Theory of the Attraction. It was so called by, if not based on, Cameron's doctrine of Conversion. That doctrine, as Amyraut understood it, was; Conversion may be described as a special case of the ordinary action of the intellect upon the will. According to the psychology of the day, it was held that the will acts only in so far as it is influenced by the intellect—action follows enlightenment, and that only. Conversion is a special case of this action of intellect upon will—special, because in this case the Holy Spirit enlightens the intellect, and the intellect, charged with this spiritual enlightenment, acts upon the will. Conversion is thus an instance of the translation of the action of the intellect upon the will, and yet it is, at the same time, an altogether extraordinary work of supernatural grace. The grace of God, which is supernatural when it acts upon the will in conversion, is not an instance of the ordinary psychological laws. This relation between the intellect and the will in conversion suggested to Amyraut a similar parallel between Providence and Election, and between Creation and Redemption. Redemption is a doctrine to Amyraut, looking to the course of nature; but Election is a special instance of Provi-
dence and at the same time the peculiar and gracious work of God. Creation belongs to the ordinary course of nature, and Redemption is a special instance of Creation, and is nevertheless a unique and gracious work of God. Just as the relation of the intellect to the will may be called the universal of conversion, so Election may be looked at as set in the environment of Providence, and Redemption in the environment of Creation.

Amyraut, whose devotion to Calvin was unbounded, insisted that these thoughts of his were the legitimate and historical development of ideas presented in the *Institutio*. He keeps to Calvin's great thought of the purpose of God unfolding itself down through the ages. This purpose of grace, when viewed out of all relation to time, is universally Creative, specially it is Redemption; viewed historically, it is Providence and Election viewed individually, it is Intellect acting on Will and Conversion. He has thus three pairs of ideas—the one universal and natural, the other special and of grace; and that which is grace is always set in the environment of the natural.

This mode of thought, however, embodied a practical ecclesiastical purpose. In those days Germany was being devastated by the Thirty Years War. The unification of Bohemia by the political principles of Calvinism, in consequence of the mutual jealousies between Calvinists and Lutherans. Since the Synod of Dortrecht, the Lutherans had grown more embittered against the Calvinists. They believed that its doctrinal conclusions had been directed against them indirectly. Amyraut hoped to make it plain to the Lutherans that Calvinist theology could be stated in a form which might be more acceptable to them. He sought to make universal and active in objection to the Calvinist doctrine of a limited reference in the Atonement, and he hoped to overcome that difficulty.

Two modes of dealing with the Lutherans were possible to Reformed theologians. (1) They might have insisted that Lutheran theology was quite distinct from Arminianism, and that the condemnation of the Arminians at Dortrecht was not meant to, and did not, involve a condemnation of the Lutherans; that the particular point raised in the Arminian controversy had never been before the Lutheran Churches, and had never been settled by Luther himself; that during the time the Lutherans were in process of conversion, the questions which were raised were not embraced or set forth as a theme. Amyraut selected the latter method. He tried to show that there might be the general reference in the Atonement to all men, which the Lutherans insisted on, while of which the Reformed thought of a limited reference was also correct. He worked out his scheme of conciliation by the use he made of the three pairs of ideas already mentioned. The purpose in Creation, he said, was Redemption; the purpose in Providence was Election; the purpose in the gift of intellectual endowment was Conversion. Applying this to the matter in hand, he declared that, if the whole doctrine of Redemption mean to make all things work together for the good of them that are called, Providence itself is but a wider election—an election which may be described as universal.

His argument concluded was somewhat as follows: The essence of universal moral law must impose upon it. This Divine goodness shines forth on man in Creation, and in Providence, which is simply Creation from nothing. But when man entered into creation, and has destroyed the true end and aim of man's life, in presence of sin God's goodness shines on, but not as from its very nature, but love plus morality, take a somewhat different form. It becomes righteousness, which is simply the presence of sin. The righteousness of God, therefore, must be in presence of sin, and the desire to save; but the presence of sin has made it appear under a special form of becoming righteousness. The theological ideas of the 17th cent. Calvinism, it is seen that the purpose of God in salvation is really supra-lapsarian, because it arises from goodness. The presence of sin, which is, therefore, face to face with the thought of the Fall. But it may also be regarded as supra-lapsarian, because it is simply a continuation of the original goodness of God. In this purpose of God there is no theoretical limitation save what is implied in the means which the goodness of God in presence of sin is not compelled to take; i.e., the work of Christ. The purpose of God to save is simply the carrying out of the original and universal goodness of God. The work of Redemption is thus carried out the original work of creation. The purpose to redeem is set in the environment of the original purpose to create. When looked at from the point of view of Creation, the supra-lapsarian, there is a universal reference to the work of Christ. But when we look at this purpose of God in presence of sin, and when we know that some men do die impenitent and therefore are not saved—when we know the supra-lapsarian purpose to save—we see that the theologically universal reference is limited practically by the fact that the persons are saved; that the reference is theoretical or hypothetical; the limited reference to the elect is practical and real. Christ's work has real reference only to the persons he has predestined. Therefore, in the limited reference round the limited reference in the work of Christ is the distinctive feature in the theology of Amyraldus.

Amyraut, however, applied this general thought in a thread of controversy. (1) He was opposed to the strict idea of salvation limited to the elect—to whom all reference of the work of Christ was limited in 17th cent. Reformed theology—by making the goodness of God, which has regard to all men universally. Amyraut gave a practical reference to salvation in all righteousness (which is His goodness in the presence of sin). He declared that this thought lay implicitly in the well-known phrase of the divines at Dortrecht: *Christus mortuus est sufficience mortuus omnibus, sed efficax pro electis*; and to make plain what he believed to its meaning, he changed it to: *Christus mortuus est sufficience mortuus omnibus, sed non actualliter pro omnibus*. This was the origin of the popularly universal gift of grace, and a real limitation to those actually saved. (2) He broke down the barrier which 17th cent. divines had reared against the possibility of the salvation of the heathen, by their statement that the question of saving the Gentiles was not addressed cannot be held to be recipients of the benefit the saving work of Christ. He taught, following Zwingli, that God in providence did bestow upon pious heathen in the world, and in the church, the gift of an external call. This gave a real and not a hypothetical, universal, external call, and with it the offer of salvation to those who had not heard the Gospel message. (3) He widened the precisely fixed sphere of conversion by insisting that every illumination of the intellect was an analogue and prophecy of the spiritual enlightenment which produces conversion.

But while all these conceptions were discussed in a many treaties on Predestination, the controversy which followed the publication of his views was really confined to the first line of thought. The question was asked, What changes was this supposed to universal reference into a real particular reference? Is it the action of God or of man? If the change arises from man's power to resist what God has purposed to do for all, then Amyraut was a strong Arminian, as the Dutch and the Swiss theologians asserted. Did the mystery of the change lie hidden in God? Then his theology did not differ substantially from that of the divines of Dortrecht, save perhaps in regard to the supralapsarian. The latter was rejected by the French Reformers of the Church. Amyraut was summoned before the
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National Synod of 1637 along with his friend Paul Testard, pastor at Blois. The accused were ener-
ggetically defended, and allowed full liberty to ex-
plain their position. They were acquittd of all he-
rendous charges. They were presented at the National
Synods of 1644 and 1645, with the same result.
The Swiss theologians were not satisfied. Their
Formula Consensus Ecclesiarum Helveticae Re-
formatarum (1676) witnessed their protest.

The doctrine of Amyraut has maintained a firm
hold on many evangelical Calvinists since his day.
It was professed by Baxter, Vines, and Calamy in
the days of the Westminster Assembly. It was not,
so as we can learn from the minutes, meant to be
excluded by the definitions in the Westminster
Confession. It was taught by Professors Balmer
and Brown within the Secession Church in Scotland.
It is part of much modern evangelical theology.

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ANABAPTISM.—I. HISTORY. — The Ana-
baptists, or Katabaptists (Wiedertaufer or Täufer)
rose in close connexion with the early Reformers
at Zürich, Wittenberg, and possibly elsewhere. The
Anabaptists swept through Germany and all Europe
affected by the new Reformation, making a profound
impact in the early years of that movement.
All the leading Reformers (Luther, Zwingli, Bucer,
Oecolampadius, Calvin, Knox, and many others)
confronted their views in one or more publications
and disputations; their doctrines are condemned
explicitly or by implication in all the leading creeds
of the 16th and 17th cents. (Augsburg, Part i. Artt.
x. x.; Troentges, Sess. v. 4. 'On Bapt.' Can. xii.
Formula of Concord, Artt. xii.; Thirty-nine Artt.
Conf. 1661, xxxiv.; Westminster Conf. xxviii.;
and Calvin, Institutes were written largely to prove to Francis i. that the Reformers
were not all Anabaptists; they were put under the
ban by the Diet of the Empire in 1529; and most other
government authorities, including that of
England, took action against them.

They were the radical party of the Reformation
period, regarding Luther and Zwingli as half-
reformers who had pulled down the old house
without rebuilding. They were under the
pressure of reforming the old Church, they sought to
build anew on the foundation of Scripture literally in-
terpreted, without the help of the State or any
other existing institution; this religious ideal in-
volved fundamental social and political changes
(Bock, Geschichtslehrer d. Wiedertaufer, p. 12).
They differed considerably among themselves in
spiritualism, and many more or less important
points of doctrine; but strove towards a
great and far-reaching reform. They sought to
reform the work of the Reformers.

The striking similarity between many of their doctrines
and those of some earlier sects has led to an
incorrect assumption of a historical connexion.
Ritschel (Gesch. d. Pietismus) has sought to
trace their doctrines to the spiritual Franciscans; Leodig
Keller and others have sought to show some connexion
with the Waldenses, who a little earlier were widely scattered over
central Europe. The similarity in doctrines, spirit, and organiza-
tion is so marked as almost to compel belief in some sort of
historical succession; and yet the effort to trace this connexion
has not so far been successful. Moreover, several considera-
tions unite against such a conclusion.
(1) The Reformers themselves were not conscious of this connexion, regarding them-
theselves as the supporters of a reformed and not a new
form of the Church. (2) All their leaders, so far as their lives are known, came out
of the Catholic Church. (3) They had little or no communion with older sects after their rise. These considerations, without more, suffice.

The history of the party can perhaps be best
followed by dividing them into German, Swiss,
Moravian, and Dutch Anabaptists. These divisions
overlap more or less, but they are largely distinct
types.

I. The German Anabaptists.—It is commonly
held that the German Anabaptists rose with Thomas
Münzer and Nicholas Storch at Zwickau in eastern
Saxony. Münzer, a well-educated man, deeply
influenced by the mysticism of the later Middle
Ages, a friend and follower of Luther, became
pastor at Zwickau in 1520. Here he came under
the influence of Nicholas Storch, a weaver, who
had become a Calvinist. His views were
specially associated with the Bohemian views:
chiliasm; the rejection of oaths, Sunday war-
fare, and infant baptism; and the insistence on com-
monity of goods. Under this influence he at one
time began drastic reforms. With his approval Storch
set up a new church, which was called the Bohemian model,
claiming new revelations and the special guidance
of the Spirit. Their socialistic teachings and re-
volutionary proceedings soon forced them to leave.
Storch, in company with a former Wittenberg
student named Stübner, proceeded to Wittenberg
in the hope of winning the support of the University
for their views. Luther was then in hiding at the
Wartburg; Carlstadt and Cellarius, two of the
professors of the University, were specially
influenced over by the new prophets, and even Melancthon
was deeply moved. Various reforms were put
into effect immediately. Luther, hearing of these
radical proposals, and believing they would
bring the whole reform movement to ruin, hastened
to Wittenberg in spite of the protest of his friends,
and in eight powerful sermons succeeded in
suppressing the movement at that place. Storch
and eventually the two professors whom he had won
to his views were driven away, Melancthon was
saved, and the radical reforms revoked. Hence-
forth Luther was one of the most powerful and
uncompromising opponents of the Anabaptists.
Storch now wandered from place to place, and
finally disappeared about 1525.

In the meantime Münzer had visited Prague
for several months, had then laboured as pastor
and agitator at several places in Thuringia, and had
made a visit to southern Germany and the border
of Switzerland in the interest of his views. He
was becoming more socialistic, more chiliasm, more
bitter towards the ruling and upper classes. At
last in 1525 the peasant uprising broke out.
It had his enthusiastic support, and shortly after its
overthrow at Frankenhausen he was arrested and
executed. With this catastrophe the Anabaptist
cause in Germany suffered a permanent defeat.
Henceforth Anabaptism was associated in the
minds of Germans with the wild socialism and
chiliasm of Münzer and the horrors of the Peasant
War. And, although Münzer himself is known to have been re-baptized or to have practised
believers' baptism, both opposed infant baptism,
but Münzer specially provides for it in a German
service which he drew up for the occasion in 1522.
It is to him that we must look to determine the extent
to which these men preached the necessity of
believers' baptism, and thereby became the founders
of the Anabaptism of Hesse and other regions of
western Germany. They were chiefly interested
in socialist-chiliastic ideas, and probably did not press the demand for re-baptism. If this be true, the Anabaptists of the Rhine region had another origin, to be traced later.

2. The Swiss Anabaptists.—Bullinger says that the Swiss Anabaptists sucked their Anabaptism from Müntzer (Refor. Gesch. i. p. 2241.). But this is improbable. Müntzer, as we have seen, did visit the border of Switzerland in 1521, and was in all probability the real fountain of the Anabaptism; but in a letter still preserved (Cornelius, Gesch. d. Minist. Aufbruchs, ii. Bel. I.), written September 5, 1524, they show marked independence, even chiding Müntzer for some of his views. Moreover, the whole tone and spirit of the Swiss was different from that of Müntzer. Chiliism and violence had no place in their scheme, and socialistic tendencies were much less prominent. Besides, there was in southern Germany and Switzerland at this time wide-spread doubt of the Scripturalness of infant baptism, Bucer, Goccolapadius, and even Zwingli being in doubt (Von Thael, Wiederkunft, etc., Oppi. ib. 1545, lib. i. p. 2391.; Egli, Auctenammlung, 655, 692). These Anabaptists rose from the circle of Zwingli's intimate friends and associates at Zürich. Zwingli perished through his own, 1st Jan. 1519, and by his powerful evangelical preaching. But in 1523 brought many of the population to a readiness to abolish Catholic worship and doctrines. But he was anxious to avoid division and strife, and delayed action, hoping to convince the whole mass of the people and then proceed to reform with the authority of the cantonal government. Under these circumstances there sprang up a radical party who favored proceeding at once with reform without waiting for any. Moreover, their conviction on some points was in advance of Zwingli's. They urged him to remove or destroy the images, abolish the Mass, begin the celebration of the Supper in both kinds, and finally, to set up a church composed of saints (believers) only. His delay in adopting their earlier demands and his flat refusal to entertain the last led to a final breach with the party in 1523 or 1524 (Bullinger, Der Wiedertauf Urspunft, Bl. 9). The more prominent members of the party at this time were Simplicius Zulcher as a Polemicist, Heinrich Heister, Heinrich Heister, Andreas Castellberg a cripple, Conrad Fugger, a young man of aristocratic family, Felix Manx, Wilhelm Reublin pastor of Baden, Geza Nebel a Hebraist and later translator of the Prophet, and Georg Blaurock a converted monk, the most powerful publicor among them. Grebel and Manx were the real leaders of the party at Zürich. Grebel was trained at Vienna and Paris, and possessed a disputed title of Doctor of Theology; he was a presbyterian scholar, habitually using his Hebrew Bible in preaching. These men held private meetings for Bible study, and here their views were gradually developed and perfected (Egli, op. cit. No. 620). Early in 1523 they reached the conclusion that infant baptism was without warrant in Scripture, was an invention of the Pope, and had no place in the true church; and the duty of beginning the baptism of believers was felt to rest upon them. This they proceeded to do in Dec. 1524 or Jan. 1525, when in a private house Grebel baptized Blaurock, who in turn took a dipper (tanner) and baptized several others of the name of the Trinity (Egli, 620, 66). This was followed by the celebration of the Supper in the same simple way.

The civil authorities now resorted to repressive measures. After a public disputation with the Anabaptists (17th Jan. 1525), it was decreed that all infants should be baptized within eight days, that all private religious meetings be discontinued, and that all foreign Anabaptists be banished. Soon printing was stopped, warned, threatened, and released. Continuing their collectivity, they were again arrested, thrown into prison, and a second ineffective disputation was held on 20th Feb. 1525. April most of them escaped from prison, and lost for a time the use of the Canton of Zürich comparatively quiet, they spread their views far and wide in other cantons. Re-
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disputations with Pfister Meyer in 1523 and at Zofingen in 1522 failed to retard their growth. Berne then proceeded to blood, and between the years 1525 and 1527 no fewer than forty were executed (Miller, p. 741). But even this severity was not sufficient to root them out of this canton. During the succeeding years, twenty more were sent to the gallows, depopulating banishment and proscription; but they have maintained their existence to the present time.

In St. Gall, persecution drove the Anabaptists, especially the women, to the most absurd and childish and even immoral practices (Grebel, Kessler, Blaurock). One case afforded a curious instance of the perversity with which this incident, but they could not escape the consequences of the deed. Anabaptists lingered in this canton till the 17th century.

By 1532 all the leaders, such as Grebel, Manz, Blaurock, Denck, Hätzer, and Hübmaier, were dead, hundreds had been forced to recant, many had died in prison, and perhaps thousands had been driven from the country. The movement in Switzerland lay in ruins, destroyed by the civil power. The causes of this bitter persecution are not far to seek. The Anabaptists in this region, with few exceptions, were quiet, pious, law-abiding people, and with the strictness of the Calvinists (Kessler, Sobotta, i. 272). Even Bullinger admits that they had the appearance of unusual piety. But they made what seemed at that time impossible demands: a Church composed of believers only, rigid discipline for moral offences, complete freedom for the Church and the individual conscience. Failing to obtain their demands, they divided and weakened the Reformers, causing endless strife and difficulty. Their refusal to bear arms, to serve as civil officers or take the oath, made them dangerous to the State, while their attitude towards property, usury, and certain forms of taxes threatened the whole social order. Hence supposition and extermination were felt to be the only paths to safety.

The intimate relations of the south German cities with Switzerland made them peculiarly susceptible to all spiritual and religious movements in that country. Accordingly we find large Anabaptist circles in Strassburg, Worms, Nuremberg, and Augsburg quite early. In these circles such leaders as Ludwig Hätzer, Hans Denck, and Hans Hut, were won for the Anabaptist cause. One of the most important conquests was the small border town of Waldshut in Austrian territory. Here Dr. Balthasar Hübmaier, a gifted scholar and eloquent preacher, some years later, presiding in the University of Ingolstadt and Cathedral preacher at Regensburg, was the leading pastor. He was early converted to Reformed views, and in 1524 succeeded in introducing them into the city. But he was unable to stop here. Gradually he found himself compelled to accept Anabaptist views; about Easter 1525 he and some sixty members of his church were re-baptized. This was followed soon afterwards by the baptism of several hundred others, and the Anabaptists seemed to be in a fair way to win the town. But for some months the Austrian authorities, who were strict Catholics, had been threatening to punish the town for its evangelical doings. Hützer's support of Zürich had emboldened Waldshut to persecute. The Anabaptist defection caused the withdrawal of this support, and in December the storm broke over the devoted city. Hübmaier, who had flocked as an Anabaptist, imprisoned, and forced to recant as the price of liberty. Released on 11th April, 1526, he fled through Constance to Augsburg, and thence in June to Nikolauburg in Moravia, where his persecuted brethren were awaiting him. Driven from Switzerland, the Anabaptists fled eastward into the Austrian lands from 1526 onwards. Their doctrines found ready acceptance, and soon large bodies had been gathered at Rottenberg, Kitzbühel, Brixen, Bosn Linz, Steyer, and elsewhere. Here they found a Catholic governments which hunted them down, if possible, even more strenuously than the Swiss. King Ferdinand himself was very active in the work of extermination, and, in a few years hundreds had suffered martyrdom. Protected by the character of the country and the sympathy of the common people, the Anabaptists continued to maintain an existence for more than a century, till the Catholic reaction swept all forms of evangelical life in these regions out of existence.

Persecution in the Austrian lands drove the Anabaptists onward into Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland. The religious history and the social and political condition of these lands made them an asylum for various sects, and here for a brief period the Anabaptists found rest and safety. At Nikolauburg, under the protection of the lords of Lichtenstein, they found a 'goodly land,' a new Jerusalem, from 1526 onwards. 'Thither they streamed in great numbers from Switzerland, the Austrian lands, Germany, and elsewhere; natives and strangers, were converted to the faith, and many hundreds were brought from the other coasts, and the number of thousands. Among the first to arrive was Hübmaier. Learned, eloquent, free from fanaticism, without rancour in debate, a careful exegete, possessed of an excellent literary style, he was the acknowledged orator of the Anabaptist party. Little more than a year he published no fewer than fifteen tracts, in which he set forth with force and clearness the great principles that characterized his people. Had he lived, his history might have been different. But the Austrian authorities soon learned of the presence in their dominions of this fugitive from Waldshut, and demanded his apprehension as a traitor. After some delay, the lords of Lichtenstein were compelled, in 1527, to hand over Hübmaier. He was imprisoned at Vienna, where he was burned at the stake on 10th March, 1528. Thus perished the most important of all the Anabaptist leaders.

The community in Nikolauburg could ill afford to lose a man of such wisdom and sanity. Already in 1526 Hans Hut, one of Münzer's followers who had escaped from Germany, appeared among the brethren as a powerful and impressive herald of Christ's speedy return, a determined opponent of magistry and war. Others soon began to agitate in favour of community of goods. Hübmaier had opposed all these views, but Hans Hut, and even many of the brethren before his expulsion by the Lichtensteins. They soon felt compelled to banish his followers, who were now perhaps a majority of the brethren. The moderates remained at Nikolauberg under the leadership of Spitalmaier as chief pastor, but they were never again the most influential party. The radicals settled at Austerlitz, and soon became a thriving community, with branches at Brünn and elsewhere. Chiefly through the missionary labours of Jacob Hutter, a noble and zealous leader, their persecuted brethren in the Austrian lands were induced to immigrate in large numbers. They built great communal houses, became experts in agriculture and stock-raising, and in the manufacture of many important articles of commerce. Their value was recognized by their lords, who protected them as far as they could; but after 1552, when the persecution broke over them. Their houses were broken up, and they were driven forth into other lands. As persecution subsided, they returned and took up their homes. After another period of persecution, which lasted with more or less severity from 1547 to 1554, they enjoyed great prosperity till 1592, when they probably numbered some 70,000 souls. They had suffered from frequent internal strifes, and were
now caught in the great Catholic reaction led by the Jesuits, and gradually declined. Greatly reduced by the Thirty Years' War, they were completely ruined by later invasions of Turks and others, as well as by the discovery of their heresy by the Inquisition. They fled to Hungary and Transylvania, where they disappear in the 18th century. Others fled to southern Russia, whence a remnant removed in 1874 to South Dakota, in the United States, where they still preserve their community.

The Anabaptists of two other regions, both with some relations to the Swiss-Moravian movement, must be mentioned in this connexion. About 1532, in connexion with the work of Schwemmeck, the Anabaptists appeared in Silesia. Soon they had flourishing congregations in several important cities, but persecution from 1528 onwards gradually exterminated them.

By the middle of the 16th. century there was a strong Anabaptist body in N.E. Italy, chiefly anti-Trinitarian in Christology. The Inquisition then got on their track, and in a few years the movement was extinguished, a large number of them fled to Poland, where they built up a flourishing connexion. In 1605 they issued the Racovian Catechism, which provides for immersion as the mode of baptism. Though they were Socinians, they became a foil for the Socinians in their assertion of the lordship of Christ. They suffered the fortunes of the other evangelicals in this region during the Counter-Reformation.

3. The Anabaptists of the Rhine regions.—As far as their history can be traced, the Anabaptists of the lower Rhine-lands owe their origin and peculiarities chiefly to Melchior Hoffman. This wonderful man was born in Hall, Swabia, and was a forerunner by about six years of Luther's views, and by 1523 was a zealous evangelical preacher in North Germany. He was without education, but early acquired a remarkable knowledge of the text of Scripture, along with an intense interest in the prophetic and apocalyptic portions. He developed a burning enthusiasm as well as a powerful eloquence in propagating the Lutheran views. His zeal and power usually aroused intense opposition, and frequently occasioned riot and sometimes bloodshed. He moved rapidly from place to place, and always made a profound impression. In 1523 he was in Wurtemberg, and at Heilbronn, in 1524 and 1525 he was in Dorpat; in 1526 he was in Sweden, at Stockholm; in 1527, at Lübeck; then at Kiel, where he made a profound impression on King Frederick I. of Denmark. Banished from there, he entered East Friesland, with Carlstadt, where he threw himself into the controversy between the followers of Luther and Zwingli over the Supper, supporting the latter party, and by his power and eloquence carrying the day for his views.

In June 1529 he reached Strassburg. By this time he had developed most of the peculiarities of his system, including the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, a belief in the millennium which fixed the beginning of the reign of Christ on earth in the year 1533, the assertion that the human nature of Christ was not derived from Mary, and, therefore, not ordinary flesh, a denial of the oath, etc. When this last thesis he is supposed to have come in contact with Anabaptists, who were then numerous in Strassburg, and to have been baptized into their fellowship. Returning to East Friesland in 1530, he used the powerful Anabaptist propaganda, which extended, with brief interruptions, to 1533, and covered much of the Low Countries. Most of the Lutheran and Zwinglian work was swept away, and it is probable that the majority of Evangelicals in the Rhine-lands in 1538 to 1566 were of the Hofmannite type. In 1531 he supervised baptisms for two years, intimating that the Lord would then come to assume the reins of government at Strassburg, and bring the era of righteousness and peace for all the oppression of the religious and social excitement intense.

In order to be present when the Lord came, he quietly returned to Strassburg early in 1533. He was soon apprehended and thrown into prison where he died ten years later. But the seed which Münzer and others had sown was destined to bear some horrible fruit.

The episcopal city of Münster, in Westphalia, had been ruled by a succession of exceedingly dissolve and oppressive bishops, who, however, succeeded in holding reform at bay for several years. But in 1529 Bernard Rothmann, a gifted young preacher near Münster, began to preach evangelical doctrines. He was suspected, but returned to his work in 1531, and soon made an alliance with Knipperdollinck and the social democracy of the city. The bishop was driven away in 1532, and the next year reform was introduced. Persecuted Evangelicals from surrounding regions found their way into Münster, and there was great rejoicing and naturally great excitement over this new triumph of the truth. Heinrich Rothmann was the first to declare the advocate of believers' baptism in 1532, and the next year Rothmann reached the same conclusion, and began a crusade against infant baptism. He was followed by a number of the leading men of the city. The City Council undertook to force the preachers to administer infant baptism, but popular sentiment was so strong as to prevent the execution of their will. This was the tense and excited condition of the city when the first Anabaptist, 1533; Anabaptists, Lutherans, Catholics, and social democrats were all struggling for supremacy, when a horde of still more excited Anabaptists poured into the city from the Netherlands, believing it to be the hour for setting up Christ's kingdom at Münster as the New Jerusalem.

Jan Matthys, a baker of Haarlem, a disciple of Hofmann, inspired with a fanatical hatred of the upper classes, now proclaimed himself the prophet Enoch, and ordered the resumption of baptism as a final preparation for the coming King. In a short time thousands were baptized. In January 1534, a second and still more effective movement came to Münster, where they baptized Rothmann and other leaders, and announced the setting up of the earthly kingdom, in which there should be no magistracy, no law, no marriage, and no private property. Soon John of Leyden, a gifted young man of twenty-five years, appeared and took over the leadership of the new theocracy. Catholics and Lutherans fled, and the city fell completely into the hands of these fanatical Anabaptists. Matthys now declared Münster to be the New Jerusalem, and invited all the oppressed Anabaptists thither. Thousands of desolate and persecuted people sought to reach this place of safety and happiness, only to be driven on the way or ruined at last in the city. The city was soon besieged by the forces of the bishop, assisted by neighbouring princes, while within its walls there was murder, polygamy, and crucifixion. After more than a year of ever increasing shame, the terrible orgy ended in massacre and cruel torture in 1535.

The effect of this Münster kingdom was most disastrous to the Anabaptists. Everywhere persecuting measures were sharpened, and the name became a byword and a hissing throughout Europe. This episode was regarded as the legitimate type of the Anabaptists, and the butchery of 1535.

Memo Simons gathered up the fragments of
ANABAPTISM

The chief qualification for correct interpretation of the Scripture was the illumination of the Holy Spirit—a doctrine which was strongly emphasized. It was charged that they claimed to have revelations and visions which they regarded as more important than Scripture; but it is probably an exaggeration of their real belief in the fact and importance of spiritual illumination.

(4) The true Church was composed of believers only—saints. According to this standard, the Church to this, they proceeded to set up a new Church on this model, thereby introducing schism into the Protestant ranks. The purity of the Church was to be secured by the baptism of believers only, and preserved by the exercise of strict discipline. (a) Infant baptism was regarded as without warrant in Scripture, contrary to the principle of voluntary action in religion, an invention of the devil, and the chief source of the corruption in the Church and of its subjection to the State. In its stead they practised believers' baptism, administering the rite to those who had been baptized in infancy, thus winning the name 'Anabaptists.' They believed that baptism from the name and its implication they earnestly repudiated, declaring that so-called baptism in infancy was no baptism, and claiming for themselves the name of 'believers' or 'disciples' baptism. The rejection of the repudiation of which was the most obvious characteristic of the sect, became the chief battleground of the parties. The mode of baptism was never a matter of discussion. Most of them practiced immersion, though there were some who practiced affusion. The party on the Continent; but some of the Swiss and Polish Anabaptists insisted on immersion as the only admissible form, thus anticipating the modern Baptist position. (b) The mode of administering the Church pure was the constant application of rigid discipline for moral offences. Unconverted and immoral members were severed from the body relentlessly, the party doubting as to extremes in this respect, the form prevalent on the Continent and the Mennonites in Holland. The Anabaptists strove to reproduce in themselves the life of Christ, and in their Church the life of primitive Christianity, laying great emphasis on the imitation of Christ. While admitting that they had the appearance of unusual purity of life, their opponents declared them to be hypocrites and guilty of grave moral lapses. A few cases, due to fanaticism, especially among the followers of John of Leyden and others of what may be termed the 'fanatical' Anabaptist school, seem to be proven; but, beyond dispute, they in general lived quiet and harmless lives, in striking contrast to the society about them.

(5) The ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper had no sacramental significance. Baptism was rather a declaration of faith and forgiveness than a sacrament of cleansing or regeneration. They were charged with laying an over-emphasis on baptism; but, as a matter of fact, its place in their scheme was not so important as in that of Luther. They insisted on believers' baptism, because they regarded it as Scriptural and necessary to the purity of the Church; but they insisted on infant baptism, because he regarded it as necessary to the regeneration of the individual. They believed that infants dying in infancy are saved without the necessity of baptism. They agreed with Zwingli in regarding the Supper as a memorial ordinance, rejecting Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic views.

(6) Not much is known of the officers and organization of the Anabaptists. Ordination seems to have been in abeyance in the earlier stages of the
movement, which was a great outburst of missionary activity among laymen. When charged with preaching in improper places and without proper authority, they claimed the authority of a Divine call which needed no ecclesiastical ordination or State authorization. Later abuses in their own ranks forced them to adopt ordination. Preachers were chosen by lot and ordained by the congregations in recognition of the Divine call, which they still regarded as the necessary part of their qualification for preaching. They rejected with decision the principle of State support in every form, and claimed that preachers ought to be supported by the free-will offerings of the congregation when located, and by Christian hospitality when traveling. They reproached the ministers of the State Church with inactivity and want of care for the people, among whom they should go as shepherds among the sheep.

(7) On eschatology there were great differences of opinion. The majority, perhaps, held sane and Biblical views, and of the early return of Christ the wildest fanaticism in others. From the belief of Hofmann that Christ was soon to set up His Kingdom on earth and destroy the wicked, it was but a step to an effort to set up theocratic courts. Thus it happened that we have the 'fanatical' Anabaptists and John of Leyden's horrible 'kingdom' at Münster as the outcome. Thomas Münzer also believed in the use of the sword, and his powerful personality had given the whole movement in Germany a fanatical and dangerous chiliasm, which brought ruin on his cause.

(8) Anabaptist worship was necessarily very simple. Persecution and the lack of church buildings made it necessary to worship in small companies, in such a fashion as to attract as little attention as possible. In the earlier years worship probably consisted almost wholly of prayer and instruction; later, singing occupied a large place. Their own compositions were set to popular music and sung far and wide. These songs, often written in prison, reveal profound religious feeling and unwavering faith and hope (cf. Wulka, Lieder der Wiedertaufier; Aus Bundt).

2. Political views.—(1) The Anabaptists regarded the State as a necessary evil, ordained of God indeed, and therefore to be obeyed where its obligations were not in conflict with conscience. The charge that they were opposed to magistracy altogether is without foundation in fact. They deplored the immunity of the State in the realm of conscience, and resisted its assumption of authority here, even to death; as to other things they inculcated obedience. The conscience was absolutely free under God. The State had no religious duties; it was needed only to protect the good and punish the wicked. This doctrine involved complete disestablishment; universal toleration; freedom of worship, organization, and teaching. These views caused an expression in Hübniener especially. Repudiated and executed then, this contention has been adopted in modern times with more or less completeness by all civilized lands.

(2) Many of the Anabaptists maintained that no Christian could hold civil office, because such elevation was in conflict with the principle of Christian brotherhood and equality; besides, it often required the promotion of capital punishment, and to kill was under no circumstances permissible to a Christian. This tenet, regarded by their opponents as destructive of all government, was not so understood by Hübniener especially. They did hold that capital punishment was necessary to the suppression of crime, nor did they regard all who bore the Christian name as Christians. Their opponents said: 'If no Christian can act as magistrate, we must go to the heathen or Turks for governors.' 'No,' replied the Anabaptists, 'there are but few Christians living in Christian lands, and hosts of men living for rulers.' The different meanings attached by the two parties to the word 'Christian' were the source of the misunderstanding. Their anticipation of the modern movement for the abolition of capital punishment is noteworthy. Hübniener and others, however, maintained the right of a Christian to hold civil office.

(3) They opposed the oath under any and all circumstances, and regarded its taking as an act of false witness. This, again, was regarded by Zwingle and others as destructive of civil government, which was thought to rest upon the inviolability of the oath. No such importance and sacredness were attached to it by the Anabaptists, who taught that one's assertion should be as sacredly kept as the oath. Under the threat of execution they sometimes took the oath; but it was not regarded as binding, because taken under duress.

(4) The Anabaptists were relentless opponents of war as the great destroyer of human life, which they held to be inviolable. Under pressure they paid war taxes, assisted in building fortifications, and rendered other services, and of the hundreds who have the 'fanatical' Anabaptists and John of Leyden's horrible 'kingdom' at Münster as the outcome. Thomas Münzer also believed in the use of the sword, and his powerful personality had given the whole movement in Germany a fanatical and dangerous chiliasm, which brought ruin on his cause.

3. Social and economic views.—(1) In imitation of the primitive Christian Church, the Anabaptists were strongly inclined to a voluntary and benevolent communism in the acquisition and administration of property (Ac 5:26). This opinion, which appears in the earliest stages of the movement, was fully developed in Moravia, where many of them lived and worked in great communal settlements (Loserth, Communismus, etc.). Among the German and Dutch Anabaptists the tendency towards enforced communism, as seen in Thomas Münzer and in the Münster kingdom. But a large part, perhaps a majority, of the Anabaptists, did not favour actual communism in any form; they strenuously maintained, however, that all property belonged primarily to the Lord, and must be freely used in ministering to the needy. They conceived themselves in the position of stewards, under solemn obligation to administer the Lord's money for the highest good of mankind.

(2) They opposed the lending of money at interest, refused to accept interest themselves, and paid it unwillingly to others. Money, they held, should be lent for the benefit of the borrower rather than the lender. Proper fraternal relations forbade the exploitation of the needs of a brother; besides, the practice was regarded as contrary to the explicit teaching of Scripture (Dr 22:22, Ps 15:5).

(3) They refused to pay ecclesiastical taxes, believing that religion should be supported by the voluntary gifts of religious people.

Glancing at the social views, we see that the Anabaptists were several centuries in advance of their age. They were the modern men of their time. Some of their tenets, then universally anathematized and persecuted, have been adopted by all civilized lands, e.g., universal religious toleration; others have been widely incorporated in the newer lands (America and Australia),
and are making headway in the older societies, e.g., complete sequestration of Church and State; yet others are still objects of endeavour, only seen as far-off booms, as, for example, abolition of war; some, as communism, are not likely ever to be adopted by a multitudinous world. Nevertheless, the simplicities of people should have drawn from a fresh study of the Bible so many great ideas that still float before the race as high and distant ideals.

The early use of nitrous oxide in Europe was quite limited. In 1844, Dr. Horace Wells, a dentist in Hartford, Connecticut, observed that individuals who inhaled opium dissolved in ether in the neck, and on the day following he put to sleep another patient operated on painlessly by Dr. Haywood. Morton had consulted Wells, after his return to Hartford, as to the preparation of nitrous oxide. He had been advised to get from Professor Jackson, Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University, the necessary directions. Professor Jackson suggested that instead of nitrous oxide he should make trial of sulphuric ether, and Dr. Morton had experimented on himself and some of his dental patients before he offered to demonstrate its effects in the public theatre. He called his preparation "laughing-gas," and took out a patent for its use. He advised Dr. Jackson with himself in obtaining the patent, and admitted that Dr. Smilie, who had previously anesthetized a patient by causing inhalation of sulphuric ether with opium dissolved in it, might continue the use of his preparation without infringement of the patent. It was Morton's demonstration on the 16th of October 1846 that truly marked the beginning of the era of anaesthesia, and its adoption by all branches of the profession throughout the world. But for a time there was unseemly strife as to priority of the discovery, Jackson and Wells both disputing the claim of Morton to be the discoverer of the new mode of producing insensibility to pain. So that, although a monument in honour of the great event was set up in Boston, years passed ere it was finally decided to inscribe on it the solitary name of Dr. Morton, and Wendell Holmes is credited with having made the suggestion that Eether might do.

Meanwhile news had come to Europe of the great discovery that the inhalation of ether vapour could be employed with safety so as to control the pain of surgical operations, and surgeons in Great Britain and the Continent began to make trial of it in all directions. On the 17th of January 1847, James Young, a medical student at the University of Edinburgh, etherized a woman in labour. The benefit of etherization in surgery was established. But would it be safe to apply it in midwifery cases? Would it interfere with the labour effects? Could the patient be kept for the necessary time under the influence of the narcotic? What might be the after effects? The death of which Simpson had predetermined, because of pelvic deformity, "As nitrous oxide in its extensive operation appears capable of destroying physical pain, it may probably be used in surgical operations in which no great effusion of blood takes place." His suggestion was not taken up. The news of these cases continued, however, to be administered from time to time in chemical class-rooms and at public entertainments. In 1844, Dr. Horace Wells, a dentist in Hartford, Connecticut, observed that individuals who inhaled opium dissolved in ether in the neck, and on the day following he put to sleep another patient operated on painlessly by Dr. Haywood. Morton had consulted Wells, after his return to Hartford, as to the preparation of nitrous oxide. He had been advised to get from Professor Jackson, Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University, the necessary directions. Professor Jackson suggested that instead of nitrous oxide he should make trial of sulphuric ether, and Dr. Morton had experimented on himself and some of his dental patients before he offered to demonstrate its effects in the public theatre. He called his preparation "laughing-gas," and took out a patent for its use. He suggested Dr. Jackson with himself in obtaining the patent, and admitted that Dr. Smilie, who had previously anesthetized a patient by causing inhalation of sulphuric ether with opium dissolved in it, might continue the use of his preparation without infringement of the patent. It was Morton's demonstration on the 16th of October 1846 that truly marked the beginning of the era of anaesthesia, and its adoption by all branches of the profession throughout the world. But for a time there was unseemly strife as to priority of the discovery, Jackson and Wells both disputing the claim of Morton to be the discoverer of the new mode of producing insensibility to pain. So that, although a monument in honour of the great event was set up in Boston, years passed ere it was finally decided to inscribe on it the solitary name of Dr. Morton, and Wendell Holmes is credited with having made the suggestion that Eether might do.

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to extract the child by turning, and the result showed that labour could go on in its course although the sensations of pain were attendant on the effect being more or less altogether abrogated.

When the virtue of the anaesthetic had been proved in other cases of both natural and instrumental labour, he claimed for women the right to be relieved from all human suffering—their labour-pains. There had been misgivings in some minds as to the propriety of the administration of ether to surgical patients, and when it was proposed to introduce it in painful labour, there arose a perfect storm of opposition to the practice. Simpson had to bear the stress of it because of his application of it in midwifery, and because some months later, searching for a substance that might be free from some of the drawbacks of ether, he discovered, on the 4th of November 1847, the anaesthetic virtue of chloroform, and introduced it as a substitute for the earlier anaesthetic. Oliver Wendell Holmes had suggested that the term ‘anaesthesia’ should be applied to the process; but Simpson’s papers, like those of most of the other writers up till the end of 1847, spoke of ‘Etherisation in Surgery,’ ‘The Inhalation of Sulphuric Ether in Anesthesia,‘ and there is no evidence that after the new narcotic was used that it became necessary to fall back on the Greek expression which would be applicable to the effect of any agent applied and which had been used to describe the history of narcosis and narcotics, and found Theocritus speaking of Antigone having a painless labour because Lucina poured nux vomica over her, he regretted that he had not adopted the terms ‘nomicia’ and ‘nomicist‘ rather than ‘anaesthesia‘ and ‘anaesthetic.’

The occasional deaths resulting from the use of both ether and chloroform led to fresh experiments with nitrous oxide, which has been found especially safe and satisfactory in operations of short duration, as in tooth-pulling, so that it is now the anaesthetic most frequently employed in dentistry. Other volatile liquids have also been found to be possessed of anaesthetic properties, such as amylene, ethidene, bichloride of myethylene, etc. But none of them is free from danger, and none of them is so serviceable as chloroform in the case and rapidity with which patients can be anaesthetized with relatively small quantities of the drug, and in the comfort which attends the subsequent awaking. There is still much discussion as to the relative values of ether and chloroform. For, whilst the former requires special apparatus in its administration and is apt to have troublesome sequelae, the proportion of fatal cases is distinctly less than is met with in the use of chloroform. So that members of the profession who specialize as anaesthetists prefer its use in hospital practice and for patients undergoing the major operations of surgery, whilst chloroform remains the favourite anaesthetic in hot climates, in the lying-in room, and in the hands of military surgeons and busy general practitioners in their ordinary round of daily work. The writer has in the course of more than a half century seen some thousands of patients under the influence of anaesthetics—commonly of chloroform, and he has not seen a fatal case; but he knows that any day the record may be closed.

Some have sought to avoid the danger associated with all means of producing general anaesthesia by the superinduction of local anaesthesia. The skin has been rendered insensible by applications of ice, or ether or chloroform, or by slight cutting with a scalpel; or by the use of hydromorphin or of ethyl chloride so as to freeze the surface. Alone, or conjoined with freezing processes, electricity, cocaine, caeruline, and other anaesthetics have been applied to the surface or injected hypodermically as so as to produce a more lasting degree of local anaesthesia. Ovariotomy has been performed on women by laying still and made no complaint of suffering during the operation, when the seat of incision in the abdominal wall had been rendered insensible by freezing with ethyl chloride and hypodermic injections of cocaine. Such measures were a failure, however, only applicable for minor operations. A wider and more lasting form of localized anaesthesia was introduced by Dr. Corning of New York, in 1888, who found that injection of a 1 per cent. solution of cocaine in the lumbar region of the spinal chord produced anaesthesia in the lower half of the body, of sufficient intensity and duration to allow of the carrying out without pain of amputations of the lower limbs and other grave operations in the lower half of the abdomen. Cocaine and its derivates and also stovain and adrenal have been used in this way with results in midwifery and in various surgical processes that give hope of a great future for this method of superinduction of localized anaesthesia.

It should be added that from time to time insensibility to pain has been produced by means other than medication. In the 18th cent., Mesmer, produced, by what he supposed was an animal magnetism, a series of phenomena which were more carefully investigated in the 19th.—The first central tract of the history of anaesthetics was that of hypnotism. Braid described a state of the system into which individuals could be brought by having their attention fixed on a given object for a length of time until there ensued an exhaustion of some of the elements of the nervous system and the subject became amenable to the control of the operator. The person thus hypnotized could be made insensible to suffering at the suggestion of the hypnotizer. Dr. Esdaile and other surgeons in the Indian medical service reported a series of cases where operations, both major and minor, were performed on patients in a condition of unconsciousness thus produced. But hypnotism has been found applicable mainly to cases where there is disturbance in the nervous system; and its use for the relief of the pain of surgical operations is restricted by the circumstances (1) that it is not easily con- trolled, and (2) that the patient may have to be experimented on repeatedly before the hypnotizer gains sufficient control to command the necessary degree of anaesthesia. The practice has not sufficiently commended itself to the medical profession, even so far as to encourage more than a few members of it to try for themselves whether they were capable of exercising a hypnotic influence.

ANĀGATA VAMSA—ANAHIṬA

ANĀGATA VAMSA (‘Record of the Future’).
—A Pali poem of 142 stanzas on the future Buddha, Metteyya. It is stated in the Gandha Vaisaka (JPTS, 1886, p. 61) that it was written by Kassapa; but the Gāthā Prakāsa are tolerant that he was a poet who lived in the Chola country. We may probably conclude that he did not reside at Kāśī, the Chola capital, as in that case the name Kāśī would have suited the locality and place where he had been put in the place of Chola-rāthā. The further statement (Gandha Vaisaka, i.e.), that he also wrote the Buddha Vaisakha, seems to be a mistake. And we know nothing either of his date or of the other books attributed to him. The poem has been edited for the Pāli Text Society by the late Prof-essor Minayeff (JPTS, 1886, pp. 33–38), with extracts from the commentary, which is by Ujjīnas (see Gandha Vaisaka, p. 72). Of the latter writer also nothing is at present known, unless he be identical with the author of the Mahā Bodhi Vaisakha who wrote in Ceylon about A.D. 970.*

Quotations in this article are taken from the Anāgata Vamsa which is regrettable, as the question of the origin and growth of the belief held by the later Buddhists in this future Buddha, Metteyya, is important. As is well known, there are statements in the Nikāyas (e.g. Kh. i. 144, 146, 250) that the Buddha would arise, but, with one exception, neither the Nikāyas nor any book in the Pāraksa mention Metteyya. His name occurs, it is true, in the concluding stanzas of the Buddha Vaisakha, but he is an addition by a later hand, and does not belong to the work itself. Neither is Metteyya mentioned in the Netti Pakāsas. The exception referred to is a passage in the 38th Dialogue of the Dīgha which is quoted below. Out of all the Buddha's teaching, Metteyya would have thousands of followers where the Buddha himself had only hundreds. This passage is quoted in the Mātanīda (p. 150); but the Mātanīda does not refer anywhere else to Metteyya. In the Mahāvastu (one of the earliest extant works in Buddhist Sanskrit) the legend is in full vigour. Metteyya is mentioned eleven times, two or three of the passages giving details about him. One of these passages, with the Anāgata Vamsa in its statement of the size of his city, Kzetamati (Mahāv. 240 = Anāg. Vain. 8); but discrepancies exist between the others (Mahāv. ii. 165 = Anāg. Vain. 106, and 107). It is in this poem that we find the fullest and most complete account of the tradition, which evidently varied in different times and places.

This is really conclusive as to the comparatively late date of the poem. In earlier times it was enough to say that future Buddhas would arise; then a few details, one after another, were invented about the immediately succeeding Buddha. When in the south of India the advancing wave of ritualism and mythology threatened to overwhelm the ancient simplicity of the faith, a despairing hope looked for the time of the next Buddha, and decked out his story with lavish completeness.

Three points of importance are quite clear from the statement: (1) the Buddha will be a mark of little or nothing original in the tradition of which it is the main evidence. It is simply built up in strict imitation of the early forms of the Buddha legend, only names and numbers differing. But it is the old form of Metteyya; (2) There is sufficient justification for the comparison between Metteyya and the Western idea of a Messiah. The ideas are, of course, not at all the same; but there are several points of analogy. The time of Metteyya is described as a Golden Age in which kings, ministers, and people will live one with another in maintaining the reign of righteousness and the victory of the truth. It should be added that the future Buddha is written in regard to freedom of the future from the tyranny descending to the “heavenly” Aphrodite, whom they

Buddha also, like that of every other Buddha, will suffer corruption, and pass away in time. (3) We can remove a misconception as to the meaning of the name. Metteyya Buddha does not mean the Buddha of Love, as the Metteyya is the gotra name, that is, the name of the gens to which his ancestors belonged—something like our family name. It is probably, like Gotama, a patronymic, and means ‘descendants of Metteyya.’ Another Metteyya is mentioned in the Sutta Nipata, who asks and answers Buddha questions, and is doubtless a historical person. We can admit only that whoever first used this as the family name of the future Buddha may very likely have associated, and probably did associate, in his mind with the other word metta, which means ‘love.’ It would only be one of those plays upon words which are so constantly met with in early Indian literature. The personal name of the future Buddha is given in the poem, and elsewhere also, as Ajita, unconquered.*

The poem in one MS has the fuller title Anāgata-Buddhassa Varayāna, ‘Record of the future Buddha’ (JPTS, 1886, p. 61), which is different from the one here described, though the title is the same. It gives an account, apparently, in prose and verse, of ten future Buddhas, of whom Metteyya is one (ib. p. 39). This work is still unedited.

LITERATURE—H. C. Warren, Buddhism in Translations, Cambridge, Mass., 1903, pp. 431–439, has given a summary of one recession of this work.

T. W. RVHS DAVIŠS.

ANAHIṬA (Gr. Ἀναήθη).—Anaḥita is one of the chief deities in Mazdaism, and we get fairly accurate information about her character from a complete Yast (v) and numerous other passages in the Avesta. Arđvi Surā Anaḥita, that is, undoubtedly, ‘the chief of lovely’, Anaḥita, is supposed to be a goddess of fertilizing waters, and more particularly of a supernatural spring, located in the region of the stars, from which all the rivers of the world flow (Dârmešte). The fertility which the divine water caused in the earth was extended to the animal kingdom, and, according to the Avesta, Anaḥita ‘purifies the seed of males and the womb and the milk of females’ (Vendidit, vii. 16; Yast, v. 5), and is invoked by married girls, and men at the time of childbirth (Yast, v.). At the same time she is thought of as a goddess of war, who rides in a chariot drawn by four white horses (Yast, v. 13), and is invoked from rain, cloud, and hail (Yast, v. 120), and she bestows victory on the combatants, and gives them sturdy teeth and brave companions. The Avestan hymn, after enumerating all the heroes of the past who sacrificed to Anaḥita, including Zoroaster, whom she instructed in her worship, concludes with a very exact description of her appearance and her dress (Yast, v. 126 f.). She is a beautiful maiden, powerful and tall, her girdle fastened high, wrapped in a gold-embroidered cloak, wearing earrings, a necklace, and a crown of gold, and adorned with thirty otter skins. These minute details are undoubtedly inspired by a sculptural type. This passage of the Avesta has rightly been connected with the famous text of Berossus (Clem. Alex. Protrept. 5), which says that Artaxerxes Mnemon (5. c. 404–361) was the first to teach the Persians to form a Babylonian high priest, the Brahmans in the temples of Babylons, Susa (cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 27, 153), and Ecbatana (cf. Plutarch, Vit. Artax. 27; Polybius, x. 27, 12), in Persia, Bactriana, Damaicas, and Cappadocia. These statements are connected with the story of a Babylonian original, and perhaps, as has been suggested, Anaḥita might even be identical with the Semitic goddess Anat. This would account for the passage in Herodotus (i. 130), referring to ‘the Issaeans who sacrifice to the “heavenly” Aphrodite, whom they
call Mithra.' The ancient historian had probably written 'Mithra' by mistake for 'Anahita.' As a matter of fact, the two divinities are united, or at least associated, in a pair of inscriptions of the Achaemenians, in which they figure precisely from the reign of Artaxerxes Mennoon (Weissbach-Bang, Die altperzischen Keilschriften, 1886). The Information of Berossus on the diffusion of the Anahita cult throughout the Persian empire is confirmed by a mass of evidence. Outside of Iran, the goddess is found in Armenia (Gelas., Sct. Geillacch, Wiss. Leipzig, 1886, i. 220 ff.; see also art. ARABIA ZOROASTRIAN). She had temples at Aratxata, at Yashtishat in Tauranitis, and especially at Erêz in Akilisene, the whole region of which was consecrated to her (Anaxacta regio, Pliny, v. 53). The Erêz sanctuary, which contained a golden statue of Anahita, was famous for its wealth, and the daughters of the noble families of Armenia used to go there and prostitute themselves (Strabo, xi. 532 C). This sacred custom, which is probably of Semitic origin, seems to be a modification of the ancient exogamy (cf. Cumont, Religions orientales, ii. 208). Of the women who continued to hold ground at Erêz under the Romans, the sacred buffaloes of Anahita wandered at liberty in Akilisene, and the victims for sacrifice had to be captured by hunting (RA, 1905, i. 25 ff.). The Persian goddess was worshipped also in Pontus and in Cappadocia (Strabo, xi. 512 C, xii. 559 C, xv. 733 C), perhaps also at Castabala in Cilicia (Strabo, xii. 537 C). In these districts she became identified with the great autochthonous divinity Mâ, and her temples were attended by a number of sacred slaves (lipakwana) of both sexes. At Zela in Pontus, a festival, the Sacae, which was probably of Kelitian origin, was held annually. It is especially in Lydia that Anahita has left innumerable traces of her presence. She was probably, as Berossus states (cf. above), brought into Sardis by Artaxerxes II., and there became amalgamated with Kybele (Cybele), the Great Mother honoured throughout the country. The well-known figures of a winged goddess holding a lion in either hand, to which the designation 'Persian Artemis' has been given, really represent this syncretic divinity worshipped as 'mistress of the beasts' (sûna ògân) (Radet, CAIBL, 1906, p. 258). Descriptions of her noisy rites exist as early as in the works of the tragic poet Diogenes of Athens (Nepos, s. v. Artemis, 16). The principal temples were at Hierocaesarea (Paus. v. 7, 5, vii. 6. 6; Tac. Ann. iii. 62: 'delubrum rege Cyro dicatum'; cf. Bul. Corr. hellen. xi. 95), and at Hierapolis (Paus. loc.; cf. RA, 1885, ii. 114; Dittenberger, Oriens Græci Inscriptiones Selectæ, 1903-05, 470); but her name also appears in a large number of inscriptions in this vicinity (Heinrich, Chroniques d'Orient, 157 ff., 215 ff.; Buresch, Aus Lykien, 1895, 28, 66 ff., 125; Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie, s. v. 'Persike'; Wright, Harvard Studies, 1895, vi. 55 ff.). The conception formed of the goddess and the ceremonies by means of which she was worshipped seems to have remained faithful to the ancient Iranian traditions. She was always regarded as the goddess of sacred waters (Anaita tû òpò tòv òpò òpov), Buresch, l. c. p. 118), and her liturgy was repeated in a 'barbarian language' (Paus. v. 7, 6; 9). The Greeks identified Anahita, on the one hand, on account of her warlike character, with Athene, and, on the other, as a goddess of fertility, with Aphrodite (Berossus, l. c.; Agatharches, 1849, vii. 65; Diodorus, v. 77; Plutarch, Lucull. 24; Tacitus, Ann. iii. 62). As the bull was sacred to her, she was confounded especially with 'Artemis Tauropolos' in Lydia, as well as in Armenia and Cappadocia. It was probably from this composite cult of the Asiatic Tauropolos that the 'taurobolium' penetrated into the Roman world (Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. 'Anaitis'; RA, 1905, i. 28 ff.). In the Latin country the Persians were identified with the Magna Mater of Phrygia, certainly remained in close connexion with Mithra, whose mysteries spread to the West after the 1st cent. of our era (Cumont, Textes et monuments figurées relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, i. 333 ff. and passim).

Literature.—Windschmann, 'Die persische Anahita,' Stadtnbg. Akad. Wurges, 1856; Spiegel, Französische Altertumskunde, 1875, iii. 54 ff.; Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, 1869, ii. 993 and passim; Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie, s. v. 'Anaitis' (Ed. Meyer) and 'Persike' (Höfer). Fr. CUMONT.

ANALOGY.—The determination of the limits within which validity belongs to the argument from analogy is one of the problems of theology. Though the discussion of the question properly falls within the sphere of logic rather than of theology, yet the latter science is intimately concerned with its decision. So long as arguments from analogy occur with such frequency and have so important a part to play alike in the defence and in the exposition of revelation, the theologian will not be easy unless his confidence in this logical process be firmly established. Moreover, even the warmest advocate of the argument from analogy will admit that as an instrument of thought it is specially liable to abuse, and that its employment involves at least risks of error which require to be explicitly recognized in order to be avoided. In this article the subject of treatment will be the use of analogy in theology; but in the interest of clearness of statement it will be necessary to begin with some brief reference to general principles.

1. Analogy: its definition in logic.—At the outset we are confronted with a considerable lack of agreement among logicians as to the correct definition of analogy. Some authorities, content to fall in with popular usage, identify the argument from analogy with the argument from resemblance. Such, for example, is the position adopted by J. S. Mill. Other logicians, on the contrary, maintain that when one object resembles another in a certain number of known points it will probably resemble it in some further unknown points also. Such a logical procedure is akin to induction, but is distinguishable therefrom by the circumstance that no causal or necessary connexion has yet been established between the known points of resemblance and the further points whose resemblance is only inferred. The conclusion is, therefore, not demonstrable but probable, and the amount of probability will vary in accordance with the number and the importance of the resemblances which have been observed, and in accordance with the number of ascertained points of dissimilarity between the two objects. In estimating the extent of the probability, account must be taken of the proportion borne by the number of the ascertained resemblances to the supposed number of unknown properties (cf. Mill, System of Logic, iii. xx.).

This conception of analogy is, however, repudiated by other logicians, notably of the modern and scientific. Influenced by the meaning of the word in the original Greek, and by its primary use as a term of mathematics, they insist that analogy is a
resemblance not between things, but only between relations.

'Two things,' writes Dr. Whately, 'may be connected by an analogy, though the nature of the one be in no way similar to that of the other. The resemblance for analogy is the resemblance of ratios or relations; thus, as a sweet taste gratifies the palate, so does the man of good thoughts gratify the mind, hence the word sweet is applied to both, though no flavour can resemble a sound in itself' (Elements of Logic, p. 246).

The last words of the sentence are noteworthy. They indicate that upon this view of analogy no legitimate inference can be drawn from the nature of the one pair of related terms to the nature of the other, though the ratio or force of their relation may be strictly similar to the relation between ear and sound, but we cannot therefore draw inferences as to the nature of the one from what we know of the other. This is an important contention with far-reaching consequences, and its influence upon theological argument will appear presently.

This definition of analogy has the merit of scientific exactness, and of being in strict accordance with the Anglican Church, and the Anglican vocabulary, but it is at the same time open to serious criticism. The restrictions which it imposes upon the function of analogy are such as would almost entirely invalidate the use of the argument in practical life. Men in their daily concerns do not confine their analogical arguments to the consideration of mere relations, but freely draw inferences as to the nature of things. Although this is a merely practical objection, it is not without support in the theory of analogy. It has been pointed out that some identity of nature is always postulated in every analogy. In mathematical analogy, for example, it is at least necessary that both pairs of terms should be magnitudes. And, again, in the analogy between speech and taste, though in a sense there is no resemblance between them, yet they are both sensations. The heterogeneity of the human spirit is not absolute. Exception, therefore, may fairly be taken to the extreme statement of Whately, that no inference is permissible from the nature of the one to the nature of the other. And the theologian will press the point; for in his hands the argument from analogy is usually of the more flexible and practical form, which cannot be confined within the narrow limits set by the type of mathematical analogy. It is concerned with realities rather than with abstract relations.

2. Analogy in religious vocabulary.—The entire vocabulary of religion is based upon the perception of analogies between the material and the spiritual worlds. Words which now bear an immaterial and spiritual significance were originally used to denote visible and tangible objects. If in many languages the word for breath or wind has come to be used for the soul, it is because at an early stage of their development men became conscious of an analogy between the lightness and invisibility of air and the supposed properties of the human spirit. To a later and more critical age the analogy may appear thin and crude; but it must be remembered that the initiation of a religious vocabulary dates from the childhood of the race.

In the gradual evolution of religion, crudities have been refined away, until the original meaning of many words now used exclusively with a spiritual significance has been forgotten. But throughout the whole course of the development the necessity for finding analogical words as a vehicle for the expression of spiritual truth has never been outgrown, and a new and more profound secret has been put into speech by means of the analogy of human fatherhood. Thus witness is borne in all ages to the instinctive readiness with which men assume a parallelism between the things which are seen and the unseeable, though the latter are in themselves no more real than that parallelism really exists and how far it affords us grounds of inference to the real nature of the spiritual world, is the problem which every philosophy of religion sets out to solve.

3. Analogy as a means to the knowledge of the spiritual world.—Not only the vocabulary but the content of natural religion are derived from the source of analogical reasoning. For natural religion begins with the assumption of a resemblance between God and the world, sufficient to justify the inference that the wonder and majesty of Creation will in some sort reflect the wonder and majesty of the Creator (cf. Wis 13:1 'For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably and this made them to be a sound in itself'). Though this is the only Biblical passage in which the word 'analogy' appears in this connexion, yet the thought of the world as the visible expression of the attributes of the invisible God is of constant recurrence in Scripture. It is familiar to the Psalmist (Ps 19). It is stated explicitly by St. Paul: 'For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead' (Ro 1:20). This assumption of a significant analogy between God and the world is not argumentatively justified in the Bible. Like the other principles of natural religion, it is taken as an accepted truth. And the belief culminates in the doctrine of man's creation in the image of God. It is impossible to overestimate the formative influence of this conception of human nature as the true analogue of the Divine. As it was one of the controlling factors in the development of Jewish religion, so has it exercised an even more dominant influence upon Christian thought, supplying, as it does, the philosophical basis of the whole system of Christian belief. Throughout the whole history of Christian doctrine the question of the reality of the likeness of man to God, i.e. of the truth of the analogy between Divine and human nature, has been one of the pivots of controversy. Men have arranged themselves in opposite camps according as they have been more or less ready to accept this belief.

4. Analogy in Patristic writings.—The great theologians of the early centuries, following the precedent of Scripture, made free use of analogy for the double purpose of defence and exposition. It was to them a convenient means of exposing the many commonly held views, and a ready method of illustrating the difficulties of abstract theology by means of familiar and concrete examples. Illustrations of so frequent a practice are scarcely necessary. But perhaps a simple example from East and West may not be out of place.

The following quotation from Gregory of Nyssa indicates how clearly he recognized the character of the logical process which he was employing: 'Ως τον ουρανον | και την θεα | ημας αναλογικον (την, αναλογικον) ετε την επιμεταλλη μητε | ποιησεν, κατα την σπερματοσφαιρα, σπερμα, εις αυτον και μεμοντα την ανθρωπον, αναλογικον | και τη καην εις την την ανθρωπον. (Greg. Cat. ii.).

In the short treatise, De ἰδιά τινας οικον εις νουσ παραδείγματα, attributed to St. Augustine, the objection to the argument from analogy on the ground of religious faith is met by insistence on the analogy of the analogy of the actual necessity of faith in ordinary human intercourse. And in his work, De myst., the mysteries of the Divine Being of God are restated illustrated by the analogous mysteries of human psychology.

5. Analogy in Scholastic theology.—But however legitimately and successfully this method of argument was employed by the Fathers, it was not by them subjected to reflective criticism. A real advance was therefore made when Alberic, who entered upon an ingenious examination of the limits of the analogical method with particular reference to its use in theology. Among the reasons which led him to undertake this work was their desire to find the explicit justification for the anthropomorphic language of Scripture. Such language obviously could not be taken literal-
ally, nor yet be summarily dismissed as merely metaphorical, and therefore implying no real likeness between God and His creatures. The Schoolmen's answer to the problem is to be found in their theory of resemblance, which was generally opposed to the analogy of words, with the explanation of the analogical use of language, but also with the far deeper and more important question of the reality and the extent of the analogy between the finite and the infinite, and the legitimacy of inference from one to the other.

With regard to language, it was pointed out that a distinction must be made between the universal, that is equivocal, and the analogical use of words. A word is univocally employed when in two or more propositions it conveys precisely the same meaning; equivocally when used in two entirely different senses. But where two things are connected by some relation, the same word may be applied to them both in a related, though not precisely identical, sense. This last is the analogical use. Thus—the instance is as old as Aristotle—the word 'healthy' is analogically applied to the body which is sound, and to the food which is the cause of soundness. Similarly, the term 'being' is analogically applied to God whose essence is identical with that of man whose existence is contingent and dependent.

Upon the basis of this distinction was established the justification of the use of human terms about the Deity. When, for example, we speak of the wisdom of man and the wisdom of God, the word 'wisdom' is not used univocally. For if so, we should be denying any difference in kind between human and Divine wisdom, and our statement would be obviously contrary to the Christian teaching about God. Nor yet is the use of the word equivocal. For then we should be asserting the essential likeness of human and Divine wisdom, and it would be impossible to argue from the nature of the one to the nature of the other. Such a position would be untenable, because if a similar objection were supposed to hold good in all parallel cases, every inference from the creature to the Creator would be vitiated by the fallacy of equivocation. A way of escape from these opposite difficulties is provided by the recognition of the analogical use of the word. It is implied that there is a likeness or proportion in the likeness between the wisdom of man and the wisdom of God. What is partial and incomplete in man is perfect in God. (Cf. Thom. Aqu., Summa, I, xiii. 6).

This distinction between the univocal and the analogical use of words was a sufficient reply to the reproach of anthropomorphism, but it left untouched the deeper question of the extent of the analogy or resemblance between God and His creatures. Accordingly, in the eighteenth century came the greater clearness of thought with reference to this fundamental problem of religion, the Schoolmen proceeded to introduce further distinctions into their conception of analogy. These may be sufficiently illustrated from the scheme of Suarez (Disput. Metaphys, xxviii. sec. iii.). He distinguished two kinds of analogy, viz. that of proportion and that of attribution. To the former of these not only of interest attaches a weight amounting to little more than a mere resemblance, seized upon by the mind as justification for the use of a metaphor. Though such an analogy of proportion may affect the imagination, it therefore be of use in the way of illustration, it does not go far enough to warrant any inference in argument. The analogy of attribution, on the other hand, is established on the existence of a resemblance in the nature of things. It is true, this is not definition, and is valid for purposes of inference. When this resemblance consists in the possession by two subjects of the same quality in different degrees, the analogy is styled intrinsic. This is the highest grade of analogy, analogia attributionis intrusive, and of this kind is the analogy between God and His creatures as regards, for example, the property of omniscience, which is a property is predicated of Him and them. Their existence, however, is not of the same degree as His. Yet is it so far the same as to allow of some inferences being drawn as to their existence, and as to the nature of infinite existence. These distinctions may possibly appear needless and technical, but the consideration of them will at least serve the purpose of calling the attention of the student to the possibility of some confusions of thought that have been actually responsible for the failure of much analogical argument.

6. Analogy in post-Reformation theology.—When the questions of theology ceased to be confined to the schools, and became the subject of popular debate, it was natural that the problem of analogy should be handled in accordance with the new methods, and in a manner intelligible to a larger public. A general advance in intellectual enlightenment brought the question once more to the front. At a time when man's knowledge of the world was being rapidly extended in many directions, he inevitably had to face to face with the issue, whether Nature was in any true sense the analogue of God. Hence at the beginning of the 18th cent. we find that the theory of analogy was occupying the attention of some of the foremost theological writers.

Among the books on the subject which specially deserve mention may be noticed a Discourse on Predestination, by Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin (1700). By this writer a somewhat extreme form of religious agnosticism was advocated. Desiring to allay the bitterness of theological controversy, he laid stress on the principle that all our notions about the Deity are inevitably limited by our human and finite capacity. 'If we know anything about Him at all, it must be by analogy and comparison, by resembling Him to something we do know and are acquainted with' (Whately's reprint of King in Appendix to Baunton Lectures, 3rd ed. p. 480). Our notions of God are really as far from the truth as a map is different from actual land and sea. A chart, while it provides instruction sufficient for the purpose of the traveller, does not actually resemble the territory covered by it. Similarly, Scripture teaching about God may give us information about Him adequate for the purposes of this present life, without revealing Him to us as He is. This depreciation of man's capacity for acquiring a true knowledge of God was intended in the interest of theological peace. It became, however, the occasion of controversy. Bp. Browne, of Cork, contributed several books to the discussion of the question. In an early work he maintained that—

-Our ideas of God and divine things are a sort of composition we make up from our ideas of worldly objects, which at the utmost amount to no more than a sort of fiction, by which something in another world is signified, of which we have no more notion than a blind man hath of light' (quoted in Introduction to Procedure, etc.).

Adhering to these principles in his Procedure, Extent, and Limits of the Human Understanding (1728), he accepted without demur King's somewhat extreme conclusions:

-That we have no direct or proper notions or conceptions of God in His attributes, or of any other things of another world; that they are all but the most involved and imperfectly spoken of in the language of revelation, by way of analogy and accommodation to our capacities; that we want faculties to discern them' (op. cit. p. 11).

At the same time he criticized King for failing to distinguish between analogy and analogism, and for thus suggesting the inference that our statements about God are merely metaphorical, and as
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of human passions or human limbs. To the exposition of this distinction he devotes a chapter (bk. i. ch. ix.), explaining that metaphor expresses only an imaginary resemblance or correspondence, whereas in analogy the correspondence or resemblance is real. The same theme is worked out at greater length in his later book, Things Divine and Supernatural conceived by Analogy with Things Natural and Human (1725), in which he begins the spiritual order is strictly relative to our capacities.

'God does not raise up our minds to any direct or immediate view of the things of another world, ... but brings them down to the level of human understanding.' St. Paul says that just and sufficient knowledge of God we have in this life is obtained by analogy or similitude with those perfections we find in ourselves (p. 29).

The question naturally attracted the attention of Berkeley, who handled it with characteristic acuteness and precision in Alciphron, Dial. iv. ch. xxi. Familiar with the Scholastic definitions of analogy, he does not shrink from the conclusion that all our knowledge of God is strictly analogical. It is not, however, on that account to be reckoned as worthless. Human passions, indeed, are attributed to God by metaphorical analogy only, and involve no statement as to His nature. On the other hand:

'Knowledge, for example, in the proper formal meaning of the word, may be attributed to God proportionately, that is, preserving a proportion to the infinite nature of God. We may say that He is 'good as God is infinite,' as is the knowledge of God infinitely above the knowledge of man, and this is not metaphoric. And after this same analogy we must understand all those attributes to belong to the Deity, which in themselves simply and as such denote perfection (ed. 1762, p. 29).

Berkeley, while recognizing the incompleteness of our spiritual knowledge, lays the emphasis on its trustworthiness rather than on its inadequacy. Analogy, as a ground of our knowledge of God by analogy, seems very much misunderstood and misapplied by those who would infer from thence that we cannot frame any direct or proper notion, though never so inadequate, of knowledge or wisdom as they are in the Deity, or understand any more of them than one born blind can of light or colour.'

Such was Berkeley's repudiation of the attempt to make religious truth unassailable by assuming it to be unintelligible.

It is remarkable that Butler, whose work is still the classical example of the application of the argument from analogy to theology, should have deliberately abstained from any prefatory justification or explanation of the theory of the instrument which he felt to be the only legitimate Scholastic procedure, however, is the case. Declaring at the outset that he will not take it upon him to say how far the extent, compass, and force of analogical reasoning can be reduced to general heads and rules, he curtly brushes aside objections to this kind of argument with the remark that it is unen disponably adopted by all in practical life. 'It is enough to the present purpose to observe that this kind of general way of arguing is evidently natural, just, and conclusive.' Others, as we have seen, were discussing these very points at the time when Butler was engaged in the composition of the Analogy. The well-known speculations of Descartes are as essentially unpractical. Whatever the reason may have been, they are absent from his own work. He applies, he does not analyze, the argument from analogy. What gives his work its pre-eminent position in apologetic literature is not his selection of this particular kind of argument, but the steady patience, the scrupulous exactitude, and the transparent honesty with which he applied it to the point reached by his predecessor. And there is a striking contrast alike to those writers who denounced analogical reasoning as worthless and those others who belauded it as the key to all difficulties. The claim that he makes on its behalf is modest in its scope. 'Positively it can never (so he tells us) afford more than a probable proof; negatively it can expose the latent insincerity of much unbelief, by showing that circumstances often considered to be conclusive objections to religion are strictly parallel with analogous circumstances in nature, the acknowledged handiwork of God. Consequently, Butler's hands provided no vindication of the character of God (Works, ed. W. E. Gladstone, i. 359), but it was fitted to open the eyes of men to their obligations by showing them the moral excuse if they failed to consider with appropriate seriousness the arguments urged on behalf of religious belief.

The full effectiveness of Butler's argument will not be appreciated unless it be remembered that he says he is arguing upon the principles of others, not his own (ib. p. 367). Convinced that the proper proof of religion was to be found in the principles of liberty and general fitness, he nevertheless avoided reference to those principles, and limited himself to the consideration of religion as a matter of fact and practice. Upon this lower ground he met his adversaries, the Deist and the Infidel. Against these he wielded the weapon of analogy with complete logical success. Deist objections against Christianity crumble away under his analysis. It is, of course, true that since then the religious controversies of the day have shifted its position. Hence many of his arguments need re-statement in accommodation to modern requirements. But, whatever alterations in detail may be thought necessary, time has not altered the general verdict in favour of the soundness and cogency of his argument.

7. Analogy since Kant.—Discussion of the nature and extent of man's analogical knowledge of God will always be a principal place in the history of metaphysics, and for that reason will be sensitive to any change in the general philosophic attitude towards the ultimate questions of metaphysics. Hence it was that the whole statement and treatment of the problem were radically affected by the influence of the critical philosophy of Kant. That influence, however, was slow to exhibit itself in English theology, and until the 19th cent. was well advanced before the discussion continued along the traditional lines. A controversy between Copleston and Grinfield in 1821 brought out once more the possibilities of disagreement over the place to be assigned to analogy. The two writers, representing respectively the lower and the higher and most extreme Scholastics, reproduce with curious exactness the points which had been made a century before by Archb. King and Bp. Browne. Explicit acknowledgment was made of the debt due to these earlier writers; and Whately, Copleston's friend and disciple, reprinted with notes and high commendation King's famous Discourse on Predestination, in which the limitations of human reason had been so rigorously insisted upon. A different attitude towards the fundamental question at issue revealed itself in Mansel's Lectures on the Limits of Religious Thought (1858). The title of the book recalls that of Bp. Browne's Treatise on the Limits of the Human Understanding. And the resemblance is more than superficial. In both writers there is the same tendency to dwell on the inadequacy of the human intelligence to fathom the mysteries of the Divine Nature. But Mansel, under the influence of Kantian principles as to man's ignorance of things in themselves, attacks the problem from a different side, and goes beyond the discussion carried on by his predecessor. Whereas Bp. Browne had urged the relativity and consequent incompleteness of man's analogical knowledge of God, Mansel went so far as to say that, of God's real nature, we, under our limited conditions, are, and must remain, totally ignorant. It is an ignor-
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ance so complete as to exclude the possibility of either affirmation or denial.

'The anarchy which operated in the frame and structure of the nature of man, and was the consequence of the untrammelled liberty of the human will in action, was that which was called Anarchism, and it was the anarchy of the spirit. It was not the anarchy of the physical world, but the anarchy of the moral world, the anarchy of the human soul.

'Anarchism is a system of philosophy, and it is a system of politics, and it is a system of economics. It is a system of art, and it is a system of religion. It is a system of science, and it is a system of ethics. It is a system of all knowledge, and it is a system of all action.'

THE ANALOGICAL CONCEPTION OF RELIGION.

The analogy of religion is a doctrine that has been in existence for a very long time. It is a doctrine that has been developed by many different philosophers and theologians. It is a doctrine that has been used to explain the nature of religion and the relationship between religion and the natural world.

The analogy of religion is based on the idea that all knowledge is analogical. This means that all knowledge is based on the comparison of two things. For example, we can compare the natural world to the supernatural world, and we can compare the physical world to the spiritual world.

The analogy of religion is a doctrine that has been used to explain the nature of religion and the relationship between religion and the natural world. It is a doctrine that has been used by many different philosophers and theologians.

The analogy of religion is a doctrine that has been developed over a long period of time. It is a doctrine that has been used to explain the nature of religion and the relationship between religion and the natural world. It is a doctrine that has been used by many different philosophers and theologians.
popular idea of Anarchy is that it is concerned only with bomb-throwing and Terrorism. But Anarchy as a theory of existence has been proclaimed by some of the gentlest and most cultured spirits in Europe; and although, in the case of a writer, it is easy to think, when the active revolutionary is merged, it will be convenient to consider first the theory and then the history of the movement.

In its economic side Anarchy is a branch of Socialism or Collectivism. It regards the day of private ownership and of capitalism as drawing to a close. It believes that the wage nexus between employer and employee is evil, and must sooner or later cease. Its view of the re-commutation of labour varies between payment by wage and time and the taking by each of what he wants from the common stock of production. When the workers are living in free associations, each will see that his own interest is the interest of the association, and the present tragic struggle for the increased share will cease.

The political basis of Anarchy is, negatively, that the present government is the result of the domination and voluntary power is quite illusory as a means of social re-demption for the many. Liberalism has been a failure. Even universal suffrage could lead but to the government of the few. Further, representative government has had its full trial, and has failed; its defects are inherent in itself, and never can be cured. It is impossible for a Parliament to attend to all the numberless affairs of the community. More and more Parliament shows this inability in the congestion of business, and in the increasing extent to which local affairs are delegated to local authorities. It is this process of separation that led to the philosophic Anarchist. He takes it to foreshadow the day when every little group will settle its own affairs, when there will be no rulers and no subjects, when each individual will have free play within his group, and each group free play in its relation to all other groups.

Anarchy has been extremely anxious to place itself on a scientific basis. In its modern form it has claimed Herbert Spencer as intellectual sponsor. It declares itself to be acting along the lines of evolution in that it is conforming to those two great tendencies which Spencer discerns in present-day conditions—the tendency to integrate labour for the benefit of all, and the tendency of the wealth of each individual species to become the property of the species. The conditions must, therefore, be modified, so that man will be able to live the normal free life, instead of being forced by positive law to hold a place in a system of things which gives him neither freedom nor opportunity.

ii. History. The view that authority is in itself a thing undesirable, and that man reaches the full measure of his stature only when he is allowed to develop his individuality absolutely unchecked, is by no means new. It appeared in several of the Mystic and Anabaptist sects of the later Middle Ages and post-Reformation period. In the 19th cent. there was a sect of the Beghards, calling themselves Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who professed pantheistic views. It claimed the utmost liberty on the ground that, as God inhabited each, the will of each was the will of God. In their preaching the Brethren advocated community of goods and community of women; they declared that the active revolutionaries were merged, it will be convenient to consider first the theory and then the history of the movement.

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by a change not so much in political conditions as in economic. This change could be wrought only along the lines of social development. In 1847 the Society began to call itself the Communist League, its programme containing a declaration of the necessity without classes and without private property. The manifesto that the League put forth did not a little to give vigour to the various revolutionary movements of 1848; but, in the reaction following that of its enthusiasm, the League died. During the London International Exhibition of 1862 views were exchanged between French workmen visiting the Exhibition and their English fellows; popular sympathy with the Polish insurrection of 1863 helped the movement; and so, in 1864, the 'International Association of Working Men' was formed, with Karl Marx as its ruling spirit. His influence led the Association to the doctrine of State Socialism. State ownership of the land, as well as of the means of transport and communication, was early agreed upon as an object for which the Association should strive, although a proposal to abolish the right of inheritance did not find a majority.

But the disintegration of the International was at hand. In 1869, Bakunin and a number of the Russian anarchists who had joined it began to attack the centralizing views of Marx. Then the Franco-German war broke out, and national feeling could not be eliminated even from an International Association. The Communards in Paris raised hopes that were almost immediately dashed in very dreadful fashion. In 1871 it became evident that there were two definitely marked groups in the Association, and the line of cleavage, as Kropotkin has pointed out, was not only an economic, but a racial one. The Germans, who now had received Parliamentary government, wished to work along electoral lines. 'The conquest of power within the existing state' became the watchword of the party which took the name of the 'Social Democrats.' The Latins and Slav elements in the Association gathered themselves together, under the leadership of Bakunin, in advocating the abolition of all paternal government, and the free action of the people through separate groups. In 1872 the Anarchists were expelled from the Association, and henceforth uttered their views through the Jura Federation. The expulsion of the Anarchists was almost the last act of the International. It moved the seat of its General Council to New York, held one other Congress in Geneva in 1873, and then died. The Jura Federation and the Anarchists had a common history, owing to the influence of their leader.

Michael Bakunin (1814-1876) was an aristocrat and an officer. Horrified by the repressive duties he had to perform in Poland, he left the army and became a revolutionary. From 1849 to 1855 he was almost constantly in prison. In 1855 he was exiled to Siberia, but escaped in 1861 to America, and thence made his way to London. It was at this time that Russia seemed to be on the verge of a crucial constitutional change. The Czar in 1857 had promised the emancipation of the serfs, but after he had announced his intention the reaction ary party induced public opinion to set the serfs an enormous redemption price for the land, and to postpone the emancipation till 1863. But in 1863 there broke out the insurrection in Poland. It was represented with much cruelty to thousands of Poles were exiled to Siberia. Up to this time Russian social reformers had wrought mainly by going among the artisans and peasantry, indoctrinating them with their liberal and revolutionary principles. But the Czar's government was now rendered by this time almost impossible. After the attempt on the Czar's life by Karakozoff in 1866, the reformers had to hide their heads. Thousands fled the country, and settled in Switzerland and elsewhere.

It was among those exiles that Bakunin developed his theories of revolution and destruction of the existing order of things in faith, morals, economics, and politics. He refused to consider the question of reconstruction; 'all talk about the future is criminal, for it hinders pure destruction, and the completest destruction of the course of the League. The programme of the International Social Democratic Alliance which he founded gives the most succinct statement of his views. 'The League professes atheism in order to spread the abolition of religious services, the replacement of belief by knowledge, and to crush by human justice the base and abominable institution of marriage as a political, religious, judicial, and civic arrangement. Before all, it aims at the definite and complete abolition of all classes, and the political, economic, and social equality of the individual of either sex; and to attain this end it demands, before all, the abolition of inheritance, in order that, for the future, usefulness may depend on what each produces, so that . . . the land, the instruments of production, as well as all other capital, shall only be used by the workers, i.e. by the agricultural and industrial communities.' All children were from birth to be brought up on a uniform system, with the same means of instruction, so that there might disappear all those artificial inequalities which are the historic products of a social organization whose very existence is false as it is. The League would adopt 'all political action which does not aim directly and immediately at the triumph of the cause of labour over capital.' It repudiated 'so-called patriotism and the restraining of nations,' and desired the universal association of all local associations by means of freedom.

Bakunin's ideas were developed by his disciple Netschajeff, the son of a Court official in St. Peters burg, and born there in 1846. Netschajeff was much more a Terrorist than an Anarchist. Anarchism is, at all events, a reasoned system of things. It believes that life will be not only possible, but desirable, under the conditions it seeks to establish. But Netschajeff had regard purely to a destructive action. His views were expounded in the Revolutionary Catechism, which was at first supposed to be the work of Bakunin, but is now, with more likelihood, held to have been by Netschajeff himself. According to this Catechism, the revolutionary must let nothing stand between him and the work of destruction. 'If he continues to live in this world, it is only in order to annihilate it all the more surely. A revolutionary despises everything doctrinaire, and renounces the science and knowledge of this world in order to leave it to future generations; he knows but one science—that of destruction. For that, and that only, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and the science of man itself. The destruction remains always the same—the greatest and most effective way possible of destroying the existing order.' The Catechism makes no ambiguity as to its methods. Differential treatment is to be extended out to the different classes of society; the rich are to be spared, but their wealth is to be used for the purposes of revolution; the former owners of wealth are to become the slaves of the proletariat. But rulers are not to be dealt with as considered. 'In the first place, we must put out of the world those who stand most in the way of the revolutionary organization and its work.' There is to be no attempt to set the slaves right upon the present basis. Every effort is to be made to heighten and increase the evils and sorrows which will at length wear out the patience of the people, and encourage the insurrection. Terrorism is part of Netschajeff's programme.

'All is not action that is so called; for example, the modest and too cautious organization of secret societies, without external announcements, is in itself an action contrary to the sensitive and intolerable child's play.' By external announcements we mean a series of actions that positively destroy something—a person, a cause, a condition that hinders the work of destruction, and which for sparing our lives, we must break into the life of the people with a series of rash, even senseless
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actions, and inspire them with a belief in their powers, awake them, unite them, and lead them on to the triumph of their cause.' This is the attitude that the plain man understands by Anarchism. It is claimed, of course, by the Anarchists, to allow the utterance of the Revolutionary Catechism to stand as representative of the whole movement is to do it an injustice, and to confound extreme applica-
tions of the principle with the principle itself. 'To confuse Nihilism with Terrorism is, says Kropotkin, 'as wrong as to confuse a philo-
sophical movement, like Stoicism or Positivism, with a political movement, such as, for example, Republicanism.' But, in answer, it may be said that all Anarchists are not thinkers, and it is teaching of the Bakunist character that has had, as it was intended to have, the most startling results. The assassination of Alexander II., of the Emperor of Austria, of King Humbert, of President McKinley, the bomb outrages in Chicago in 1887, in the French Chamber of Deputies in 1893, in a theatre in Barcelona in 1894, the attack on King Edward in Brussels in 1903, on their wedding day, upon the young King and Queen of Spain, are the things which 'break into the life of the people with a series of rash, even senseless outbreaks' of the movement, hateful to those who feel that any organized form of society, however it may violate the rights of individuals, is preferable to a state of things in which the most irresponsible make the greatest noise and have the greatest power to damage alike. It must be allowed, too, that this irresponsible Terrorism is the dominant form of Anarchism at the present time. In 1882 the Anarchists, in con-
ference with themselves, drew up an address from all political parties. They declared the enmity of the Anarchists to the law. 'We declare ourselves allies of every man, group, or society which denies the law by a revolutionary act. We reject all legal methods. We spurn the law as a calf called universal. . . . Every social product is the result of collective work, to which all are equally entitled. We are, therefore, Communists: we recognize that without the destruction of families admits from all dominations, provincial, and national boundaries the work will always have to be done over again.'

It is, at first sight, not a little difficult to find any relation between this extravagant propaganda which has been doing us so much good, and Mr. Kropotkin, the man of high birth, of splendid ability, of gentle and noble and self-sacrificing life. Kropotkin has told his own story in the Mémoires of a Revolutionist, and whoever would seek to understand Anarchism should read this book, along with the account of the trial of the Anarchists at Lyons in 1883 (Le Procès des Anarchistes). Such a reading will explain how it is that the more recent developments of Anarchism go so far beyond the conceptions of Proudhon. If Russians who have suffered, as Bakunin and Stepanik and Kropotkin and tens of thousands of others have done, can find no remedy in the situation by the more mundane method, by utter destruction, by any means, of the present condition of affairs in Russia, it is not to be wondered at. The Russian Anarchists imagine that they reach their conclusions as a necessary inference from certain scientific propositions. In reality it is the Russian bureaucracy that has conditioned their thinking. Kropotkin was born at Moscow in 1842, a member of one of the most ancient and distinguished families in the Empire. He was brought up as a page at Court; but, already, on his father's estates and in his father's house, he had seen enough of the life of the servile to make him an ardent advocate of the liberal views that were in the air before the actual date of emancipation. Instead of following out the career that was open to him, as a courtier and an officer of the Household Brigade, he chose service in Siberia, and spent four years there, being occupied most of the time in geographical and geological work. In 1873 he published with such great possibility of doing anything really useful for the masses of the Russian people by means of the existing administrative machinery, and became convinced that the only practical solution was in an entirely free Communism. On returning to St. Petersburg, full of ardour for his country's free-
dom, he found that the liberal movement of the earlier years of Alexander II. had died. Tur-
gueen's 'Smoke' is its epitaph. Kropotkin accordingly set to work to renew the Anarchist zeal, and strove, through companions whose earnestness and utter disregard of self almost disarm criticism, to spread among the working classes of the capital revolutionary opinions. His activity was discovered. For three years he was imprisoned in the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul, but finally escaped. For the next few years he moved be-
tween Switzerland, France, and Russia, and, in 1878, was sentenced to five years penal servitude. Since his liberation at the end of three years he has lived mostly in Europe.

Kropotkin's main idea is that, as the present system of government and competition and private property cannot be mended without being ended, society must fly asunder into its primary elements and begin in a new order. The right of private property he denies, on the ground that if we go back to the uncivilized condition of things we find no such right. Land has been made what it is byinsky's efforts, and it belongs to him, to this or that, on his property, so that he thinks he has proved the illegitimacy of private property, occurs again and again in his writings. An ironmaster, he declares, deals with and uses the discoveries of those who have gone before, and begins the discovery of others. 'British industry is the work of the British nation, —may, of Europe and India taken together,—not of separate individuals.' But where government has once been destroyed and individuals have been left free to re-aggregate themselves, each man will take his place in the group he prefers; and those groups, retaining their own freedom, will at the same time act with mutual helpfulness and con-

sideration, without any constraint from a govern-
ment. The working agreements that have been arrived at by railways suggest themselves to him as the kind of thing that will be reached under Anarchism. The result is to be a great increase in production. At present the owners of capital are certainly endeavouring to limit the production in order to sell at higher prices. Kropotkin seems to think that the economies of production and the industrial in-
reality is the Russian bureaucracy that has con-
ditioned their thinking. Kropotkin was born at Moscow in 1842, a member of one of the most ancient and distinguished families in the Empire. He was brought up as a page at Court; but, already, on his father's estates and in his father's house, he had seen enough of the life of the servile to make him an ardent advocate of the liberal views that were in the air before the actual date of
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his agreement. As the agreement has been freely entered into, there will be no need of any authority to enforce it. The labourer will be remunerated by helping himself to that which he has justly produced, according to his needs. The problem of the idler is easily settled:—there are not likely to be idlers in such a society. Work is natural to man, and the feeling of brotherhood and mutual responsibility would probably prevent any mistreatment of him by the workmen. We consider that an equitable organization of society can arise only when every wage system is abandoned and when everyone contributing for the common well-being, according to the extent of his capacities, shall enjoy also from the common stock of society to the fullest possible extent of his needs.

To the questions that present themselves to the objector, Kropotkin has the most indelicate of answers. It may be asked, for instance, how, under any free associations, any large public works are to be undertaken. We have heard not infrequently assume the critic that nothing is lost to the contractor, and, finally, being carried through not by that mutual agreement which is apart from law, but by the insistence of the law that a contract entered into shall be fulfilled. When we consider, for instance, say, another Firth Bridge, who is to insist that the work shall be finished so that gross waste shall not ensue? And will not that ideal unity between group and group be very soon broken when matters of this kind come to be discussed and settled?

Then, again, with regard to the remuneration of labour, it may be granted that the wages system is not an ideal method of assessing the value of each man's contribution. But what would be the result on production, distribution, and industrial peace when each man was taking from the general heap exactly what he wished? The alternative on the Anarchist view is that he should be paid according to the labour time spent on his work. But what would become of art, music, literature, under such a system? The labourer is not, as a rule, prepared to acknowledge that anything is work which is not manual work. Far from granting that the value of an hour's work of Lord Kelvin or Mr. Edison was the equal of his own, he would deny to it the very name of work. Under such a system the family would disappear as a matter of course. The notion of a permanent alliance between man and woman, enforceable by law, would be impossible. The relationship between husband and wife would be absolutely free; and this, unless human nature were to be altogether changed, would mean that the woman was to be placed at the mercy of the man and have assurance neither of home nor of sustenance. Children would require to be in charge of the group, not of the parents, and equality would necessitate that they should all be brought up in common.

Kropotkin considers these, the most terrible evils of human society, imaginary. The solidarity of the human race will prevent them. The condition of things that is to be established by law but by the sheer dignity of man, after bloodshed and revolution, but by putting their work, is the idyllic one of perfect peace, and the solidarity of the human race. The Romanoff and the serf will vie with each other in praying the other first to take his place of the throne.

On its theoretical and economic side Anarchism is a dream. It postulates an unreal world in which all men will live at peace, and work without thought of getting a wage. No one is there any ground for the hope that under a system where men would be working for their group and not for their own advantage, production would be increased.

One method of apportionment of wages—payment according to labour time—might have some chance of success under State Socialism, but it cannot be done under a socialist system absolutely free. The loafer and the malingerer would have found their paradise. But, anxious as Kropotkin is to dispense with government, his own scheme would involve government with an iron hand. Paternalism and slavery be in- stincts of mankind, would have to be dead if men did not try to do their best for their own children. The rights of parentage would not be surrendered by those who would pay the full extent of his capacities, should enjoy also from the common stock of society to the fullest possible extent of his needs.

The great postulate of the whole system is that national feeling shall become extinct. A society organized on a productive basis, the socialist groups would clearly be unable to defend itself against a foe armed and organized as the great powers of to-day are. It would be necessary, therefore, not only that the groups within and that a sense of unity among themselves, but that they should be devoid of jealousy for the groups in any other race.

The history of Anarchism as a movement is the history of innumerable ‘associations’ flying to pieces, of impossible combinations, of the Teutonic peoples the movement has made no headway, for order and system is the genius of these peoples. Among the Latin and Slav races it has had a better showing, not because a Russian who has suffered under the bureaucracy should be an Anarchist is no surprise. He may naturally feel that the dissolution of society into its elements is the postulate of any reconstruction. But that Anarchism should ever call itself an organization of society under which men and women shall be able to live is impossible. What is even remotely practical in it, the taking of the means of production out of private hands, has already been adopted as the fundamental element of their policy by the State Socialists. The broad difference between those two great branches of Communism is that, while in the one it is realized that government will require to have much more extensive functions than it has at present, so that it may regulate those relationships which now are settled by private contract, in the other it is expected that the solidarity of the human race will teach that the will of the individual shall become the will of the group apart from all interference by government. That the former view better fits the facts as we know them, hardly admits of dispute.

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ANAXAGORAS, son of Hegesibulon, was born about B.C. 500 at Chios, near the mouth of the Gulf of Smyrna. He brought philosophy and natural science from Ionia to Greece, and marks an era in the history of Greek thought, being the first known advocate of the instinctive psychological principle, called the Nous (Mind). He taught also an original theory of the constitution of matter.

Anaxagoras belonged to a family of wealth and position, but neglected his inheritance to follow science. Tradition asserts that he was a pupil of Anaximenes. This is chronologically impossible.

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as Anaximenes died before B.C. 520. He probably belonged to the school of Anaximenes, for scholarship in Ionia was not unorganized; the relation among groups of congenial thinkers foreshadowed the development in Greece of chartered schools of philosophy (cf. Diels, Die alten griech. Philoso-

phenschriften der Griechen, Leipzig, 1887; Wil-
amowitz-Mollendorf, Antigonos von Karystos, p.
263 ff.). Theophrastus states that Anaxagoras was 'an associate of the philosophy of Anaximenes' (Arist. Phys. Op. fr. 4; Diels, Dozographe Greci,
p. 478). Anaxagoras migrated to Athens about B.C. 460, the first philosopher to take up his abode there. The intimate friend and teacher of Pericles (Plato, Phaedrus, 270), he taught in Athens thirty years, numbering among his pupils Euripides, Thucydides, Archelaus, and Metrodorus of Lamp-
sacus. His influence was far-reaching in intro-
ducing rationalism into Greece.

His chief work, entitled περὶ φυσικὸν ('On Nature'), complete in several volumes, was published, pro-

bably in Athens, after B.C. 467, the year of the great fall of meteorites which he mentions. It was written in a Greek book, the ancient style of Greek book, with the exception of geometrical writings, to be illustrated with diagrams. Considerable fragments survive, most of which are found in Simplicius' commentaries on Plato's Physics.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when Pericles' popularity began to wane, Anaxagoras was arraigned for impiety, accused of denying the godhead of the sun and moon, and of saying that the sun was burning stone, and the moon earth (Plato, Apol. 26 D). Pericles saved him, but he was exiled to Lampascus, on the southern shore of the Hellespont, about B.C. 430. There he had many disciples, and died in B.C. 428. A stone was erected to his memory bearing on one side the word Νεῖς and on the other Αἰθῆρα (Arist. Rhet. Bk. II.

That matter is neither generated nor destroyed had been the doctrine of the Ionian physicists for a full century. Heraclitus brought the idea of becoming into prominence, but Anaxagoras be-

lieved absolute change impossible. 'The Hellenes,' he said, 'are wrong in using the expressions "coming into being" and "perishing"; for nothing comes into being or perishes, but there is mixture and separation of things that are.' To Anaxagoras the eternity of matter involved the eternity of all its qualities, therefore the problem that confronted him was the origin of force. The three great systems of Empedocles, the Atomists, and Anax-

goras, all accepted theunchanging character of particles and the matter of matter and force; Anaxagoras' book shows acquaintance with both of the other systems. Anaxagoras posited the Nous to satisfy his strongly developed sense of causation, to account for order in the universe, and to solve a definite mechanical prob-

In the beginning was chaos, which contained original particles of all existing objects, for 'How could hair come from not-hair, and flesh from not-

flesh?' (Diels, cf. Hermes, xii. 4). Anaxagoras calls the particles 'seeds' or 'things' (στριφύλαι or κρύματα, Fr. 4 [Schorin]; but they were called homonymous by a later half-Aristotelian phrase-

all things were together and occupied all space. There was no empty space. The action of the Nous upon some point of chaos produced rotation of inconceivable rapidity, which, ever widening in extent, caused the union of homo-
genous particles. The impulse of the Nous was initial. Revolution followed and separation by force and speed, 'and speed makes force' (Fr. 11 [Schorin]). The earth was formed in the centre of this movement. The sun, moon, and stars were separated by the violence of the latter. The whole celestial globe increased in circumference as ever-increasing masses of matter were included in the rotation. Homogeneous seeds combine to form objects as we know them, but there is never abso-
lute freedom from disparate seeds. Objects be-

come so by the kind of matter prevailing in them. Earth, water, air, and fire are complex substances containing particles belonging to all objects. The sun is a mass of ignited stone as large as, or larger than, the Peloponnesus. The earth is flat or a flat cylinder, resting on the air. Anaxagoras dis-
covered with tolerable accuracy the cause of the phases of the moon and of eclipses, and he ex-

plained at length various meteorological and elemental phenomena. His observation in early manhood of a huge meteoric stone which fell at Egosopotami may have helped him to form his geological ideas (Pliny, HN ii. 55; Diog.

I. iii. 10).

Anaxagoras believed in the qualitative trust-
worthiness of sense-perception, but the senses, being weak, cannot discern the truth (Sext. Emp.

Bk. ii. 1). The superiority of man lies in his pos-

session of a hand. Death is a simple necessity of na-

ture.

The Nous is the rarest and purest of all things, in its essence homogeneous, a kind of reasoning force, or thought-stuff. Personallity is attributed to it in one fragment only, which speaks of its knowledge of the past, present, and things to come (Fr. 6 [Schorin]). The Nous was a possible first cause of motion from a dualistic standpoint, a δεσμὸς ἀνατιθέμενος according to Aristotle, and merited the disappointment which Plato in the Phædo attributes to Socrates regarding it. Yet it forms an important link in the shifting of interest from nature to man; and, although metaphysically an incomplete conception, the Nous of Anaxagoras was pronounced immaterial by Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus.

Anaxagoras' teaching regarding the laws of nature and unity in the cosmic process formed a marked contrast to the mythical ideas of his age. His great contribution to knowledge was in the scientific method employed and in referring order in the universe to a rational principle. Anax-

agoras left no distinctly ethical or religious teach-
ings. He considered contemplation of nature the highest task of man.


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MARY MILLS PATRICK.
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD.

AN E S T O R-WO R S H P A N D C U LT O F T H E D E A D .—The worship of the Manes, or ancestors, is, says Taylor (ii. 113), "one of the great branches of the human race." While its principles are not difficult to understand, for they plainly keep up the social relations of the living world. The dead ancestor, now passed into a deity, simply goes on protecting his own family and receiving such worship as his spirit can command. In ancient times, the chief chief still watches over his own tribe, still holds his authority by helping friends and harming enemies, still rewards the right and sharply punishes the wrong. In this view of the case the dead; departed ancestor is regarded as invariable kindly and well disposed towards his surviving relatives; and it may be said that this is the usual feeling of savage and barbaric man towards his kinsfolk who have passed into the other world. But there are, as will be seen, exceptions to this general rule; and the question of the attitude of the living towards the dead has formed the subject of controversy between two schools of anthropologists.

1. The dead regarded as friendly.—What may be called the totemistic school—that which regards totemism as the main source from which religion has been evolved—delves specially upon the kindly relations between the deity and his worshippers. Thus, according to W. R. Smith (213-357), primitive sacrifice is an act of communion, the totem animal or beast sacred to the god being slain in order to renew or re-establish the bond of communion between the clan and its supernatural ally. Hence he rejects the supposition that 'religion is born of fear.' ' However true,' he writes (p. 54), "it is not this which he fears, but his family. And the latter is disposed of by innumerable dangers which he does not understand, and so personifies as invisible or mysterious enemies of more than human power, it is not true that the attempt to appease these powers is the foundation of religion. From the earliest times, religion, as distinct from magic or sorcery, addresses itself to kindred and friendly beings, who may indeed be angry with their people for a time, but are always willing to come forward to drive away enemies of their worshippers, or to re-establishing members of the community. It is not with a vague fear of unknown powers, but with a loving reverence for known gods, to whom they are knit to their worshippers by strong bonds of kinship, that religion in the only true sense of the word begins.'

This theory has been extended by Jevons (Introdt. Hist. Rel. 54 ff.) to the cult of the dead. He contends that man was "ordinarily and naturally engaged in maintaining such friendly relations with the spirits of his deceased clansmen; that he was necessarily led to such relations by the operation of moral affections which, owing to the prolonged, helpless infancy of the human race, were indispensable to the survival of the human race; and that the relations of the living clansman with the dead offered the type and pattern, in part, though only in part, of the relations to be established with other, more powerful, "spirits." In support of this view, he adds that the maintenance of the parental instincts and family affection was essential to the survival of primitive man in the struggle for existence; and he quotes instances of the grief felt by the survivors when a death occurred; the provision of food and other necessaries for the use of the dead; the retention of the corpse in the dwelling-house for a considerable period after death, or its ultimate burial beside the hearth; the preservation of relics of the departed; the appeals of the mourners to the ghost, imploring it to return home; the adoption of cremation, which frees the soul from the body and thus enables it to revisit its friends; the custom of catching the departing soul; the periodical feasts which the dead are invited to attend; and so on (op. cit. 40 f.).

2. The dead unfriendly to the living.—On the other hand, the same writer (p. 53) admits that love was not 'the only feeling ever felt for the deceased. On the contrary, it is admitted that fear of the dead was and is equally wide-spread, and is equally "natural." These two apparently opposite modes of thought in relation to the dead he explains by the supposition that primitive man draws a clear line of distinction between the ghost of the kinsman and that of the stranger; the one is kindly and protective, the other malignant, dangerous, and hence an object of fear. ' In fine,' he remarks (op. cit. 54), 'as we might reasonably expect, the man who was feared in life less feared when dead.' The many instances of the savage cult of the dead, when it is prompted by fear, he regards as due to' "mal-observation of the facts of savage life.'

But these cases are so numerous that it is impossible to account for them in this way. Thus it is universally supposed that the spirits of strangers and enemies are inimical, and the same feeling is extended to those who have perished by an untimely death, or in some unusual or tragic way. On this principle Frazer (Hist. ii. 331) explains the inconvenient restrictions imposed on the victors in their hour of triumph after a successful battle, in obedience to which the warrior is isolated for a period from his family, confined to a special hut, and compelled to undergo bodily and spiritual purification. For the same reason, on the return of the successful head-hunter in Timor, sacrifices are offered to propitiate the soul of the victim whose head has been taken, or to the general belief that some misfortune would overtake the victor were such offerings omitted. For the same reason, the same feeling is very generally extended to the
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ghosts of kindred in the case of children, youths, or maidens snatched away in the prime of their strength and beauty. These are naturally supposed to cherish feelings of jealousy or hatred towards the survivors, who are in the enjoyment of blessings from which they are excluded. The same is the case with the ghosts of women dying in childbirth, who are almost universally regarded as specially dangerous. Equally malignant are the spirits of a murdered man, or one slain by a wild beast, or dying from snake-bite. This feeling is naturally extended to the ghosts of wizards or sorcerers, who were renowned during life on account of the mysterious powers which they were supposed to possess. Thus the Patagonians lived in terror of the souls of their sorcerers, who were believed to become evil demons after death; and the Turanian tribes of N. Asia dread their shamans even more when dead than when alive (Falkner, *Descriptive of Patagonia*, 116; Castrén, *Finsk mytologi*, 124; Bastian, *Mensch in der Geschichte*, i. 406; Karsten, *Origin of Worship*, 110).

The fear of the dead is not confined to spirits of the classes already enumerated. 'Death and life,' writes Tylor (ii. 25), 'dwell but ill together, and from savagery onward there is recorded many a case of service by which the survivors have saved to rid themselves of household ghosts.' He instances the habit of abandoning the dwelling-house to the ghost, which appears in some cases to be independent of horror, or of abnegation of all things belonging to the dead; and the removal of the corpse by a special door, so that it may not be able to find its way back. In some cases, again, the return of the ghost is barred by physical means. In India in the Aheriyas, after cremation, the next of kin, which have served as funeral pyres, are at the door of the house and windows are shut, to prevent the return of the ghost. With the same object the Araucanians strew ashes behind the coffin as it is being borne to the grave, so that the ghost may miss the road; and Frazer suggests that the very general practice of closing the eyes of the dead when laid in their last resting place, the corpse being blindfolded that it might not see the road by which it was borne to its last home (JAI v. 68 ff.). In India the Aheriyas, after cremating the deceased, leave the spirit in the impression that the funeral pyre is the spirit of the ghost; and in the Himalayas one of the mourners, on returning from the funeral, places a thorny bush on the road wherever it is crossed by another path, and the nearest relative puts a stone on it, and, pressing it down with his feet, prays the spirit of the dead man not to trouble him (Crooke, *Pop. Religion*, ii. 57).

Appeals are often made to the spirit, imploring it not to return and vex its friends. Among the Linsus of Bengal, the officiant at the funeral delivers a brief address to the departed spirit on the general doom of mankind and the inevitable succession of round and round, concluding with an exhortation that he is to go where his fathers have already gone, and not come back to trouble the living in dreams (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 19). Similar appeals are made by the Chinese. when the body is burned (K. L. Bengal, *JAI* xv. 65). The Yoruba sorcerer wishes a safe journey to the ghost: 'May the road be open to you; may nothing evil meet you on the way; may you find the road good where it lies; and may the house of death be burned to your heart, and be not haunted by the living dwellings of the living (Ellis, *Yoruba superstitions*, 96, 100). Even in India, a land where the worship of ancestors is almost universal, the Sauntal believes that the ghostly crowd of spirits who flit disconsoletly among the fields they once tilled, who stand on the banks of the mountain streams in which they fished, and glide in and out of the dwellings where they were born, grew up, and died, is the continued power of blessings from which they are excluded. The same is the case with the ghosts of women dying in childbirth, who are almost universally regarded as specially dangerous. Equally malignant are the spirits of a murdered man, or one slain by a wild beast, or dying from snake-bite. This feeling is naturally extended to the ghosts of wizards or sorcerers, who were renowned during life on account of the mysterious powers which they were supposed to possess. Thus the Patagonians lived in terror of the souls of their sorcerers, who were believed to become evil demons after death; and the Turanian tribes of N. Asia dread their shamans even more when dead than when alive (Falkner, *Descriptive of Patagonia*, 116; Castrén, *Finsk mytologi*, 124; Bastian, *Mensch in der Geschichte*, i. 406; Karsten, *Origin of Worship*, 110).

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helpless life of the departed prevails, it is obvious that the loving sympathy and ministrations of the living to the departed do not rise to the dignity of 'worship.'

The distinction, then, between the worship and the placation, or tendance, of the dead is one of great importance, which many of our travellers and observers have failed to appreciate. There are cases in which the dead are worshipped; but those of which we are here pointing to are needful if the departed in the other world are much more numerous. In the accounts which follow of the prevalence of this form of worship in various parts of the world, the evidence upon which they are based must be accepted with this preliminary reservation. This distinction, again, if kept steadily in view, will enable us to account in some degree for the remarkable differences of opinion which prevail regarding this form of belief. Hence we must receive with some degree of caution the accounts of travellers who report that certain tribes are exclusively devoted to the worship of their ancestors, or that this form of belief does not exist among them. Two things are liable to cause misconception. In the first place, the veil which the savage hangs round his most cherished beliefs and ritual is so closely woven that casual visitors to a savage or semi-savage people may live amongst them for some time, and have acquired some considerable knowledge of their language and character, find great difficulty in penetrating the mysteries of their religion. In the second place, the death cults, which ordinarily takes place at the grave, is of necessity a formal and public act, and is likely to be observed and investigated by the casual inquirer, who may remain in complete ignorance of what is really the vital part of the tribal beliefs.

5. Ancestor-worship the basis of human religion.

The theory which suggests that the cult of ancestors is the basis of all human religion is usually associated with the name of H. Spencer. This writer begins his summary of the conclusions at which he has arrived, by dealing with what may be called the hero cult. 'Any thing,' he writes, 'which transcends the ordinary, a savage thinks of as supernatural or divine; the remarkable man among the rest. This remarkable man may be simply the remotest ancestor remembered as the founder of his race; his name may be associated with strength or bravery; he may be a medicine-man of great repute; he may be an inventor of something new. And then, instead of being a member of the tribe, he may be a superior being bringing arts or knowledge; or he may be one of a superior race predominating by conquest. Being at first one or other of these, regarded with awe during his life, he is regarded with increased awe after his death; and the propitiation of his ghost, becoming greater than the propitiation of ghosts less feared, develops into an established worship.' (Principles of Sociology. I. 1.)

This view of the hero cult may be accepted with some reservation. In the first place, there are grounds for believing that fear is not the only, or even the primary, reason for the deification of the hero. The cult of the distinguished dead was often founded, not so much upon the desire of the survivors to maintain friendly relations with the spirits of the departed (Jerome, Introd. 106). Secondly, in those parts of the world where the hero cult extends to its highest degree, the devotion paid to the hero is of a degree inferior to that of the regular gods, who are often nature spirits, and not necessarily ghosts of the dead. This distinction is clearly marked in Greece and other lands, where the cult of Hercules or Asclepius is of a lower grade than that of deities like Athene or Zeus. The ritual of hero-worship is also clearly different from that used in the worship of the gods. The same is the case in India, where heroes like Rama or Krishna, who have been elevated to the rank of gods, are found sheltering the living in their various incarnations, of a great nature deity like Vishnu.

But Spencer goes much further than to recognize a cult of the deified hero. Following the passage already quoted, he goes on to say: 'Using the phrase ancestor-worship it is bringing together, as comprehending all worship of the dead, be they of the same blood or not, we conclude that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion.' Even the most dogmatic upholders of the Spencerian hypothesis are unable to accept it when thus extended. Thus Grant Allen (Evolution of the Idea of God, 36) observes: 'I do not wish to insist that every particular and individual god, national or naturalistic, must necessarily represent a particular ghost, the dead spirit of a single definite once-living person. It is enough to show, as Mr. Spencer has done, that the idea of the god, and the worship paid to the god, are directly or indirectly a part of the thoughts and the offerings made to the ghost, without holding, as Mr. Spencer seems to hold, that every god is, and must be, in ultimate analysis the ghost of a particular human being.' And in another passage (ib. 42) he writes: 'Religion was some time before it was still older, more fundamental than any mere belief in a god or gods—may, even than the custom or practice of appeasing and appeasing ghosts or gods by gifts and observances. That element is the conception of the Life of the Dead. On the primitive belief in such life all religion ultimately bases itself. The belief is, in fact, the earliest thing to appear in religion, for there are savage tribes who have nothing whatever to do with gods, but have still a religion or cult of their dead relatives.' Elsewhere, in discussing the cult of Attis, he seems to suggest that the tree-spirit and the corn-spirit originate in the ghost of the deified ancestor (Attis, 35 and passim).

Needless to say, these views have not met with general acceptance. Thus Hartland (Legend of Perseus, I. 260) regards this Euhemerism of Spencer as 'a child (one among many) of his passion for explaining everything quite clearly, for stopping up all gaps and stubbing up all difficulties in his synthesis, rather than an all-sufficient account of the beginnings of religion.' Lang (Myth, Ritual and Religion, ed. 5, 1908) used for his explanation of the change from the current or popular anthropological theory of the evolution of gods,' on various grounds. He finds in this hypothesis a 'pure Euhemerism. Gods are but ghosts of dead men, raised to a higher and finally to the highest power.' Analogous to this, but not identical, is the theory of Tylor (ii. 334), which suggests that 'man first attains to the idea of spirit by reflexion on various physical, psychological, and psychical experiences, such as sleep, dreams, trances, shadows, hallucinations, breath and death, and he gradually extends the conception of soul or ghost till all nature is peopled with ghosts. Of these spirits one is also prone to supremacy, where the conception of a supreme being occurs.' To this combined animistic and ghostly theory Lang replies (ib. 1. 310) that all gods are not necessarily of animistic origin. 'Among certain races of the human race as amongst them, in ghosts, the animistic conception, the spiritual idea, is not attached to the relatively supreme being of their faith. He is merely a powerful being, unborn, invulnerable, and not subject to death. In the eternal question, "Was he a ghost?" this does not seem always to have been asked. Consequently there is no logical reason why man's idea of a Maker should not be prior to man's idea that there are such things as souls, ghosts, or genii, or spirits. Therefore the animistic theory is not necessary as material for the "god-
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We cannot, of course, prove that the "gods of the ancients" were in fact ghosts, but we can say that the idea of god may exist, in germ, without explicitly involving the idea of spirit, or even in evolution to ghosts, and therefore the animistic theory of the origin of gods in ghosts need not necessarily be accepted. Secondly, he urges that, in all known savage theological philosophy, the gods, the ancestors and ghosts have not necessarily any being with power, and therefore the normal feature of natural scenery would generally quite independently of any association with a ghost. Still more is this the case with gods of sky, sun, moon, wind, or rainbow. The animism which leads to the worship of phenomena cannot depend upon, and may be earlier than, the belief in the survival of the soul after death.

Ancestors ovocural.—Ancestral spirits are believed to be able to give oracles to their descendants, who consult them in times of danger or trouble. At certain places deep chasms or openings in the earth were observed, through which the shades could rise from their subterranean home, and give responses to the living. The Greeks called such places oracles of the dead (τεκτωναρίῳ, ψευδοναρίῳ). The most ancient oracle of this kind was that of Theseus, where Periander succeeded in capturing and carrying away the ghost of his murdered wife, Melissa (Herod. v. 92; Pauly. i. 30. 3). There was another at Phigalia in Arcadia (Paus. i. 17. 8, 9), and Italy possessed one at Lake Avernus (Diod. iv. 22; Strabo, v. 244). The oracle was consulted by a regular mode of proceeding, in which was offered a sacrifice and then to sleep in the sacred place. The soul of the dead man then appeared to the sleeper in a dream, and gave his answer (Frazer, Peter's iii. 241). The same belief is found in many forms in other parts of the world. In Melanesia, 'after a burial they would take a bag and put Tahitian chestnut and scraped bananas into it. Then a new bamboo some ten feet long was fixed to the tree. Then there were no offerings, no sacrifice. But if a man who had been eaten out by the hand of the grave over to find out what his mouth of it was, and the bag was laid upon the grave, the men engaged in the affair holding the bamboo in their hands. The names of the recently dead were then called, and if the men holding the bamboo felt the bag become heavy with the entrance of the ghost, then it went up from the bag into the hollow of the bamboo. The bamboo and its contents being carried into the village, the names of the dead were called over to find out whose ghost it was. When wrong names were called, the free end of the bamboo moved from side to side, and the other was held tight. At the right name the bamboo end moved by itself, and if the positions were put into the bamboo, Who stole such a thing? Who was guilty in such a case? The bamboo pointed of itself at the culprit if present, or made signs as before when names were called. This bamboo, they say, would run about with a man if he had it only lying on the palms of his hands; but it is remarked by my native informants, though it moved in men's hands it never moved when no one touched it' (Cedrington, Melanesians, 211 f.). Among the Akikuyas of E. Africa, the medicine-man holds converse only with those recently dead, whose lives he had been unable to save. He goes out and visits the corpse, and when it has been thrown out into the jungle. He pours 'medicine' upon its hands, and calls on it to rise. When it rises, the wizard says: 'Reveal your father, mother, and brothers.' It does so, and after the medicine has thrown itself upon it, the conversation ceases. Persons so reviled get sick and die (JAF xxxiv. 262). In S. Africa the wizard in the same way gets into communication with the spirit who controls the oracles in the form of riddles and dark parables (ib. xx. 120). The Dayakans sometimes, like the Greeks, seek communion with the ancestral spirits by sleeping at their graves in the hope of getting some benefit from them (Both, Natives of Sarawak).
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ness away; it is a family affair.' But if the tindalo be that of a stranger, a doctor is called in to identify and propitiate it (Cordrington, Melanesians, 194 f.). But generally the belief is that the spirit is that the relatives have neglected its wants. When a North American Indian fell into the fire, he believed that the spirits of his ancestors pushed him in because their worship was neglected (Scholescraft, i. 30). Often again, it is caused by jealousy of the spirits towards the living, or it arises because the ghosts are lonely in Dead-land and desire companionship. For this reason spirits which have recently died are especially set on creating harmony and carry off with them to the world of the dead the souls of their surviving relatives (Frazer, GB 2 ii. 345 f.). Miss Kingsley was assured that the danger of the ancestral ghost's injuring the members of the family was particularly children, "comes not from malevolence, but from loneliness and the desire to have their company. . . ." This desire for companionship is, of course, immensely greater in the spirit than it is not definitely settled in the society of spiritdom, and it is therefore more dangerous to its own belongings, in fact, to all living society, while it is hanging about the other side of the grave, but this side Hades' (W. African Studies, 183).

In Asia the tindalo, or ancestral spirit, is frequently taken in charge of the living by promising to guard them from harm, especially from drowning (Black, Folk Medicine, 28 f.). In Ireland, according to Lady Wilde, it is believed that the spirit of the dead last buried has to watch in the churchyard until another corpse is laid there, or to perform menial offices in the spirit world, such as carrying wood and water, till the next spirit comes from earth. They are also sent on messages to earth, chiefly to announce the coming death of some relative, and at this they are glad, for their own time of peace and rest will come at last (Ancient Legends, etc., of Ireland, 1857, 21 f.).

In China it is commonly believed that if the spirit of a murdered person is satisfied and does not desire another soul to be sent to earth, he returns to earth when nothing had happened, the spirit of his victim passing into the world below and suffering all the misery of a disembodied spirit in his stead' (Giles, Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, 1890, ii. 365 f.). Fortunately, however, the patient is not always left to the mercy of the spirits of his enraged relatives. In San Cristoval, it was believed that the friendly and unfriendly ghosts fight with spears over the sick man. The patient would suffer, die, or keep his health according to the issue of this unseen spectral battle (Codrington, op. cit. 196).

8. Ancestors appearing in children.—The belief that the child is nothing more or less than an ancestor re-born on earth is found almost throughout the world. The idea, of course, depends upon the resemblance of members of the same family in successive generations: it is the form of the extraordinary theory held by the Arunta tribe in Central Australia regarding conception, and among the northern tribes of the same continent every new child is believed to be the reincarnation of their deceased children (Spencer-Gillen, 51 f.; 337; FL xx. 467). Among the Thinkets of N. America, the spirit was believed to have the option of returning to this life, and generally entered the body of a female relative to form the soul of a coming infant. If the child resembled a deceased friend or rela-

In Australia some specially gifted seers are able to see the disembodied spirit sitting on the spot where its body lies buried, and no longer able to retire into its accustomed habitation (JAI xix. 265). In Ireland, according to Belchier (Bor-}

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In FL (265). Due often, they inquired the will of the Sitte or ancestral ghosts. They said: 'O ye Sitte, what will ye have?' Then they used to beat a drum on which a ring was laid, and if the ring fell on any creature pictured on its surface, they understood that this was what the spirit desired. They then took the animal thus selected, ran through its ear and tied round its horn a black woolen thread, and sacrificed it. Sometimes the wizard pretends to confer a like deathland to consult the ancestral spirits. Among the Dayaks he possesses a charm which ensures the aid of a kindly spirit when he goes to Sabayan, the under world, in search of a sick man (JAI xxii. 81). The Melanesians tell a similar story of a woman who went to Pano to consult the dead, and the Australian wizard is able to bring back news from the dead, or he advises how to obtain magical power from him (ib. x. 283, xiii. 195).

In W. Africa the Yoruba priest takes a young child, baths his face in the ‘water of purification,’ and digs a hole in the earth within the sacred grove at midnight. When the child looks into the hole, he is able to see Dead-land, and can tell the priest what he sees. When his face is washed a second time, he forgets all that has happened (Ellis, op. cit. 141). Such powers, often gained under the influence of fasting, are claimed by shamans all over the world (Tylor, ii. 410 f.).

When the attention of a tribe is fixed on the cultus of ancestors, it becomes a natural inference that disease or other misfortune is due to neglect of their worship. In Celebes, all sickness is ascribed to the ancestral spirits who have carried off the soul of the patient (Frazer, GB 2 i. 260). This reminds us of the Greek conception of the Keres and Harpies (Harrison, Proleg. 176 f.). In the same way, wrathful ancestors are supposed to cause thunder or to bring about a thunderstorm. In Peru, when parents who have lost a child hear thunder within three months of the death, they go and dance on the grave, howling in response to each clap, apparently believing that they hear the voice of the dead child, and can thereby humble the thunder (Frazer, Lect. on Kingship, 206 f.). In some cases the wrath of the spirit is attributed to causes which we can only regard as frivolous. In Natal we hear of a diviner announcing to his people that the spirits had caused disease because they did not approve of some persons living in the kraal of a relative, and wished them to have a house of their own (JAI iii. 141). Sometimes, again, the spirit is provoked on account of a sin committed by its people. Among the Banyoros of Uganda, the death of a man by lightning is attributed to the anger of the Bachwezi, or ancestral spirits, on account of some sin committed by the dead man, or wrong-doing on the part of members of the clan. To appease them, a sacrifice is demanded (Johnston, Uganda, ii. 339 f.). In Florida, according to Tylor ('Tales of a ghost of power, that causes illness; it is a matter of conjecture which of the known tindalos it may be. Sometimes a person has reason to think, or fancies, that he has offended his dead father, uncle, or brother; then it is usually considered as required; the patient himself or one of the family will sacrifice, and beg the tindalo to take the sick-
tion, this embodiment was at once recognized, and the name of the dead person was given to it." (Bancroft, Native Races, iii. 517). In the same region the Nootkas accounted for the existence of a distant tribe speaking the same language as themselves by no other means than by introducing into the land of the spirits of their dead (ib. iii. 514). In W. Africa the Yorubas inquire of their family god which of the deceased ancestors has returned, in order to make the child of this birth. The returned one is greeted with the words 'Thou art come, as if addressing some one who has returned; and their neighbours, the Ewe, believe that the only part of its body which a child receives from its mother is the lower jaw, the rest being derived from the ancestral spirit (Ellis, op. cit. 120, 131). The same procedure in naming children appears among the Khonds of India, where the priest drops grains of rice into a cup of water, naming with each grain a deceased ancestor. From the movement of the seed in the water and from observation of the child's person he decides which ancestor has appeared to him, and the name is usually given according to it: Hence we consider the customs prevailing in the islands of Watabela, Aaru, and the Sula Archipelago barren women and their husbands visit certain sacred graves to pray for offspring—the spirits of the dead interceding (Pliny, Natural History, Book X, ed. Das Weih, 1857, i. 430 ff.). The same belief appears in W. Europe in the habit of young girls in the Pyrenees going to a dolmen to pray for a lover, and young boys for a child; in the erotic superstitions connected with rude stone monuments to Spain, Brittany, and Ireland; and in the cycle of Irish legend connected with the bed of Dermot and Grania (Borlase, Dolmens of Ireland, 560, 629, 864). This leads me to another inference from the doctrine of metempsychosis, which is generally accepted among primitive races. In India it is doubtful whether this belief appears in the Vedas, but it is admitted in the later Purânic literature, and at the present day in the Punjab it is quite logically accepted to explain the fact that, as the soul is transmitted from generation to generation, so with the life are transferred all attributes and powers of the pro-genitor. Hence we have numerous instances how the transmission of the hereditary powers of curing disease or causing evil which are believed to be found in certain clans and families. 'This principle of transmigration of souls is much more deeply rooted than that of caste. It is natural and fitting that a man should follow his father's trade, but he may change his occupation. . . . When once sanctity has been acquired by a family, it is next to impossible to shake it off. Social status is much less permanent. The original conception of the metempsychosis appears then to have been that the life or soul, with all its attributes, was transmitted by natural descent. This idea was developed into the doctrine that the soul transmigrated from one body to another independently of such descent, but this doctrine did not regard transmigration as something illogical and uncertain; on the contrary, it was regarded as subject to one set of rules, and magic that it could be regulated, but in neither sense was transmigration a matter of chance' (Rose, Census Report, Punjab, 10 to 12)." Formerly the Bantu races transferred their soul by another method, which was to donate the soul to a distant tribe among the Tsiki-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast and a number of other Tsiki-speaking tribes of the Slave Coast, a distinction in race being necessary. The 'self that continues the man's existence after death in the spirit-world, and his kra or ndi, which is capable of being born again in a new human body. In the eastern Ewe districts it is called the soul by either an inconsistency or a subletly, believed to remain in the land of the dead and to animate some new child of the family at one and the same time; but it never animates an embryo in a strange family.

9. Ancestor-worship and Totemism.—The question of the relation of ancestor-worship to totemism has recently been discussed by Tylor, Hartland, and Frazer. Tylor (JAI xxviii. 146 f.) quotes from Wilken (Het Animisme bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel, 1834-55, p. 1. p. 14 f.) cases of crocodiles being regarded as kindly and protective beings, to kill which is considered murder, as they may be man's near relatives. Offerings are made to them, and people look forward to the great blessedness of becoming crocodiles when they die. In the same way Sumatrans worship tigers, and call them ancestors. Some of the non-Aryan tribes of the central Indian hills believe that the ancestor is sometimes re-born in a calf, which in consequence of this connexion is well fed and treated with particular respect (Crooke, Popular Religion, i. 179). On this Tylor thus comments: 'Wilken sees in this transmigration of souls the link which connects totemism with ancestor-worship, and on considering his suggestion, we may see how much weight is to be given to the remarks made independently by Dr. Codrington as to Melanesia and the tribes of the Pacific who would not eat or plant bananas, because an influential man had prohibited the eating of the banana after his death because he would 'be in it; the elder natives would say, we cannot eat so-and-so, and after a few years they would have said, we cannot eat our ancestor. . . . As to such details we may, I think, accept the cautious remark of Dr. Codrington, that in the Solomon Islands there are indeed no totem clans, but what throws light on them elsewhere. The difficulty in understanding the relation of a clan of men to a species of animals or plants is met by the transmigration of souls, which bridges over the gap between the two, so that the men and the animals become united by kinship and mutual alliance; an ancestor having lineal descendants among men and sharks, or men and owls, is thus the founder of a totem-family, which more increase by conversion, but what throws light on them elsewhere. Thus finding in the world-wide doctrine of soul-transference an actual cause producing the two collateral lines of totemism, we can without any theoretical framework of totemism, we seem to reach at last something analogous to its real cause.

Following on this discussion, Hartland considers the whole question in connexion with the tribes of S. Africa. He notices that the only branches of the Bantu race among which no certain traces of totemism but few of mother-right are found are the Amazulus and their kindred tribes, the most advanced of the whole Bantu race. The Bechuanas, on the contrary, exhibit substantial remnants of totemism, and with them traces of mother-right. Thus in the lowest social stage of these races totemism is still flourishing, and patriarchal and patrilineal systems are very much mixed with it. Totemism is here, in fact, developing into ancestor-worship (Frazer, Man, i. 136), and the question is—How has ancestor-worship developed and supplanted totemism? This question Hartland answers by suggesting that it is entirely dependent upon the growth of the patriarchal system. 'The more absolute becomes the power of the head of a nation, and under him of the family, the more the original totemism superstitions tend to disappear until they are altogether lost and forgotten.' The same process seems to be going on in other parts of the world. The Nootkas of the islands in Torres Straits, the animal kindred come
to be replaced by a definite effigy, the soul of which is kept in an external receptacle, and the effigy is further associated with a hero (Haddon, Cambridge Esqul. v. 377; Head-hunters, 138). Haddon regards this as one of the earliest marks of fetishism, 'the figures go beyond mere representations of the totem animals, and depict a mythic incident in which the human ancestor is believed to have come into relation with the animal which was thence adopted as the totem of the clan' (JAI xxvii. 136). The development of totemism into ancestor-worship is also illustrated by the case of the Bhumia tribe in Bengal. They show great reverence for the memory of Rikkhiasan, whom they regard, some as a patron deity, others as a mythical ancestor, whose name distinguishes one of the divisions of the tribe. Risley believes it possible that in the earliest stage of belief British India was the bring down prophet of the tribe, that later on he was transformed into an ancestral hero, and finally promoted to the rank of a tribal god (Traces and Customs of Bengal, i. 112). Two marks of ancestor-worship developing out of totemism, which at any time be revolutionised by fresh information from the Australian or other primitive tribes, it would be premature here to do more than quote these examples of ancestor-worship developing out of totemism, with the more or less plausible explanations which have been suggested to account for it.

10. Ancestor-worship and Idolatry.—We have now satisfactory evidence for the development of ancestor-worship into idolatry, a term not in itself satisfactory, but preferable to that of 'fetishism,' which possesses no scientific value. The practice of erecting carved representations of deceased ancestors is one of the many sources from which the idol was probably evolved. Its analogue is to be found in the primitive stone pillar, in which the god was manifested when blood was sprinkled upon it (Jevons, Introd., 133). This custom of erecting memorial images is very common in Melanesia and the adjoining region. At Santa Cruz, 'when a man of distinction dies, his ghost becomes a dukta. A stock of wood is set up in his house to reproduce the body, and the feast time renewed, until the man is forgotten, or the stock neglected by the transference of attention to some newer or more successful dukta. Offering are made to it in times of danger at sea, at the planting of a garden, on recovery from sickness, when fruit is laid before it (Cordington, op. cit. 139). In the Solomon Islands, if a person of great consequence dies, 'a figure may be made of him after his death, for the ornamentation of a canoe-house, or of a stage put up at great feasts. These images are hardly idols, though food may sometimes be put before them, though to remove them would be thought to bring down pedestals of the dead man upon those who should so insult him' (ib. JAI x. 302). In Ambrym, however, the large figures carved with bamboo, which would naturally be held for idols, are set in memory of persons of importance at a great feast perhaps a hundred days after death. 'That they do not represent ancestors is fairly certain: the very oldest can be traced back a few years old' (JAI x. 294). They generally represent figures of men, who would be loosely called ancestors by the powerful people of the village, and these would be treated with respect, food being placed before them. 'But these and no sacred character, familiarity with the image, and the reverence paid them, which were memorials of great men, whose ghosts, visiting their accustomed abodes, would be pleased at marks of memory and affection, and irritated by disrespect. There was no notion of the ghost of the dead man taking up his abode in the image, nor was the image supposed to have any supernatural efficacy or influence; so that the important a development of totemism is practically to place it beyond the realm of pure totemism.' We find something of the same kind in a totem post from British Columbia, which has figures on it corresponding to the 'ancestors' or 'totem gods' of the tribe. In the New Hebrides, a model of the dead chief is made of bamboo; the head is smeared over with clay, shaped and painted so as to be often a fair likeness of the deceased, the body decapitated. In the model, the whole image being set up in the god's house or temple, with the weapons and personal effects of the dead man. Boyd, who describes these images (JAI xi. 76, 81), is disposed to think whether they are objects of affectionate regard or of worship, and Somerville (ib. xxiii. 21, 392) does not ascribe any religious character to them. But it is obvious that an image set up as a memorial and propitiated with offerings of food may very easily develop into an idol. Haddon (Head-hunters, 91) describes similar models in wax on skulls of deceased relatives. They seem to be kept mainly for sentimental reasons, as the people are of an affectionate disposition, and many native races, when a beloved relative dies, erect a model in a temple, and believe that it represents the spirit of the deceased, and that they are in the power of those who have made it. It is then a rude cultus like this it is possible that all three suggestions may represent the varying conditions of the devotion paid to them (Man, iv. 73.). In New Guinea the explorers found two roughly carved wooden men, with bushy hair on their heads. When asked to sell them, the natives said: 'No. They belong to our ancestors, and we cannot part with them' (Chalmers-Gill, Work and Adventures, 229).

In India the use of such images seems to be largely based on the principle of providing a refuge for the ghost during the period which elapses between death and the completion of the funeral rites. Among some tribes the same image was used for purposes of divination. In the case of a rude cultus like this it is possible that all three suggestions may represent the varying conditions of the devotion paid to them (Man, iv. 73.). In New Guinea the explorers found two roughly carved wooden men, with bushy hair on their heads. When asked to sell them, the natives said: 'No. They belong to our ancestors, and we cannot part with them' (Chalmers-Gill, Work and Adventures, 229).
determined by the Shaman or priest, not exceeding, however, three years, when the image is buried. Offerings of food are set before it at every meal; and if it represents a deceased husband, the widow continues to feed it from time to time and to lavish upon it tokens of affectionate and passionate attachment. The image of a deceased Shaman is preserved from generation to generation; and 'by pretended oracular utterances and other artful impositions the priests urge the image to procure priests offerings as abundant as those laid on the altars of the acknowledged gods' (Featherman, *Ugro-Turanians*, 550, 575).

In America the same practice is well established. Of the Cennis or images raised by the aborigines of Hispaniola, Ferdinand Columbus states: 'They give the image a name, and I believe it is their father's or grandfather's, or both, for they have more than one, and some above ten, all in memory of their forefathers' (*JAI* xvi. 290). The grave-posts, roughly hewn into an image of the dead, appear among many tribes of the American Indians (Dorman, *Prim. Superstition*, 177). The Simer and the Similkameen Indians of British Columbia place carved figures representing the dead on their graves. These are dressed in the clothes of the dead man, and when decayed are renewed (*JAI* xxı. 313). The image is often that of a warrior, with a record of his warlike expeditions and of the number of scalps taken by him, of which Schoolcraft gives illustrations (l. 356).

In Africa the Lunda, a forest tribe, have a distinct form of ancestor-worship, and are accustomed to remember the dead by placing roughly-carved dolls, supposed to represent the deceased person, in the abandoned hut in which he is buried (Johnston, *Upando*, 240; *Trachten*, 474), records a case where, on the death of a twin, an image of the child was carried about by the survivor as a habitation for the soul, so that it might not have to wander about, and being lonely call its companion to follow it.

When we come to races in a higher grade of culture, we find survivals of the same practice. The Roman noble exhibited in the wings which opened from his central hall the images of his or his like-nesses of his revered forefathers, which are believed to have been originally portrait-masks to cover the faces of the dead. These at funerals were fitted on to their heads in the case of the father and of the dead man's ancestors, and when kept in the house were probably attached to busts (Smith, *Dict. Ant.* ii. 922 f.ii.). The actors with these masks were seated on chairs of dignity at the funeral rites (Granger, *Worship of the Romans*, 65).

11. Ancestor-worship in relation to the family.—Ancestor-worship is primarily a family cult, based on the desire of the survivors to maintain friendly relations with the departed. But the family is a comparatively modern institution, and behind the modern family, organized on the principle of the maintenance of the *patria potestas* and succession in the male line, there is a long past, when family property and certainly polyandry or group-marriage, with the natural accompaniment of succession in the female line, must have prevailed. This is not the place to discuss the priority of mother-right and father-right. Here it cannot be the subject of a highly primitive belief. Jeovs (op. cit. 194) is on less sure ground when he argues that it could not have arisen before the time when agriculture was started as the main industry of the human race. 'Originally,' he urges, 'the dead were supposed to suffer from hunger and thirst as the living do, and to require food—for which they were dependent on the living. Eventually the funeral feasts were interpreted on the analogy of those at which the gods feasted with their warriors—and the dead were no longer dependent on the living, but on a level with the gods... . It could not therefore have been until agricultural times that the funeral feast came to be interpreted on the analogy of the sacrificial feast.' It would, however, be unsafe to infer that the cult of ancestors is confined to tribes organized on the patriarchal system. Thus in South India the custom of tracing descent through the female seems to have widely prevailed, and the Nayar, who still maintain this rule, are ancestor-worshippers. This they have not borrowed from the Hindus, but it has been derived by them from the primitive animism (Fawcett, *Bulletin Madras Museum*, iii. 157, 247, 275, 276). The same is the case with many of the lower castes in Northern India, among whom survivals of matrarchy can easily be traced, and with certain Melanesian races, who combine an ancestral cult with descent in the female line; as, for instance, the Poliwe Indians, the Ipalnoos of the Caroline Archipelago, the Chamorros of the Ladrones, and the Baras of New Britain (Kubary, *Pelouer*, 38; Featherman, *c. Mel. 250*, 325). The same is the case with the inhabitants of the lower castes in Northern India, among whom survivals of matrarchy can easily be traced, and with certain Melanesian races, who combine an ancestral cult with descent in the female line; as, for instance, the Poliwe Indians, the Ipalnoos of the Caroline Archipelago, the Chamorros of the Ladrones, and the Baras of New Britain (Kubary, *Pelouer*, 38; Featherman, *c. Mel. 250*, 325). The same is the case with the inhabitants of

12. Social Results of Ancestor-worship.—It remains to consider briefly the effect of ancestor-worship on the social condition of the races which practice it. In the case of Japan, a writer in the *Times* (20th Nov. 1905) remarks: 'It is not difficult even for Europeans to understand how strong is the foundation, both for national and dynastic loyalty, which such a faith affords. It ensures that the will of the whole Japanese people is united; the lowest, shall ever bear in mind the existence and the strength of the innumerable ties which knot the present to the past. It is at once a safeguard against violent revolution and a guaranty of gradual progress. It is a conception which we cannot perhaps easily grasp in its fulness, but we can readily acknowledge its nobility and its simplicity, and we can feel how great and precious a factor it may be in moulding the hearts and minds of a nation.' To the same belief the sanctity of the household and, as a consequence, the inviolability of marriage, have been much indebted. The strength of the family in Japan is due to the fact that the family is not only the most competent to perform the rites on which the happiness of his ancestors and of himself depended was one of the main foundations of that family life which is the basis of modern society, and, except in countries like India, where it conflicted with the prejudices of the priestly class, tended to raise the status of woman. On the other hand, in the ruder stages of society, the belief that the unappeased and angry soul of the father or kinsman hovered round the family hearth, and could be consoles by no propitiation save by the blood of the murderer slain by a member of the household, tended to foster the desire for revenge, to strengthen the bonds of ties among the tribal, and to confirm the popular belief that 'stranger' and 'enemy' were synonymous terms.


W. CROOKE.
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (American).—1. Communion with spirits of the dead.—Perhaps the most marked feature of the religion of the American Indians is the virtual possession by nearly all of the many tribes from Alaska to Patagonia. There can be little doubt that this belief was based upon the equally general belief in communication between mankind and the spirits of the dead.

Whatever may be the true explanation of that medium of genuine phenomena, which some attribute to the action of spirits, and others to the subconscious self, the phenomenon were recognized by the Indians long prior to the advent of modern spiritualism, and, at least in many cases, prior to the earliest historical contact with Europeans. The tribes regarded these phenomena as caused by the spirits of the dead. As a rule they were friendly spirits, those of tribal ancestors, relatives, or friends who returned to earth to warn, protect, instruct, or amuse the living. They were treated with respect and regarded with fear. They could be seen by those who trained their senses above the normal plane, in accordance with methods handed down from the ancestors, or who were under unusual circumstances, by ordinary mortals.

The power of seeing them was believed to be acquired in various ways—by continued solitary meditation, by the use of certain narcotic herbs, by crystal-gazing, or those who acquired this power became mediums, and were respected as the 'Medicine Men' (a term possibly derived from the mysteries of the Media Societies), magicians, or priests. By aid of this power, they were enabled to foretell the future, and to describe events occurring at a distance. Evidently, therefore, the spirits were believed to possess supernatural knowledge and power, and intercourse with them was sought to obtain this, not for purposes of worship. Amongst many tribes those who acquired this power are distinguished by various names, according to the scope of their attainments, but the principal distinction is between those who are controlled by the unseen forces and those who control them. Only the masters were enabled to compel the spirits to do their bidding. No instances are given of the abuse of these powers; on the contrary, those who were supposed to hold intercourse with them seem to have been regarded only in a favourable light. As to the effect of these practices upon the mediators personally, nothing is heard. Besides these methods of obtaining intercourse with spirits, some men were believed to be born gifted with this power, to some others it could be quickly or instantly imparted by masters.

In dreams and visions and under unusual circumstances, spirits were believed to appear, without mediastinct interposition, to ordinary mortals. There is hardly a tribe to-day which does not possess at least one member who beholds spirits, and who is able to describe distant events at the time of their occurrence, or to perform some other apparently supernatural feat. In the myths of several southern tribes the original taking of the land of the dead, and return theretoform to relate their experiences.

2. The soul and the double.—The Iroquois and Algonkine believe that man has two souls, the 'double' and the 'spirit.' The double is generally regarded as the body, and the corpse after death until it is called to enter another body; another of more ethereal texture, which can depart from the body in sleep or trance and wander over the world, and at death goes directly to the land of spirits.†

The Sioux recognize three souls—one goes to a hot place after death, due to a life of sin; while a third watches the body. The Dakotas call this the true soul.‡ In most American Indian languages the word for 'soul' is allied to those for 'air,' 'wind,' 'breathe,' the breath being thought to represent the animating principle derived from the Cosmic Spirit, or Soul, as amongst Hindus and Romans, though only the system of the Vedas analyzed this relationship.†

The individual soul was regarded as part of this Cosmic Soul which formed the principal deity of the American Indians. The personified deities in Peru, and probably elsewhere as well, were recognized as special manifestations; although the adequate understanding of this concept was doubtless confined to the few, as in all places and times. The unconscious attempt of the missionaries to road monotheism into the concept of the Great Spirit, amongst the northern tribes, naturally prevented appreciation of its true nature, and led to vagueness in their statements.

A wide-spread belief assigned to each individual an attendant guardian spirit, or spiritual companion, independent of birth, but attached to the individual. It warned the self through intuitions of impending dangers, and the like. Such was the toranq of the Eskimos; the ollon of the Iroquois, chosen after a period of solitary meditation in the woods, and symbolized by some object seen in a dream or vision; the ochegong of the Ojibwas; the ani-ma-yawen of the Ararancans; the huarque or 'double' of the Peruvians, literally 'brother of a brother,' but also applied to twins, and significantly, to a friend. The Peruvians, moreover, gave this name to the false heads placed upon the mummies to which they expected that the departed spirits would return at some future time. It is probable that the word huarque, applied to all sacred objects, referred to the spiritual counterpart, from which, according to the Peruvians, all material objects were derived. Whether accidentally or otherwise, this word is repeated in the sacred Mexican city of Teotihuacan, and in the deities Wakan and Wakanada of North American tribes, as Brinton has shown. It is possible that Thousand boys, who is the god and all things,' one of the names applied to the Supreme Cosmic Spirit, may apply to one who has mastered the relation of this double to the physical self. The Guiana tribes also assert that every human being consists of two parts—body, and soul or spirit.†

3. Methods of communication.—The Miaces, like the Natchez, Peruvians, and other tribes, kept the bodies of their dead in their houses or temples, believing that this would enable the spirits to warn them of the approach of enemies, and to advise with their priests about the affairs of the tribe. It was once usual for the young men of many tribes, at the approach of puberty, to go alone into the woods to meditate in solitude and without food, until they had visions of visiting spirits, and the like. In Peru a class of hermits dwelt alone upon the mountains, and were called to give to many things, past, present, and future. The Eskimos also had their hermits, kuwigtok, and, according to the Miaces, there are now several such hermit or 'double' temples, and walking on the mountains in the almost unexplored wilderness around Cape North, Cape Breton Island.\*
4. Folk-lore of communication. — There is a general belief amongst the Indians that if you go into the woods on a calm day and listen, you will hear the light footsteps of the spirits, and sometimes the sound of an axe. Many of the spirits inhabit trees, from which they have been expelled before the solitary traveller. The Brazilian tribes believe that they announce coming death. The Northern Lights represent to the Eskimos and other tribes the dance of the dead, and are thought to occur only when the moon is new. According to the Inca Relates that Huanacauri having been walled up in a cave by his three brothers, his spirit accompanied them thence to Cuzco, flying through the air. In some parts of Peru the natives scattered flour or maize or quinoa about the dwelling to see by the footsteps whether the spirits had been moving about. The modern Mayas mark a path from the tomb to the hut with chalk, so that the returning spirit may find its pathway thither. The Peruvians seem to have believed that all their laws were revealed to their rulers by spirits who descended from the celestial world.

5. Seances. — Pottawatomies had recognized rules for communicating with the dead. The spirits came with a sound like that of a distant strong wind sweeping through leafless trees, and intermingling with strange voices. A Zuñi rain-princess another spirit who was a woman of the same fraternity, having died in the sword-swallowing rite, her spirit troubled us so much with rapping that we placed five small coins in the corners of the room and added pinon gum or frankincense with each word thrown or rapped. The authors believed that the spirit of the person for whom the magic was done, or that the spirit of the person making the request, would gently shake the door and lay the hands on the doorpost. The Inca Relates that Huanacauri having been buried in a cave by his three brothers, his spirit accompanied them thence to Cuzco, flying through the air. In some parts of Peru the natives scattered flour or maize or quinoa about the dwelling to see by the footsteps whether the spirits had been moving about.

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The suggestion of hypnotism is repeated in the snake-charming of the Zuñis, whose priests claim to be able to instill their own minds into the brains of the reptiles and to learn their ways.

6. Inducing visions. — To induce visions the Peruvians used magic of the plant called either putuy or putuy or sorcerer-plant, when they wished to consult with the spirits. By means of it they were enabled to behold a thousand visions, and the forms of hovering demons. The Incas similarly used their macleddikoi or serpent-plant. Amongst the Maya the k'menes or priests were enabled by gazing into the aztun, a crystal of quartz, or other translucent material, to behold reflected therein the past, present, and future, to see what was happening to absent ones, to learn by whose witchery sickness and disaster had been caused. Scarcely a village in Yucatan was without one of these stones. The Cherokee medicine men by means of their golden, or crystals, obtained power to go to the spirit world and back. In them they beheld events anywhere at any time they wished. They also used them to call to their aid the invisible little people, who would accomplish almost anything for them, either good or evil. They would drive out the hostile spirits who caused illness or inflicted death; they would fly on errands over land and sea. One Cherokee, with every indication of good faith, informed the present writer that he possessed a crystal and could use it in all the ways stated. It must be fed by rubbing blood upon it, and if angry it would cause mischief to its owner. The Inca priests used crystals for like purposes. In Peru, though the use of crystals is not affirmed, a legend asserts that the Inca Ypanqui, while gazing into the clear depths of a spring, beheld a future event in the celestial world, who told him many wonderful things.

7. Belief in life after death. — Whether the general belief in life after death among Americans was founded on their real or

* Arriaga, p. 39.

* S. Hagar, Peru. Astrot. *Glossy* chapter.

* Arriaga, July 13, 1898, p. 196.


* Cieca de Leon, pl. 1, p. 160.
supposed communion with the spirits of the dead, or micc recorded intensity of belief amongst the Calchaos and in Peru is evidenced by the Druid-like custom of whispering in the ears of the dying messages to departed friends. * Algonquin women who desired to become mothers looked to the earth which occurred in bodies about to die, in the hope that the vital principle, as it passed from the body, would enter them and fertilize their sterile wombs. The Ayuñara word malqini meaning 'mummy' is also traced to the United States is said to have been borrowed from the land for transplanting; * a young bird about to leave its nest for life elsewhere. The conventional expression amongst the Indians at the approach of death is 'My father calls me to rest with him.' Many tribes held the doctrine of re-inarnation. The Chinook says that when a man dies, his spirit passes to his son; the Th'inket, that the soul has the option of returning to life. In that case it generally enters the body of a female relative to form the soul of a coming infant. Some tribes of Southern California supposed that the dead returned to certain verdant isles in the sea while awaiting the birth of infants, whose souls they were said to possess. The Chumash, a tribe of the Pacific coast, believed in the psychosis of souls into animals. The Nootkas, Pueblos, and Mayas also believed in re-incarnation. † The Dakota medicine-men profess to tell their clients of the path which the deceased of the Dakota, who resided previously in the world as for at least half a dozen generations. Many tribes preserved the bones of their dead, believing in the resurrection of the body. ‡

8. Magic.—Parts of magic in which, however, the participation of spirits is not asserted, are reported amongst many tribes, the Mayas being especially proficient therein. See fully under art. Magic.

9. Mortuary customs.—The various tribes made use of very diverse methods of burial, including immersion in natural or artificial cavities, in or on the ground, desiccation by tight wrapping, the remains being afterwards placed in or on the earth, deposition in urns, surface burial in hollow trees or caverns, cremation, aerial sequestration in lodges or elevated platforms, and aquatic burial beneath the water or in canoes which were afterwards turned adrift. † Mummies, common in Peru, have also been found in many parts of North America, but it is still doubtful whether any artificial process of embalming was resorted to for preserving the bodies. A form of semi-aquatic burial, analogous to the Norse, was once practised by the Miamacs at the funeral of chiefs. It seems not to have been used by any other tribe on the Atlantic coast.

Food, clothing, tools, and cherished objects were generally buried with the body, and food and drink were afterwards left upon the grave, but this was the service of love seeking to provide for the material wants of the soul in the earth above. It was not worship. In Peru, as in India, even the wives and servants of the deceased, together with some of his domestic animals, were once buried with the deceased, but at the time of the conquest it had already become the general custom to substitute images of the required objects.

The Ojibwas believe that, when they partake of visible food at the grave, the spirit at the same time partakes of the food. That the Algonquins beat the walls near the grave with a stick to frighten away the lingering ghost. But this was done only by the enemies of the deceased.*

10. Nature of life after death.—The land of souls amongst the American Indians was usually located in the sky, the sky-world being regarded as the world of origins, of which the earth is but an echo or counterpart. Life in the sky-world therefore was thought to differ little from life on earth. The soul continued to pursue the same objects that it had sought during life on earth. The sky-world was a literal ideal of the northern hunter tribes, but the concept rises amongst the Mayas to a place of eternal repose under the cool unbraggade of the sacred tree, guayacan. * Certain legends seem to localize the land of souls in or near the sun, and in the Pleiades, ‡ but the sun merely represents the dwelling of the ruler of the sky-land.

11. Worship of ancestors and of the dead.—Strictly speaking, instances of true worship of ancestors or of the dead in America are rare. The dead are seldom confused with the various deities, whose attributes, with

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* Hill, vol. i. p. 200; Bancroft, iii. 200.
† Bancroft, iii. 53, 514, 517, 525, 527.
‡ Brinton, Miss. 144, vol. v. p. 149.
§ Yarrow, pp. 199, 200.
** Sayre in Dumes of Civilization, p. 155 note 1.

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* Brinton, 255; Bancroft, iii. 199.
† Landa, pp. 200, 201.
‡ See Brinton, 200; Bancroft, ii. 511; S. Hayne. Astron. 'Taurus' chapter.
§ Dorsey, op. cit. B. Amer. Eth., 1904, 207.
few exceptions, clearly reveal their origin in the original tradition of the tribe. The American Indians as a race are typically nature-worshippers. The sun and moon, and other celestial bodies, the seasons, the six directions, the four supposed elements, all figure prominently and lay in their mythology; but the cult of the dead, widespread though it be, is confined almost entirely to communication with the spirits of the departed. Fear is seldom an element of this cult. It usually serves merely the renewal of friendly relations with the spirits, who are regarded as leading in another world an individual life very similar to their earthly life, to which they are eventually destined to return. Supernatural knowledge of events distant in time or space is indeed attributed to the spirits, no greater perhaps than that conceded to certain living men, but these men themselves were thought to receive their knowledge from the spirits. It is a long step from such attributes to deification. Honours were paid to the dead individually, similar in degree to those due them when on earth; information was asked of them, seldom anything else; but there is no evidence that the dead were regarded as superior beings.

The chief when living remained a chief when dead, as much below the deities then as before, except for greater knowledge. In Spanish writings of a period when apostles were asserted to have fought visibly against the heathen in Peru, spirits are said to have helped the Inca Yupañqui to overcome his enemies. If this be a Peruvian tradition, it is a rare example of a native legend, which attributes to the spirits active intervention in the affairs of this world. Amongst the civilized tribes who offer elaborate petitions to their nature deities, very few are directed to the spirits. The legend of Manco Capac and Mama Oello of Peru, and the deities of the Popo Vneh, who, descending from the sky, after an active life on earth re-ascent to the sky and become stars, clearly reveal nature personification. Amongst a number of legends relating to caciques similarly translated and defiled, none which present details can be otherwise classified.

The Paraguayan and the Powhatans of Virginia are said to have worshipped the skeletons of their forefathers, but may merely have retained them to consult with the spirits which were believed in some sense to remain attached to the bodies. So the Eskimos piled up the bejewelled mummies of their ancestors.

The Eskimo upper world is ruled by the souls of the dead, including those inhabiting the celestial bodies. The moon was once men, and occasionally returned to earth. In Nayarit, the skeleton of a king received Divine honours, as did Pealeo, god of the dead in Oaxaca. But the worship of the deity who governs the dead is quite distinct from the worship of the spirits themselves. The Caribs held regular meetings to propitiate the spirits. The Californian tribes believed that some of the dead became stars, the Iroquois that the stars had all been mortals, or favoured animals, and birds, but the sun and moon were not among them. In Peru, the malquis, or mummies, were petitioned to grant food, health, and life. According to Acosta, each ruling Inca after death was regarded as a god, and had his individuals sacrifices, statues, etc. Each month the coast people sacrificed children and anointed the tombs with their blood.

The Chibchas and Guatemalan tribes buried a corpse in the forest officially, in the belief that it might be protected by the spirit. The Mexicans called their dead teotl, meaning 'divinity.' Some asserted that their gods had been at first mere men, who had been deified either because of their rank, or on a notable thing they had done. They set up in their temples statues of their victorious generals.

12. Festival of the dead.—In many parts of America there is now a semi-annual festival in honour of the dead who, at this time, as in China, Japan, and many other countries, were believed to return to earth over the Milky Way to participate invisibly in the ceremonies. In Peru the Aymarares, or Carrying of the Corpse, festival was celebrated annually for three days at the time of our Halloween, All Saints', and All Souls'. The supposed coincidence in time is but one of many similar analogies in the Peruvian ritual that are associated with ceremonies which have reached us from pre-historic times. During this festival the bodies of the deceased rulers of the Incas, with those of their principal wives or coyes, were brought in new jars to the sacred city of Cuzco, after which food and drink were offered to it with all the honours due in life, in the belief that at this time the spirit did indeed return to the body, and reside therein during the time of the festival. The procession preceded on earth the passage of the sun through the zodiacal sign of the Mummy (Scorpio). At the same time fruits and flowers were placed upon all graves to refresh the returning spirits. The festival is also associated with the imparting of celestial wisdom.

The basis of this ritual, however, seems to have been rejoining over the temporary renewal of intercourse with departed friends and relatives, and its object to welcome and please them with respect and courtesy. The element of worship of the dead as superior beings or the offering of prayers to them for aid is not prominent. The Mexicans held festivals in honour of the dead in August and November, when the souls hovered over and smelt of the food set out for them, sucking out its nutritive quality. The Maya, Mixtecs, Pueblos, and Eskimos held similar rites in the spring and autumn. The Harons believed that the souls of the dead remained near to the bodies until the feast of the dead was celebrated. They then became free, and at once departed for the land of spirits. ** The Chibchas and Pervians repeated the curious Egyptian custom of introducing a mummy in the midst of a revel to suggest to the feasters the omnipresence of death. 

13. Demons.—The religion of the American Indians is not dualistic; good and evil alike are attributed to the Great Spirit. But the conflict, so far as it is recognized, depends upon physical and mental, and not upon moral qualities. No instance can be found in aboriginal America of a contest between a supreme good and a supreme evil.
ANCIENT-WORSHIP (Babylonian)

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Babylonian).—It is at the onset necessary to inquire how far the Babylonian beliefs and practices of the cult of the ancestors and of the cult of the dead, and pointing to a form or forms of ancestor-worship, were in their origin Semitic. The answer depends on the attitude one takes towards the Semero-Akkadian problem. The majority of Assyriologists, believing as they do in the existence of a distinctly pre-Semitic Semero-Akkadian culture and language, naturally hold that the cult connected with the spirits of the departed, which was allowed to flourish by the side of the Babylonian State religion (or rather religions) was in its essence, very largely, if not entirely, a popular survival of an ancient non-Semitic form of animism, and Sayce goes so far as to say that the ideas connected with this cult were 'never really assimilated by the Semitic settlers'; whereas, according to M. de Roussy (La Religion Semirraciale en Babylone, 1902, p. 276), an entirely opposite opinion must, of course, be held by the smaller number of Assyriologists, who categorically deny the pre-Semitic civilization here referred to; and even a cautious writer like Jastrow maintains that there is no necessity 'to differentiate or to attempt to differentiate between Semite and so-called non-Semitic elements' in Babylonian and Assyrian religion (Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, 1898, p. 24).

The non-Semitic origin of the cult appears at first sight to be confirmed by the many words of a non-Semitic linguistic stock that meet us in the texts relating to it, such as Allatu (names of the underworld), and apparently also utukku and ekimmu (kinds of ghosts). But Semitic terms are by no means absent, as e.g. Allatu (name of the goddess of the underworld), Shu'dlu * (one of the names of the underworld), and, as it seems, also Arâlu (or Arâlu), which is the most common designation of Hades.

It is, furthermore, safe to assume by analogy that, even on the theory of an early pre-Semitic civilization of Babylonia, the Semites may, on entering the country, have brought with them popular ideas regarding the dead which were not dissimilar from those they found among the natives, and that the adoption of Semero-Akkadian terms (which, let it be remembered, are frequently used) does not necessarily indicate that the Semites acquired the cult and the ideas connected with it from the natives.

Besides the question of origin, many other uncertainties still obscure the problem; for there are so far not enough data for the formulation of a complete system of these ideas and customs. In the interpretation also of a number of facts one has often to rely on inference rather than actual proof. It may be assumed that fuller knowledge will be the result of further excavation and the complete decipherment of extant materials; but for the present, at least, it must suffice to systematize the information that has already been gained.

The extant data may be conveniently treated under the following three heads:—(1) dedication, (2) sacrifices and offerings to the dead, (3) necromancy. Some cognate matters, which may help to elucidate the latter, can easily be brought into connection with one or other of these three parts.

1. DEDICATION.—The only instance so far known

* On Shedu (Heb. Sh'd) see 1 Sam. 5 below.
in Babylonian mythology of mortals passing to immortality and deification without having previously died and gone down to the under world, is that of Sit-napishtin, the Babylonian Noah,* and his wife (or, according to Berossus, as reported by Alexander Polyhistor, also his daughter and his pilot†). When the deluge was over, Bel, whose wrath had been appeased by a speech of Es, bestowed divine life on the pair, and assigned to them a dwelling afar off *at the mouth of the streams." The case of the hero Gilgamesh and that of Etanna, before whose names the determinative for house is attached, both of them had first to pass through death, the common fate. Gilgamesh, as the epic bearing the name shows, endeavoured in vain to secure exemption from the fate of mortals by his visit to his ancestor **Sit-napishtin; and with regard to Etanna, it is only reasonable to assume that he was dashed to pieces when he fell from the heights of heaven with the eagle that bore him. In the case of Adapa, who, having broken the command of Shittin, defied the south-west wind, was summoned to heaven to answer the charge, deification and a place in the company of the gods of heaven would have been his share, but he had not refused to partake of the "water of life" and "the food of life which An had offered him. The ground for deification in the cases mentioned was no doubt the heroic character of the persons concerned; but the element of ancestor-worship was probably not absent, and it is in any case clear that such instances of deification cannot be dissociated from the cult connected with the departed.

Passing from legend (which may, however, be assumed to rest on some actual events) to historic times, we find the names of Dungi and Gudea (probably before the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.) written on tablets that belong to the kingdoms immediately following their reign, with the determinative that is placed before the names of gods. Festivals were celebrated in honour of these kings, sacrifices were offered to them, and their images were placed in temples. Again, Gimil距in (about 2500 B.C., of the second dynasty of Ur, appears [like an Egyptian Pharaoh] to have been deified during his lifetime, and there was a temple at Lagash which was named after him (Jastrow, op. cit. p. 499). Did deified kings and other great personages, the sons and other descendants would both naturally and in accordance with an established rule (see § 2) take the lead, and the people generally would share in the celebrations, so that we have here instances of ancestor-worship in the strict sense of the word, and secondly in its wider, if looser, signification as homage paid to the departed kings and fathers of the people.

Some acts pointing to deification or semi-deification in later times will be mentioned in connexion with sacrifices and offerings to the dead, and it will also be seen what form the cult of the dead took among the people in general; but it is necessary to inquire whether we are able to form a clear notion of what deification meant among the ancient Babylonians. Did the deity of Sit-napishtin, that is the deity of the under world presided over by Nergal and his consort Allatu, or did they ascend to join the company of the supernatural gods? A writer like Jastrow, who strongly emphasizes the impossibility of a disembodied human spirit escaping out of the Babylonian Hades, must adopt the former alternative, notwithstanding the various allusions connected with this interpretation (as e.g., the instances of an atukku actually finding its way back to earth). The brightest view so far taken of the Babylonian doctrine bearing on this problem is that of A. J. Jeremias (op. cit. pp. 100-103, and elsewhere). With Sayce and others this writer takes the epithet 'raiser from the dead,'* given to Marduk and other deities, in its natural sense (as against the interpretation as the person destined to be born (in the sense of preventing death from overtaking the living), and attributes to the ancient Babylonian hopes of a much brighter existence than was to be had in the under world; and if this be so, there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that by their deification Gudea and others entered the luminous company of the gods of heaven instead of dwelling for ever in Hades, and that in consequence their images had bright and happy visions of the ancestors to whom they addressed worship. Confirmatory of this view is the fact that the 'water of life,' to which reference has already been made in the story of Adapa, is to be found everywhere in Hades. (The command of Ea be restored to the upper world by being sprinkled with this 'water of life' ('Descent of Ishtar,' reverse 1, 38 ff.), why not also departed mortals who were destined for deification? The truth, however, seems to be that we have here to deal with different streams of belief, some tending one way and some another. But in accepting this opinion it is not necessary at the same time to agree with Chabot, who assigns the doctrine of Hades to the Sumerians, and the superlative deification to the Semites, for it may well be that there were different streams of tradition among the Semites themselves. Development within the Semitic field is, of course, also an important factor to consider.

2. Sacrifices and offerings to the dead.—Mention has already been made of sacrifices offered to deified kings in early Babylonian history, and of festivals celebrated in their honour. The famous Stele of Vultures, which records the victories of Eannatum, or Eannatu, an ancient king of the city of Lagash, excavated in the S. of Sipparia, shows that the king, together with the corpses of departed warriors laid in rows, whilst their surviving comrades are represented with baskets on their heads, which are generally understood to have contained funeral offerings for the dead. The fallen enemies, on the other hand, are refused burial, their remains being the food of struggling vultures (on the terrible meaning of this treatment, see below). An ancient bronze tablet, which represents a funeral scene, apparently watched over from the top by Nergal, and showing below the goddess Allatu in her bark, exhibits the dead person lying on a bier, attended by priests in fish-like garments, with a stand for burning incense not far from the head of the hier. * On Ch. 12 § 25 ('He bringeth down to Sheol and bringeth up').† Probably before B.C. 4000 (see L. W. King, Bab. Religion, p. 45). 1 The interpretation of the scene is, however, uncertain. The baskets may have contained more earth for the mound raised over the corpses. Jastrow (op. cit. p. 690) states that the Stele shows animal sacrifices being offered to the dead, and Maspero (in the (Dawn of Civilization, p. 607) says that the sovereign desires to kill with his own hands "one of the fallen enemies" in honour of the dead. Fragments of the Stele were first made known by de Sarzee, Diesmutations, plate 1, and by Chabot, plates 3 and 4. For other representations of the god Nergal, see Athanasius Tischler's Die Akkadischen Inschriften, p. 50. 2 See Jastrow, op. cit. p. 679; Maspero, op. cit. p. 690ff.; L. W. King, op. cit. pp. 81ff. The example cited is not unique, however; the tablet is also a matter of dispute, but there is no doubt about the burning of incense. The fish-like garments of the departed ancestors or priests have been generally taken to have some reference to the god Ea in his character as lord of the deep. This and the other bronze plates of the same class are supposed to have served as votive tablets in the graves of the dead.


the monuments of later Babylonian and Assyrian kings we do not find any representation of burial ceremonies' (L. W. King, op. cit. p. 48), but from a broken inscription of one of the later Assyrian kings we learn that the king placed vessels of gold and silver in the grave as dedicatory offerings' to his departed father (ib. p. 49). Ashurbanipal (king of Assyria, b.c. 689-661), in one of his funeral speeches, ushers in the tombs of his ancestors with rent garments, pouring out a libation in memory of the dead, and addressing a prayer to them (see, e.g., Jastrow, op. cit. p. 606).

It is necessary, however, to distinguish carefully between sacrifices in the proper sense of the word and offerings of various kinds made to the dead by way of providing for their proper maintenance in the other world. The former point to a form of popular and actual worship (though probably in most cases of a secondary kind), whilst the latter, which, roughly speaking, belong to the distinctly popular element of the cult, are generally understood to have had a religious signification, and were offered for the departed among the underlying motives, and some of the details to be mentioned presently would seem to support this view; but it is true that the motive of fear was exceedingly strong. The departed human spirit was best known by the dreaded name ekimmu. The difference between it and stukku cannot be accurately stated. It seems, however, that stukku was a general name for demon, for we hear of the stukku 'of the field,' 'of the sea,' etc., whilst ekimmu was (or became) the proper name for a departed human spirit. Sayce (op. cit. p. 284) would limit the meaning of ekimmu to the spirit of an unburied corpse over whose unaccompanied remains the funeral rites had never been performed; but R. C. Thompson (The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, i. p. xxvii. ff.) has shown that the name was also applied to ghosts who, though properly buried, had no one to provide them with the necessary sustenance in the under world, so that they would be forced to return to the earth in order to seek for themselves some sort of maintenance among their former living relations. Of these, therefore, the ghost would even enter the body of a living man, tormenting him until it should be exorcised by a priest. In order to guard against these dangers to the living, it was necessary, first of all, to perform the funeral rites, by means of which the human spirit was enabled to reach its destination in the realms of Aralš; and it was, secondly, required of the relatives, and more particularly of the eldest son and direct descendants of the deceased, to make provision for their proper maintenance in a region where, apart from the sustenance provided for them by their friends on earth, 'dust is their necessary sustenance—dust, that is to say, over gate and bolt dust is scattered' (opening part of the 'Descent of Ishtar'). Offers of this kind would, however, naturally assume a propitiatory character of a more or less definite kind, and a sufficiently close affinity with sacrifices proper would be the result.

The provision thus made for the departed differed, of course, in accordance with their condition during their life on earth, and was, besides, dependent on the means possessed by their living relatives. The occupant of the smaller chambers of burial was content to have with him his linen garments, his ornaments, some gold arrowheads, and vessels containing burnt incense; whilst others were provided with furniture, which, though not as complete as that found in Egyptian sepulchres, must have ministered to all the needs of the spirit' (Maspero, op. cit. p. 680). Special requirements were also thought of. Thus, 'beside the body of a woman or young girl was arranged an abundance of earthen vessels, bottles, combs, cosmetic pencils, and cakes of the black paste with which they were accustomed to paint the eyebrows and the edges of the eyelids' (Maspero, ib. cit. p. 681). The devout Assyrians and Babylonians, and we may assume that these were placed in the tombs of children' (Jastrow, op. cit. p. 598). Food and drink were, of course, the main requirements, and these all-important offerings were made to the dead not only at the time of burial, but also afterwards by surviving relatives; and the entrances to tombs that have been found (Peters, Nippur, ii. 173, and elsewhere) may be explained as an arrangement made for renewing these and other offerings. The son performed the office of pouring out water in memory of his father. The water-jar is indeed 'never absent in the old Babylonian tombs, and by the side of the jar the bowl of clay or bronze vessels was often placed, and the other objects placed at the disposal of the dead are the vases which the owners carried about in their lifetime, and the seal-cylinders which persons of position were in the habit of using. How far the customary waiting for the dead, not only immediately after their departure, but also subsequently, included terms of homage and adoration, cannot be stated with any certainty; but it appears that when the Festival of Tabumuz was selected as a kind of 'All Souls' Day,' and some degree of adoration of the dead may have been combined with the ceremonies connected with the homage paid to the annually reviving god.

The grim side of this cycle of ideas is seen in the treatment of the corpses of enemies. By dragging the dead bodies out of their graves, mutilating their remains, and other indignities, their shades were deprived of their comfort and their rest, and their living relatives became at the same time exposed to the terrible molestation of the prowling and suffering ghosts. This explains the violence done to the remains of fallen enemies, as represented on the cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar. In later times, Ashurbanipal expressly states that by destroying the graves of Elamite kings and dragging their bodies to Assyria he had made sure that no food should be prepared for them, and no sacrifices offered in their honour (see e.g. Jastrow, op. cit. p. 602; L. W. King, op. cit. p. 44). Similar revenge upon his enemies was taken by Semach erab. 3. Necromancy.—Necromancy, which is an essential part of the cult of the dead, and which must also have been connected with the presentation of offerings to the shades consulted, undoubtedly held a prominent place among the magico-religious practices of the Babylonians. 'A series of mythological texts shows that scenes such as that between Saul and the witch of Endor were familiar to Babylonian fancy also. Among the lists of the various orders of priests we find the offices of 'exorcist of the spirits of the dead,' the priest "who raises the Spirit of the dead," and the Shal'lu, the "inquirer of the dead," * (A. Jeremias, Bab. Conception of Heaven and Hell, p. 28). And the chieftain of the Pan Media, who is described here that in Ezek 21:26 (Eng. 21) Nebuchadnezzar is represented as inquiring of the Teraphim, which some writers regard as images of ancestors, and who on the other hand is called [2 s of the 'Hebrews' article]...
has been urged by Jastrow (op. cit. p. 539) and others, that the name Shu\'\u2019al (Heb. She\'ol) itself proves that inquiry of the dead was inseparable from the very notion of the under world thus designated, by no means conclusive. For the root sh\'al (שאול) may be connected with shakal (שואל), thus giving to Shu\'al the meaning of hollowed out place rather than that of place of inquiry (see Zef. Heb. Lex. s.v.).

The ancient element of ancestor-worship formed, more or less distinctly, part of Babylonian religious observances. As regards dedication of deceased ancestors, sacrifices in the proper sense of the word and built in tombs held in high veneration, as the dead, are mentioned. It may be said, as was to be expected, relatives to the ruling families only. It may, by analogy with the religious development of other races, be assumed that ancestor-worship and the cult of the dead were more prevalent in prehistoric times than later on. But whether this cult was in very ancient times the only or even the chief religious worship of the Babylonians—whether Semitians or Semites, or a combination of both—is quite a question. It surely is not improbable that it was but one among a variety of cults, and that the various mumina loci, the heavenly bodies, the storm, the lightning, and other powers of nature played at least as great a part in the Babylonian religion as the worship of the dead. There is at any rate nothing in the Babylonian cult to confirm the theory of Herbert Spencer, that ancestor-worship was the sole original worship of humanity, and that animism in its wider sense was developed out of it.

LITERATURE.—The principal literature used has been frequently quoted. The part relating to the subject in the German edition of Jastrow's Religion of Babylonia and Assyria has not come to hand when the article was written. The bibliography at the end of that edition will no doubt be the fullest. In the quotations from the 'Descent of Ishtar' and Epic of Gilgamesh,' J. Ebers (Schrader's EB vi) has been followed.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Celtic).—The meagre data preserved concerning the Celtic religious contain little evidence to show that the worship of ancestors prevailed in Gaul or the British Isles. The general existence of the cult throughout the Teutonic and Germanic peoples (see Schrader, Reallexikon der indogermanischen Alterthumskunde, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 21-33), however, renders it practically certain that the cult existed in Gaul. Prisse's "place of decision" (Entscheidungsort), but the synonym Mela-abdi which he quotes may itself be a mere guess of Babylonian etymology.

The Celts, like the kindred stocks, worshipped their ancestors. The Druids are known to have taught not only immortality but also metempsychosis (Cassar, de Belo Gallico, vi. 14; Lucain, Pharamaia, iii. 454-455). The only way sanction the hypothesis of ancestor-worship are Cassar, de Belo Gallico, vi. 19, and Pompousius Mela, Choreographia, iii. 19. The former author states, "in keeping with the cult of the Gauls, tombs are common and sunken, and they cast upon the pyre all that they suppose pleasing to the living; even animals and, a short time ago, slaves and dependants who were evidently especially dear to them, were burned with them after the funeral rites had been duly performed." Pompousius adds that, in consequence of the Gallic belief in immortality, "they burn and bury with the dead things proper for the living," and says that the human victims who were burned were either messengers (like the slaves killed to carry tidings to a deceased king in Dahomey) or faithful retainers who desired to continue life in the future with their patrons. It is questionable, however, whether all this can be construed as ancestor-worship in the strict sense of the term.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).—A. Ancestor-worship.—Of a developed ancestor-worship, like that of the Far East, there is in Egyptian religion little trace. Their knowledge of their long history disposed the Egyptians to revere the memory of their ancestors (epu-dnwn), and we often hear the 'time of the ancestors' referred to with respect: such-and-such a temple was rebuilt 'as it had been in the time of the ancestors'; so wonderful a thing had never happened 'as it had been in the time of the ancestors' and so forth. The kings naturally regarded their predecessors in the royal line with respect, and are depicted making offerings to their names, as at Abydos, where Seti I. and his son, the Prince Rameses II. (afterwards Rameses III.), offer incense before the two long rows of cartouches, each of which contains the name of a king whom Seti considered worthy of special honour. Incense is being offered much as it might have been offered before Japanese shrines. But Egyptian ancestor-worship went little farther than this. The ordinary person did not specially venerate the names of his ancestors. He often commemorated them, but never as gods, except in so far that the dead man was a god who, in life, he became Osiris." But as a proof of his loyalty to the reigning dynasty, he venerated the ancient royal names which his king delighted to honour: at Sakkâra we find a private person, Tunur, offering to a series of kings' names, which is almost identical with that revered by Seti I. at Abydos. Such lists were purely commemorative. Seti I. did not regard his ancestors as gods because they were his ancestors, but because, as kings of Egypt, they had been gods; every king during his life was the 'good god;' as the successor and representative on earth of the sky-god Horus, the oldest ruler of Egypt. After death, the ancient kings were gods for the same reason. He would never have represented himself offering to the thot of his own ancestors as gods, because they never had been gods, nor did he regard them as gods except in so far as each was an Osiris.

Osiris-worship was not ancestor-worship. It is not probable that the Egyptians regarded even Osiris, the great god of the dead, worshiped as a sort of original ancestor of the race, in spite of the belief that he had once reigned over Egypt as king. This Euhemeristic view is probably late, and essentially local origin, probably at Buto or in the Delta (see below).

The ancient Egyptians had feared the
magical power of the dead man, and had regarded him as a deity; every dead man was Osiris. So they worshipped him as Osiris and in the form of the god of the dead; not under his own name or in the name of ancestors as gods under their own names and in their own shapes ever grew up in Egypt. To venerate one's ancestors as Osirises was a very different thing from regarding them as gods. Thus no real family of ancestors demand the mention of mother and father, perhaps of grand-parents, on one's gravestone; the son could put up a stele in memory of his parents as making their names to live upon earth. But so also could a brother make the name of his brother or sister to live. No worship is implied.

Religious duty demanded the proper observance of certain ceremonies at the tomb. The name of the 'servant of the ghost' (hen-la), but these were not intended as worship of the ghost; they were meant to ensure his happy transit through all the terrors of the underworld and the final reunion of the parts of his body and soul, the celestial boat of the sun-god. The religious texts inscribed upon the walls of the tombs had a similar significance. They are all magical spells designed to keep the dead man safe from the terrors of the netherworld, wandering; and to enable him, by means of formulæ asserting his divine dignity, to win his way past all opposition to his position as a god and the equal of the gods. But no prayers are addressed to him as a god; and if they were, they would only be addressed to him as the god Osiris, not as an ancestor-god protecting his family and tribe. Of this conception we find no trace in Egyptian religion except the position assigned to Horus, who, like his father Osiris, had reigned in Egypt, and was the predecessor, if not the progenitor, of its kings. But here again, as in the case of Osiris, the kings venerated their ancestor Horus, not because he was their ancestor and the founder of the monarchy, but because he was himself one of the great gods, and was also implicitly divine because he had been a king.

Thus it would appear that the deification of every dead man, or rather his identification with one particular deity, allowed no room for ancestor-worship, in the true sense, in Egyptian religion. Not a single case is recorded here and there in local beliefs, but in the main scheme of the national religion it had no place.

B. Cult of the dead.—As has been shown above, the deification of every dead man as himself the god Osiris resulted in the absence of any regular form of ancestor-worship in Egypt. The dead man was venerated as Osiris, not as an ancestor. Originally, however, this 'Osiran' doctrine was not common to the whole of Egypt. It seems to have originated at Dedi or Busiris, 'Osiris' town,' the modern Abusir near Saqqâra, in the Delta. Here Osiris, far back in the primitive period, must have been simply the protector-god of the local necropolis, as the god Ptah-Seker, or Sokar, was the protector of the necropolis of Memphis, and Anubis, the jackal (confused at a very early period with Upra, 'Opener of the Ways,' the way of the dead) was the protector of the necropolis of Abydos. Anubis of Abydos was also identified with a shadowy deity, Khentamentiu, 'the Chief of the Westerners,' the latter being the dead, who was found on the west bank of the Nile. Whether there was any idea among the primitive Egyptians that the Libyans of the western oases, who sometimes came within their ken, were the spirits of their dead in the West, and that the ruler of the dead was their chief, we cannot tell; but it seems probable that it was so. Khentamentiu, however, is never pictured, so we cannot tell what he was supposed to be like; he had already become identified with the jackal Anubs before the dawn of history.

While, however, the jackal of the necropolis of Abydos was regarded as a jackal, because the jackal had his abode among the tombs and prowled around them at night, so that the childlike mind of the primitive Egyptian, in fear of him as the ravager of the graveyard, easily came to venerate him, and to desire to placate him by worship as its protector, the Memphite and Busirite gods of the dead were conceived as dead men; in the northern view, the dead kings. The Busirite and Memphite deities, Osiris and Ptah, were closely related. Both were represented as human mummies, the first carrying the whip and flail, emblems of sovereignty, and the second the symbols of power, stability, and life. If the legend of the foundation of Memphis at the beginning of the First Dynasty has a historical basis, it may be that the resemblance of the form of Ptah to that of Osiris is due simply to the fact that the worship of Busiris had penetrated so far southward at that time that, when the necropolis of Memphis was constituted, its protective deity was given a shape differing but little from that of Osiris. However this may be, it seems very soon to have come to be regarded as...
Busiris degenerated into comparative unimportance. The only real rival of Abydos as the headquarters of Osiris was the northern city of Mendes, in the Delta, only a few miles east of Busiris, where the Lord had set up a sanctuary, identified with the local animal-deity, a goat, who was called 'Soul of the Lord of Dedu,' Bi-neb-deb, afterwards pronounced Bindi, Mindu, whence Mendes and the modern Mendil, Anmide. It is possible, however, that the goat of Mendes was originally a god of the dead or not; probably he was not. The 'Lord of Dedu,' whose 'soul' he was called, is, of course, Osiris, lord of Busiris. This title of Neb-Dedet was recognized throughout Egypt as one of the chief titles of Osiris, and on the stele at Abydos it is always accorded to him side by side with the old appellation of the Abydene Anubis, Khentamentiu.

With the worship of Osiris went the peculiar doctrines associated with his cult: the belief in resurrection, in the springing of life out of death, which made him a deity of renewed life as well as of death, and so identified with the green corn-bearing Nile land as opposed to the waste deserts of his brother Set; and, most important of all, the peculiar doctrine of the identification of every dead man with the god, which became at a very early date in Egypt the basis of Osiris, to believe with regard to the dead. This Busiritie dogma was held even under the Old Kingdom by every Egyptian, and we may find its credo in this regard in the well-known suten-at-hetep formula of prayer for the welfare of the dead man, which appears on every sarcophagus, and on every stele or gravestone, and in which the god, whether Anubis 'on the Serpent-Mountain, Lord of Sepa,' or offering, as Amen-Rê or Hathor in the Theban necropolis over which they ruled, or Geb the god of the earth and the Circle of the Nine Gods, the dead man is still Osiris; he is not identified with Amen, Ra, or Hathor, although some texts tell that he is Osiris who is not always mentioned. On the ushabtis (see Death and the Disposal of the Dead [Egyptian]) he is always called Osiris, and in later times we find the formula definitely phrased thus: 'May Osiris . . . give a king's offering . . . to Osiris N.' Osiris is asked to give an offering such as a king would give to himself, for every dead man was himself. The dead man was venerated, therefore, not as the dead N, a god because he was a dead ancestor, but as being one with Osiris. In this sense he was worshipped, and only in this sense may the Egyptians he said to have possessed a cult of the dead. Their cult of the dead was a cult of Osiris, and it was to Osiris that the hen-ka, or 'servant of the ghost' (usually a near relative of the deceased), made the offerings at the tomb, 'seeking to do honour to those there' (a polite periphrasis for the dead). These offerings consist, in the words of the very interesting inscription on the stele put up by King Ashmes to the memory of his grandmother, Queen Tebi, 'in the pouring of water, the offering upon the altar, and bark throughout the day of the New Moon, at the feast of the month, the feast of the goings forth of the Sem-priest, the Ceremonies of the Offering, the Kings' Offering, on the 25th day of the Month, and of the Sixth, the Hâk-festival, the Usog-festival, the feast of Thoth, the beginning of every season of heaven and of earth.'

Originally, of course, these honours (see Death and the Disposal of the Dead [Egyptian]) were paid to the ka, the double, of the deceased, which was supposed to reside in the tomb, and, had it not been for the universal adoption of the Osirian doctrine, they would undoubtedly have developed into a regular form of ancestor-worship, the ka of each person 'the being worshipped as a god.' We may perhaps even say that before the general adoption of the Osirian doctrine, the southern Egyptians did worship the ka of the dead, or even the sahûs (see Death, etc.). We do not know how ancient the beliefs in the other spiritual parts of the dead man, the ba, or soul proper, and the khâ, or intelligence, are. In any case, these other spiritual portions of the man never were specially venerated. They required no sustenance, therefore no offerings were made to them, such as were made to the ka. These offerings were made by the members of the family of the deceased persons, whose names were commemorated on stele, together with those of their living descendants who make their name to live upon earth (saank remen ten tep ka). Several generations of the dead are often thus 'called to live' in Egyptian, and of the believer, etc. [Egyptian]). The Egyptian 'cult of the dead' amounted to no more than this.

The worship of the supreme god of the dead, Osiris himself as apart from the offerings made to the individual Osiris, the dead, was carried on in the usual manner. He had two great temples, at Abydos and Busiris, which disputed the possession of his most holy relic, supposed to be his actual body, and Osiris who was supposed to be buried in a tomb which, by a misunderstanding of a hieroglyph, was identified with the tomb of the early monarch Tjer, the sign of his name being misread as Khent, 'chief,' and so identified with 'Khentamentiu.' He was worshiped also as the ram at Mendes, and as the bull Apis and in the Kabiric form at Memphis. The temple at Abydos was originally not his. In its latest strata we find that his predecessor Anubis is the sole deity mentioned. Later on, as we have seen, Anubis and his 'brother' Upauat, the wolf of Sûtt (the 'Mak-edon') of Delta, identified with his 'sons' and attendants. The wolf was originally not a god of the dead or of Abydos at all, but was a war-god, of whom the wolf was a good symbol, as the 'opener of the ways' to the pack. But the kinship of the wolf to the jackal soon caused Upauat to be regarded also as a fellow-protector of the tombs with Anubis at Abydos, and in later times he is exclusively a god of the dead, the double of Osiris, Isis and Sethkhet, with the child Horus, naturally accompanied Osiris from the Delta, where they also had their origin. But they did not come much forward till a comparatively late period, when the triad Osiris, Isis, and Harppocrates (Anubis) composed the principal Divinities of Amen, Mut, and Khensu, which had become somewhat discredited everywhere except at Thebes after the end of the Theban domination. During that period these gods had but the position of king of the dead to that of merely their judge; his kingly functions were usurped by Amen-Râ, the Theban 'king of the gods,' who during the night was supposed to pass over the river superior of the living also as the god of Egypt, and the whole set
of myths connected with his name and those of Isis and Horus became the most important part of Egyptian religious belief. It was natural that this should be so, when the religious and political gravity had hitherto attached to the Delta, the original home of the Osirian religion. Later the Memphite sacred bull Apis, originally the animal of Pthus, but, on account of the confusion of the city-god with Socharis, was also called Osiris. Of the hymns of Osiris, very much to the front, and the Ptolemaic Egyptians evolved a Graeco-Egyptian counterpart of his, though they never disused the original animal cult. Finally, in the Roman period, Sarapis becomes identified with the old Nabian god of the same name, and this god, the most disreputable of the whole Egyptian pantheon, is personated on the walls of ancient Abydos as the successor of Osiris, of Anubis, and of the primeval Khentamentum.

**ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Fijian):** The Fijian divinities fall naturally into two divisions—the kalou-vu ('Root gods') and the kalou-apisi ('Spirit gods'), i.e. deities of the dead. There is much truth in Waterhouse's suggestion that the kalou-vu were of Polynesian origin, carried into Fiji by immigrants from the east and imposed upon the conquered Melanesian tribes in addition to their own pantheon of deified ancestors; and that Ndengei, who was undoubtedly a Melanesian ancestor, was adopted by the immigrants, as the Etruscan gods were by the Romans. The Fijian's belief in his own tribal divinity did not entail denial of the gods of other tribes. To the Hebrew prophets the cult of Baal-peor was not so much a false as an impious creed. In giving their allegiance to the chiefs who conquered them, it did not mean that the Fijians should yield the supremacy of their conquerors' gods, who, by giving the victory to their adherents, had proved themselves to be the more powerful. Waima, the great god of the Tonga chief, was, according to the Tongans, a deity connected with Tonga; and his priest, when inspired, gave his answers in the Tongan language. The Rewans had given the chief place in their pantheon to the god of mere visitors.

First among the kalou-va was Ndengei, primarily a god of Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu, but known throughout Fiji except in the eastern islands of the Lau group. This god, evolving from the ancestor and tutelary deity of a joint family into a symbol of Creation and Eternity in serpent form, is a counterpart of Jupiter, the god of a Latin tribe, inflamed with Etruscan and Greek myth until he overshadowed the ancient world as Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Ndengei and the pen songs associated with him are proved by the earliest myths of their home on the Ra coast to have been mortals deified as the first immigrants and founders of the race. If the Polynesian gods were originally deified ancestors, their dedication took place at a period so remote that their descend ants cannot be identified.

One of the gods of paramount importance to the Melanesian system of government. The Fijian's conception of human authority was based upon his religion. Patriarchy, if not the oldest, is certainly the most natural shape into which the religious instinct of a primitive man would crystallize. First there was the family—and the Pacific islands were probably inhabited by single or small families by the father, with his store of traditions brought from the land from which he came. His sons, knowing no laws but those which he had taught them, planting their crops according to his direction, his common sense under his direction, bringing their disputes to him for judgment, came to trust him for guidance in every detail of their lives. Suddenly he left them. They could not believe that he, whose anger they had feared but yesterday, had vanished like the flame of yesterday's fire. His spirit had left his body; yet somewhere it must still be watching in the life he had threatened them with punishment for disobedience, and, even now, when they did the things of which he disapproved, punishment was sure to follow—the crops failed; a hurricane unroofed the hut; floods swept away the canoes. If an enemy prevailed against them, it was because they had neglected his words and he was rewarding their pietcy.

In this natural creed was the germ of government. Each son of the dead father founded his own family, but so long as an ancestor, generally the eldest son—in whom dwelt a portion of the father's godhead—generations came and went; and the tribe increased from tens to hundreds, but still the eldest son of the eldest, who carried in his veins the purest blood of the ancestor, was venerated almost like a god. The ancestor was now regarded as a Kalou-va, and had his temple and his priests, who became a hereditary caste, with the strong motive of self-interest for keeping his memory green. Priest and chief tacitly agreed to give one another mutual support, the one by threatening divine punishment for disobedience, the other by insisting upon regular offerings to the temple.

That the cult of a common ancestor persisted for many generations is shown by the custom of toaue, which means literally 'sprung from the same root,' i.e. of a common origin. It is applied to two or more tribes who may live in different islands, speak different dialects, and have nothing in common but their god. They do not necessarily intermarry; they may have held no intercourse for generations; yet each may have forgotten the name of its chief's five generations back, the site of its ancient home, and the traditions of its migrations; and yet it never forgets the tribe with which it is connected. Toaue. Members of a tribe from a remote village, slaughter its pigs, and ravage its plantations, while it sits smiling by, for the spoilers are its brothers, worshippers of a common ancestor, and are therefore entitled in the fullest sense to the 'freedom of the city.' Sometimes the bond can be traced back to its origin, the marriage of the daughter of a high chief with the head of a distant clan. Her rank was so transcendent that she brought into her husband's family a measure of the godhead of her ancestors, and her descend ants have thenceforth revered her forefathers in preference to those of her husband. Generally the bond is so remote that the common ancestor is known by the name of an animal or of a natural object, and the fact that his worshippers may not eat the animal suggests a trace of totemism of a bygone age. In such cases a young band from an overcrowded island may have crossed the water to seek wider planting lands.

Among the Viti Levu tribes of Melanesian origin there was a peculiar ancestral cult known as the mboali or maubali, turned to a small crop of the first-fruits and initiation. The rites were held in rectangular stone enclosures, called nanga ('bed,' i.e. of the ancestors). These were built close to
the graves of dead chiefs, who were invoked to shower blessings on the tribe in ceremonies which degenerated into orgies of a sexual character. The rites were said to have been introduced by two old men who were found washed up on the sea-shore—strangers cast up by the sea, for they could not speak a word of Fijian. The initiated were sworn to secrecy, and the peculiarity of the rites was that initiated members of the tribe, with the exception of the headman, supposed to be at war might attend the rites unharmed, and invoke the aid of spirits from whom they were not themselves descended.

The Fijians had a well-peopled mythology of the after life. The spirits of the dead had neither temples nor priests, for, as they left the living unmolested, the living were not called upon to make propitiatory sacrifices to them. They were kept alive by the professional story-tellers, who revived them after funerals, when men's thoughts were directed to the mystery of death. In a land where every stranger is an enemy, the idea of the next world, turned out friends and the temptation to find his own way to Bulotu, conjured up images of the perils that beset the lone wayfarer on earth, and the shade was made to run the gauntlett of fiends that were the incarnations of such perils. This is the state of human affairs when, in outline, the details are filled in by each tribe to suit its geographical position. There was generally water to cross, and a ghostly ferryman who treated his passengers with scant courtesy. There was a ghost-scatterer who stoned the shade, and Reed-spear who impaled him. Goddesses of frightful aspect peered at him and gnashed their teeth; Ravuravu, the god of murder, fell upon him; the Disir to the dawning of Nekedor from the trance-smitten; fisher-fiends entangled cowards in their net; at every turn of the Long Road there was some malevolent being to put the shade to the ordeal; so that none but brave warriors had died a violent death—the only sure passage to Bulotu—passed through unsathed. The shades of all Viti Levu and the contiguous islands and of a large part of Vanan Levu took the nearest road, either to the dwelling of Nekedor from the trance-smitten, or of whom they had told him, where the air was warmer, the yams larger, and the soil more fruitful, was the goal of their spirits after death.

When a chief died, his body was washed and shrouded in bark-clot. A whale's tooth was laid on his breast to throw at the ghostly pandanus tree. If he lit the mark, he sat down to wait for his wife, who he now knew would be strangled to his manes; but if he missed, he went forward weeping, for it proved that she had been unfaithful to him in life. His tomb became his shrine. A roof was carefully lashed to protect him from the sun and the rain. Kava roots and cooked food were laid upon it, that his spirit might feed upon their spiritual essence. And with each presentation, prayers for his protection were repeated. In the own of the white chief of the temple the bones are later forgotten, and in times of prosperity the grass began to grow rank even over the bones of a doughty and masterful chief, but at the first breath of adversity his tomb was carefully weeded, and the ofiho became singular. Some member of the priestly family would then become possessed by his spirit, and would speak oracles in a high falsetto. The process of evolution from the tomb to the temple would now be complete.

The peculiarity of ancestor-worship in Fiji is that men worshipped not their own, but their chief's ancestors, to whom they themselves might have but a slender blood relationship.

BASIL THOMSON.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Hebrew).—The latest portion of the Hebrew Canon are, roughly speaking, contemporary with the earlier Jewish apocryphal writings; but it will for the present purpose be convenient to consider all the canonical writings of the OT under the title 'Hebrew', and to reserve the data found in the OT apocrypha, the Talmud, and other later works for the 'Jewish' section of the subject here dealt with. Probably dated portions of later Scriptures quoted in the section will, however, usually be given.

The question of ancestor-worship among the ancient Hebrews has been much discussed in recent times, the most systematic treatise on the affirmative side so far being Friedrich Schwartz's Das Leben nach dem Tode (Giessen, 1892), which in the main follows the views previously laid down by Stade and Oort (see the literature at the end). A decisive proof that the answer is given in Der dritte kultus and die Urreligion Israels by Carl Grünseisen (Halle, 1900), who, utilizing the arguments advanced in J. Frey's Tod, Siedlungsaufbau und Israel (Leipzig, 1889), attempts to establish his thesis on the grounds already given.

The Hebrew Scriptures have, thanks partly to the relation they bear to all phases of life, and partly, no doubt, also to the judgment emphatically pronounced by Jahiwism on other cults, preserved for us a far larger number of the general Semitic family, associated with mourning and cognate matters than have so far come to light in the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. It is highly probable, however, that a common stock of ideas underlies both these branches of early Semitic beliefs and customs; for it is becoming more and more clear that pre-Mosaic Hebrewism was thoroughly rooted—not by borrowing, but by original affinities—in the widely spread traditions of the general Semitic family. It is a fact, however, that paragraphs of the Hebrew Scriptures have been passed over in silence by all who have not been familiar with the ancient world, but now that the study of the Semitic languages has been made easier, it is a task of minor difficulty to find in these national portions of the Bible a perfectly clear parallel to the Hebrew text. In this branch of the subject will be treated under the following heads: (1) Translation to heaven; (2) Teraphim; (3) Sacrifices and offerings to the dead; (4) Mourning customs; (6) Levirate law; (7) Laws of uncleanness; (8) Necromancy.

1. Translation to heaven.—Deification, if the term were here allowed at all, * could not possibly mean the same in the religion of Jahwesch as in the polytheistic Babylonian religion; and yet it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the translation of Enoch recorded in Gn 5:24, originally belonged to the same class of beliefs as the transference of the Babylonian Sit-napishtin to the society of the gods. It has already been remarked (see § 8 of 'Babylonian, art. above) that Sit-napishtin is in reality a combination of the Biblical Nehun and Enoch. Probably, though, Noah and Enoch represent a splitting up of this original personality of Sit-napishtin. However this may be, Enoch, like Sit-napishtin, was spared the common fate of mortals; and the legitimate meaning of the phrase 'Elohim took him' is that he was transferred to a condition of close association with the Deity; and, if it be judged right, the more ancient portions of the Hebrew text would mean that he joined the system of order which the Hebrews would mean that he joined the system of order which the Hebrews
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the company of angelic beings (cherubim, seraphim, etc.), which in prophetic imagery * (see Is 6; Ezk 1 and 10) surrounded the throne of Jahweh.

Another clear instance of the translation of a mortal to the company of heavenly beings, without having lived regularly a life of ancestry, is that of Enoch, for the Israelites who passed from earth to heaven in a whirlwind (2 K 215); and a veiled example of transference to heaven immediately after death (i.e., without having previously gone down into the Sheol, see Baheth in Chronicles in transitional style (see Da'vid, 1 Enoch, xi. 6.), contained in Dt 34, where the burial of Moses is apparently stated (see Driver, in loco) to have been undertaken by Jahweh Himself. Viewed in the light afforded by the translation of Enoch and Eliphaz, it seems likely that the Midrashic statements of the high favour accorded to Moses are based on a tradition of great antiquity.

Different from the above-mentioned instances, because pointing to an antijahwistic attitude of belief in dedication or semi-dedication, is Is 66, where the supremacy of Jahweh is emphasized by the admission made to the prophet on his own behalf or on that of the nation, that 'Abraham kneweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us.' The reference is that Abraham and Israel (or Jacob) were, as the departed ancestors of the race, regarded, by at any rate a portion of the nation, as the disciples of the false god, and as indebted to the condition of the people, and on whom one could call for support, for the perpetuation of the ancient worship, the expression is, in the Isaiahic passage quoted (see R. Winterbotham, 'The Cultus of Father Abraham,' in Expositor, 1896, ii. pp. 177-180).

2. Teraphim. has been connected, e.g., Schwyz, op. cit. p. 35 ff.; Charles, Exegetology, p. 21 ff.) that the Teraphim, of which peculiar frequent mention is made in the OT, were originally images of ancestors, probably to prove the correctness of this proposition. The word itself is of uncertain origin. Schwyz's suggestion that Teraphim comes from the same root as ἀραφίν (shade) fails to recommend itself on philological or other grounds. Sayce connects it with a Babylonian word terāpa (ghost). Perhaps equally admissible would be a connection with the Ethiopeic terēf (pl. terēfīt), which among other meanings signifies the name of one of the ancestral deities of the Egyptians. The plural Teraphim in the sense of excellentiae would then be analogous to that of Eholim in its original plural signification, but it would at the same time afford no elite as the name of kind excluded beings if it etymologically should be a designation of the spirit (with Michaelis) employed by Teraphim to personate David on a sick-bed; we learn that the word was in the plural form used to denote a single image (thus lending itself, like Eholim, to a plurale majestatis). The same passage shows that it bore a human form, but this fact by no means demonstrates its identity with an ancestral figure. * In Jg 17 18-21, at any rate, the Teraphim cannot denote a mere family deity but the national God (Jahweh) Himself; for the image there spoken of belonged first to an Ephrahite and then to Danites, with a Levite as ministering priest in both cases. In the Sheol the spirit of the dead was the general cult in 18). Nor does the testimony borne by 1 S 19 to the fact of the Teraphim having formed part of the usual equipment of a well-to-do family (see above, pp. 446 f.) necessarily imply a connexion with ancestory-worship; for it is quite as likely that the national God Himself was thus represented in houses of private families. Still less decisive is the consultation of Teraphim as among the procedures in the prevalent religion, as, e.g., Hos 3; or without it, as, e.g., 2 K 215; for Jahweh Himself or any other deity could thus be consulted. The Eholim before whom a Hebrew servant who wished to remain permanently in his master's service was brought, in connexion with the ceremony of having his ear pierced with an awl at his master's door (Ex 21:19), have also been regarded by a number of scholars as images of ancestors and identified with the Teraphim, as a consequence of the customary fixing of the servant's ear to his employer's door, looks, indeed, 'admission to the family cult with all its obligations and privileges,' and it is from this consideration that the idea of the (usually male) ancestral god, being here represented by Eholim, derives its strength. But even here it is to be seen that the Servant of the deity need not necessarily be an ancestor, and may, in fact (as has already been remarked), be the national God Himself. Nor is it certain that images of that kind were used for the term Eholim may bear the meaning of 'judges' (cf. Ex 22:20; 28; 1 Pet, xiv) in Eze. 16, to the Egyptian hieroglyphs (with Biblical and Rabbinical Commentaries, in loco), and the piercing of the ear may have been a symbol of obedience (for illustrations, see Daniel, p. 339). The Eholim in Ezk 215 were images of ancestors, either the Mosaic legislator must have felt no antagonism between Jahweh and this form of the ancestral cult, or the images may have been incorporated into the laws in question, having come to be regarded as representatives of Jahweh Himself. On the former assumption the customary fixing of the servant's ear at the termination of the contract (Ex 21:19) would point to a further effort made to eliminate the ancestral idea from the ceremony. On the latter supposition it is possible that the priestonomist would have been contented in discarding images generally (even of Jahweh Himself). There remain two references in the OT to Teraphim in connexion both with non-Israelites, namely, the stealing of Laban's Teraphim by Rachel recorded in Gn 31, and the consultation of Teraphim by Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in Ezk 215 (Eng. ci. 26). From the fact of such apparent common worship of Teraphim by Hebran, Aramaic, and Babylonian, the conclusion has been drawn that ancestor-worship must be meant (see Schwyz, op. cit. pp. 36, 57); for it would, as it has been argued, be difficult to suppose that a people who possessed the international character implied. Another such basis could, however, be easily imagined (any of the great powers of nature could indeed satisfy this requirement), and it is furthermore possible that the Teraphim (especially if the general meaning, excellentiae, be adopted; see above) represented different kinds of deities among different nations. In the case of Ezk 21 the case is also the possibility that the prophet merely expressed Nebuchadnezzar's manner of consulting oracle in terms of Hebraic speech, and that

* These prophetical ideas were probably grounded on much earlier notions of religious contemplation. Isaiah and Ezekiel need only have given a special Jahwistic finish to certain more or less known forms of Divine imagery. In the case of Ezekiel, the influence of his Babylonian surroundings is clearly discernible. * Charles (Exegetology, p. 55) regards the translation of Enoch and Eliphaz as a step preparatory to the higher doctrine of the soul's personal immortality. Enoch's higher belief probably existed also among the Babylonians (see A. Jeremias referred to in § 4 of Babylonian art.); the tradition regarding Enoch is, moreover, in all probability far too wide a case to fall in with Charles's theory. The truth seems to be that divinity was, for the most part, by side among both the Babylonians and the ancient Hebrews.

1. In the Mishnah referred to, as elsewhere also, the spirit of Moses was said to be descended on the strength of the intervention of the angel of death, but by a kiss of Jahweh. Incidentally it is said of Moses in the Maimonides that he had the chronicles of glory assist cherubim, seraphim, and other angelic beings. * This reference from Is 66 is, of course, independent of Ezekiel, regarding the original divinity of some of the patriarchs. * It would be too venturesome to base a theory on the root-meaning of the Ethiopeic term ἄραφιν: religion sine rei fari, so as to make it refer to the continued existence of the departed.
Teraphim in the usual OT meaning of the word were not actually used by him.

It would seem, therefore, that so far we have no clear indication as to what deity or deities the Teraphim represented. All that can be said is that they may originally have been images of ancestors, the fact of their having been (in many cases at least) household gods would be in consonance with the idea, though it cannot be adduced as a proof of its correctness.

3. Sacrifice to the dead.—As a clear reference to the offering of food to the dead Dt 26:4 may be claimed; the tithe-giver there makes the following declaration: "I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof being unclean, nor given thereof to the dead."† Oort, Stade, Schawly, and others see in this declaration a prohibition (and therefore an evidence of the custom) of sacrificial offerings to the dead, understanding the text to mean that the tithe-giver referred to Jebus was not to be perverted to idolatrous practices connected with the worship of the dead; but the general bearing of the entire declaration suggests only the provision of sustenance for the dead, and that to the dead must therefore rest on other grounds (see further on). The fact, however, that every single tithe-giver had to make the statement in question proved that the custom of sacrificing to the dead, or of producingBehaviour towards it, was wide-spread among the people, and perhaps also in the higher grades of society.

This is one of the indications showing that the ancient Hebrews shared with their Babylonian kinsmen the belief in the continuance of the human personality after death, and in its need of sustenance in Sheol, the Hebrew equivalent of the Babylonian Šāwštē or Arúša. But whilst in Babylonia and Assyria the early customs connected with the belief were allowed to flourish by the side of the State religions, Jahwism strove with all its might to suppress them. In a measure it succeeded; but popular ideas are not easily rooted out, and the practice continued for a considerable period of time in different parts of the country. The various and partly conflicting references to the dead met with in the OT are largely to be explained by this conflict of belief with the ancient cult and the frequent recrudescence of heathen ideas in all their original force. That, however, Jahwism made substantial progress in the course of time, is shown by the number of references already quoted in the section devoted to the question of the recrudescence of heathen ideas and the · frequent recrudescence of heathen ideas in all their original force. That, however, Jahwism made substantial progress in the course of time, is shown by the number of references already quoted in the section devoted to the question of the recrudescence of heathen ideas and the frequent recrudescence of heathen ideas in all their original force.

4. Sanctity of graves.—The question concerning the veneration of graves is closely connected with that of sacrifices to the dead; for if the latter question be not answered in the affirmative, the graves of ancestors would have to be regarded as the places where the sacrificial offerings were made.

Viewed in this light, there is much in favour of the opinion that the masğebah set up by Jacob on the grave of Rachel is not only a memorial of the departed kings (see § 7), and the offering of sacrificial gifts must have formed part of such worship. The evidence from oracles (see § 8) points in the same direction, for an offering of some kind was naturally preceded the consultation of the dead. On the probable offering of hair made to the dead, see § 5; and there is, besides, the tendency to connect a propitiatory purpose with the ordinary presentation of sacrifices due to the departed; and if the analogy from the Babylonian custom be taken into account, it becomes pretty certain that among the ancient (pre-Mosaic and anti-Jahwistic) Hebrews also sacrifices to the dead were, to say the least of it, not uncommon.

The stress laid on family graves (as more especially the case of Machpelah, Gn 22:19, etc., with

A. B. Cook (loc. cit.) does not decide between the claims of this rendering and that of 'for the dead,' which might be taken to refer to funerals or to sacrifices offered to the memorials by their friends. But the phrase would hardly be natural in that sense. Among the Babylonian commentators, Abraham Abi-Shesh A. (prol. s.v. 'Avorship, see Boersma, loc. cit., p. 182) adduced an idiosyncratic Intention, introducing this explanation by 'and some say.'
which the phrase 'being gathered to one's fathers' has been connected, may legitimately be regarded as a desire to introduce the departed into the society of his ancestors' (Charles, op. cit. p. 12), but the passages relating to the custom are contained in which the texts have been handed down to us) no reference to sacrifices or offerings of any kind.

There is, however, apart from family graves, the story of Jacob's burial (Gen. 49), the practice of wearing the garments of the dead, and in lodged in the monuments (which, as an evidence of necromancy practised at graves (see § 8), demands not only the supposition that offerings were there made in order to obtain a hearing from the dead, but also that from the general idolatrous point of view such graves (declared doubly unclean by Yahwism; see § 7) were regarded as sacred. At least as strong is the evidence from Ezek 43:9. On both passages, see § 7.

5. Mourning customs.—Several of the mourning customs of ancient Israel are very obscure, and a careful scrutiny is required before anything like a decision can be arrived at on any point. It will therefore be best to consider these customs separately.

(a) The mourner put on sackcloth.—The sackcloth, with which the application of ashes or earth is sometimes mentioned, was in both ancient and modern times in all probability a loin-cloth only, the tearing and entire putting off of the usual garments having preceded the 'girding on' of it (see esp. Is 58:7). Most ancient sources also stripped and not especially, if taken in conjunction with the phrase, 'in nakedness and shame of v. 11, points to a still earlier custom, when the mourner went quite naked; but the general practice of putting on sackcloth as a substitute for all other garments was set in quite early, and considerable modifications * both in the form of the sackcloth and in the direction of putting on other apparel may have been gradually, though not universally, made in later Biblical times.

The putting on of sackcloth has been claimed as a mark of submission to a superior (cf. 1 K 20:1-7), and the fact of Isaiah having apparently worn it as his usual garment (Is 65:2) has been taken to show that it was also considered a holy garment (see Schrader, op. cit. p. 241, &c.). The other explanation point to one form or another of ancestor-worship. Jer 48:37, where the putting on of sackcloth is mentioned together with the wearing of ashes, &c., places it in the category of usages which have been claimed to possess a ritual value (see further below), and it is quite possible that the probable explanation is that of self-humiliation,1—a sentiment which would equally accommodate itself to mourners and the other races of Israel, and the other marks of grief at losing a beloved relative or companion, and which might also be the subject of which the latter allude to the use of sackcloth. The primitive entire nakedness of the mourner, to which reference has been made, reminds one of the fact that on the Stela of Vultures (see § 4 of the 'Jubilœum' art.) the dead are shown to have been buried naked; the mourner might therefore have desired not to appear at greater advantage than the mourned dead. Later on, sackcloth would be assumed by the mourner in deference to the altered public sense of decency, and the modifications referred to would gradually follow. If so, in his view he corresponds with the close association of mourning and ritual usages (Jer 49:7) may belong to later times. On the suggestion that the placing of the mourning sackcloth on the dead body was attended with the object of deceiving the dead as to the identity of the mourner, see farther on.

(b) The mourner put off his sandals.—The putting off of one's sandals in connexion with mourning is not so frequently mentioned as the girding on of sackcloth, but it was no doubt meant to accompany it regularly (see esp. Is 5:3). As the remarks above suggest, passages like Ex 3:5, Jos 5:9 show that no sandals were to be worn at sacred places. Hence the supposition that it was essentially a ritual practice. But here again the original meaning was probably self-humiliation, which would suit both the grief of mourners and the attendance at sacred places.

(c) The mourner cut off his hair, or beard, or both.—The cutting off of the hair in connexion with mourning is mentioned, e.g., in Mic 1:10 ('make bald and let it grow long for the delight'); the removal of the beard as a sign of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem is recorded in Jer 41:4; the two together are found in Is 15:6. The cutting off of the hair or beard on these occasions consisted in making a baldness 'between the eyes' (Dt 14:4), which must mean over the middle part of the forehead (see Driver, in loco), although in different parts of the country hair from other parts of the head was probably also cut away. The beard was apparently cut off entirely.

Tylor, Oort, W. R. Smith, and others favour the idea that the haire cutting off was designed as an offering to the dead—a theory which is strongly supported by numerous analogies from the customs of the Arabs* and other races. The offering of hair in the ritual of Jahweh is clearly attested in the case of the Nazirite (Nt 6:5), and the practice would seem less strange in the ritual of the dead, who, according to old ideas, stood in need of all the things that appertained to the living.

Another plausible explanation would be that the cutting off of the hair from head and chin was a kind of adjunct to the removal of one's clothes. Everything may have been bold, was to be discarded that served as ornament or protection to the body, not only the clothes, but also the hair. The idea of self-humiliation, which might have been involved in the practice, is supported by the fact that the cutting off of the beard (see § 2 149, and the parallel passage 1 Ch 19:9) was regarded as an indignity. This may have been, however, not the only significance of the simultaneous sacrifice of the hair. The dead might be benefitted, and the living might become, or at least feel, more holy.

A third explanation that has been offered of this and, in fact, of all the mourning customs connected with apparel and bodily mutilation, is that the ancient rites had a direct reference to the dead as to the identity of the living, so as to escape any evil which recognition might bring. This idea seems, however, un-semitic, and it certainly does not fit in with other notions regarding the dead in early Hebrew times. Beings who could be called 'goddesses' ('knowing ones'),* and to whom one resorted for oracles, could hardly be deceived by a change of garments or other disguise on the part of the living. They certainly could not be deceived by taking off one's sandals, which is also pressed into the service. The examples, moreover, from the customs of other races (including the Romans), quoted by the supporters of this theory, are not the most part capable of another explanation. The opposite

This is required by the verbs gôlôh and gôda used in the passages quoted. In § 2 104 the verb is used, and half the beard is expressly mentioned (in 1 Ch 19:9 parallel passage the verb gôlôh is, however, used, and apparently the entire beard meant).

* This is employed by the verbs gôlôh and gôda/ used in the passages quoted. In § 2 104 the verb is used, and half the beard is expressly mentioned (in 1 Ch 19:9 parallel passage the verb gôlôh is, however, used, and apparently the entire beard meant).

1 See esp. W. R. Smith, pp. 223-226.

2 For a full exegesis of this passage adopted also by Kaufmann in Hastings' 'Deut. Ext. Vol. 21'), see Geikie, op. cit. p. 265. J. G. Frazer (Jal xv. p. 97) and Geikie on the one hand, the Bohemian and others Grimes and Geikie and others primarily based the theory, expresses himself, however, doubtful as to the semitic origin of the idea, and the meaning of the custom (in the 'Hophil' art. 'Sack'), is a different question.

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3 See J. Frey, Tod, Sekelhaube, etc. p. 42.

The Biblical statements affirming the impenetrability and shadowy character of the dead and the inability of the latter to the working of Jahwism on the ancient cult; see in Job (probably time of Hab. captivity (Driver) 1:14-25), the dead are affirmed to know of nothing, to have no seeing or hearing of their own part (Nah. 1:7 a.c. (Nödelke and others) Sheol is stated to be devoid of work, device, knowledge, and wisdom. Allowance is, of course, also made for different streams of thought in very early times.
treatment of the hair by men and women in times of mourning (each adding the unusual course, men, e.g., covering their heads at funeral ceremonies, and women letting their hair fly loose about their shoulders). It is therefore surely to be explained as a species of self-neglect expressive in each case of self-humiliation induced by grief; and a similar explanation would be applicable to several other expressions.

The Japhetic prohibition in Dt 14:14 of making a baldness between the eyes for the dead furnishes a strong presumption in favor of regarding the act as a ritual observance connected with ancestor-worship. The existence of this ground of the prohibition (‘ye are children of Jehovah, and a “holy people” to Him) strengthens the supposition that it was directed against an opposing religious cult. The place described as lying between the eyes may have for this very reason been chosen for the têlêdôth,* (Dt 11:23 etc.), by which every Israelite was to be marked as a devotee of religion, unless it was independently chosen as the most conspicuous part of the head. The absence of a prohibition regarding the removal of hair from other parts of the head and from the beard in connexion with the act, viz., to the fact that, according to Lv 10:26, it was prohibited under all circumstances.

(a) The mourner made cuttings in his flesh. Cuttings in the flesh and beard and covering of garments, appear as a general custom in Jer 41:16, notwithstanding its distinct prohibition in Dt 14:11, thus showing that the Deuteronomic legislation could make its way only very slowly, and that the verb hêxâghôd used in the two passages mentioned, and the form gâdôdôh found in Jer 48:38, is in Lv 10:19 the command not to make a sêrêc (also tr. “cutting”) for a dead person, or to print any writing (writing of têlêdôth) on the flesh, the latter being evidently a kind of tattoo. If the theory of making oneself unrecognizable by these disfigurements be discarded, there remains only the idea of thereby making an enduring covenant with the dead (W. R. Smith, Rel. of Soul, p. 329 f.)

That cuttings in the flesh were parts of religious ritual is, moreover, proved by the action of the priests of Baal recorded in 1 K 18:26. The fact that these incisions, as also the making of a baldness between the eyes, were prohibited by Jehovah, whilst the wearing of sackcloth, etc., was never interfered with, would seem to show that the ground of act and of the forbidden categories, thus forming another reason for rejecting the theory that they had all the purpose of making the living unrecognizable to the dead.

(b) The mourner covered his head or beard. The covering of the head (e.g., 2 S 15:29, Est 6:2) and the beard (Mic 3:7, Ezk 24:17) as a mark of mourning on account of death or other calamity might be explained, with Schwally and others, as a substitute for cutting off hair from head and beard. But the covering of the face in 2 S 11:26 (Eng. v.) (the clearest instance of actual mourning) reminds one of the same act performed in the presence of Jehovah (Ex 3:1, 1 K 14:19). As the covering of the face was there prohibited by the fear of beholding the Deity (cf. Ex 33:23), it seems likely that the mourner was also afraid of seeing the ghost of the departed (which is, of course, different from deriving the same idea from another reason). It is possible, however, that the covering of the face was merely an extension

* Usually translated “frontlets”; see Gfr. Heb. Lex., s. v. ḫâgôd. The modern têlêdôth (known as phylacteries) are held by some to consist of a part of the forehead cut into a square, but this seems merely to be a common practice, and is not intended to be placed over the middle part of the forehead.

The probable ground of this general prohibition, see Dillmann, ib. loco.

Driver explains that “the Israelites, being Jehova's children, were not to disfigure their persons in passionate or extrava ntagious grief” (on Dt 14:1-6). But it is doubtful whether grief would be regarded as an extrava ntagious passion, and hence the ground assigned for the prohibition (see the text above) appears to indicate an opposing religious cult.

of covering the hair, and the idea that the latter act was a substitute for removing the hair might therefore be maintained. As the hair of the head and beard was regarded as a personal ornament, covering the head, in one case, and the beard, in the other, as expressing self-neglect or self-humiliation occasioned by grief.

No evidence of ancestor-worship can be derived from the external ceremonies in favour of the two remaining customs, namely, (f) the lamenation over the dead, with its accompanying of weeping and striking different parts of the body with the hand; and (g) the partaking of food and drink by the mourners during the course of funereal ceremonies. The lamentations were natural or professional (see Jer 9:16 [Eng. v.]) expressions of grief, and need—so far as the texts in their present form go—neither have been ritualized in worship of the dead (Schwally, op. cit. p. 20 f.) nor intended to scare away the ghosts of the departed by much howling (Grüneisen, op. cit. p. 100).

The lamenations of David over Saul and Jonathan, as recorded in 2 S 13:30, are spoken of in connection with the funeral ceremonies. On the uncleanness connected with the ‘bread of mourning’ in Hos 9:4, see § 7.

6. Levirate law.—A close relationship has been claimed between ancestor-worship and the law of levirate, which, in the form given to it in Dt 25:5-10, enacts that when brothers ‘dwell together,’ and one of them dies without leaving male issue, the surviving brother (no doubt the eldest, if more than one) was to marry the widow, and that the firstborn of such a union was to be considered the son of the departed brother, so that his name be not put out of Israel.

The supposition that the original object of the institution was to provide the dead man with a son to carry on his cult (so, e.g., Stade, Schwally, Charles)—an object which must be assumed to have been entirely forgotten in the time of the Deuteronomic legislator. In the case of Uzzi (where the law is found to extend over the whole clan), the object is ‘to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance’ (Rut 4:19). Absalom (2 S 18:30) puts up for himself a pillar in his lifetime because he knew that his son was to keep it as a remembrance. In Gn 38 (where, under an older form of the law, all the children would have apparently belonged to the departed) the ground stated is merely that of raising up a personality to the departed. But if the institution—as it is quite reasonable to suppose—had from the first, besides the desire of leaving a memorial of one’s name, a close connexion with the law of inheritance, it is impossible to eliminate the idea of the cult of the cult of the departed altogether, as the son or sons thus provided for the dead man, as inheritors of his property, would, under pre-Mosaic religious notions, be expected to charge themselves with the sustenance (and probably also sacrificial offerings) to the departed. This broader basis of the levirate law would seem to be required by the extant data and the considerations arising from these, and it also

* An attempt has been made to connect the festival of Purim with the Persian Panafrîdânia, which was a kind of All Souls’ Day; but if so, the story of Esther might have become altered beyond ordinary recognition. See, on the one side, Schwally, op. cit. p. 42 f.; and on the other, Grüneisen, op. cit. p. 186 f. The law will be fully discussed in the next work.

† The supposition that sympathizing friends and neighbours provided the mourners with food and drink, and therefore obtained among the Jews at the present day.

§ On J. F. McDermott’s theory that the mourners were married to the dead on a polyandrous system of marriage, see Driver, Deut. p. 384.
do justice to the fairly complex state of society which already obtained in those early days. So far as the element of the cult of the dead is concerned, it is important to mention that the Kaddish (see § 3 of the 'Jewish' article), while stressing the facts of Jewish public worship in general, is to the present day confined to males, also seems to bear traces of a survival (in a much modified form) of the religious services rendered to the departed by his surviving sons.

7. Laws of uncleanness.—The laws of uncleanness relating to dead human bodies (see esp. Nu 19:11-22) can be satisfactorily explained by the almost universal fear of contamination arising from the contact or close vicinility of decaying bodies that obtained in ancient times. The ancient Egyptians, it is true, buried themselves much with corpses, but then they took every possible care to prevent decay setting in. In the Mosaic law the abhorrence of dissolution also affected not only animals that were forbidden as food, but also clean ones if not slain in proper ritual fashion (Lv 11). Leprosy, with death, was affected only so far as it may be allergic, and only unclean (Lv 13), though here the fear of contagion must have been an important factor.

It is likely that this fear of contamination was in earlier times the foundation on which savage races, that everything connected with birth, disease, and death involved the action of superhuman agencies of a dangerous kind (see W. R. Smith, Rel. Som. 2; 444 f.), an analysis and differentiation of causes being a product of modern medical development; but it would be rash to identify these agencies with ancestral spirits. On the contrary, the fact that dead human bodies are regarded as uncleann among a number of races which have strongly developed systems of ancestor-worship (see Grünen. op. cit. p. 114) proves that the two are independent of each other. Worship may be given to the departed spirits of ancestors, and contamination may at the same time attach to their dead bodies. The regulation of Nu 19:11, that an open vessel with no covering round it, which has stood in the tent of a dead person, is unclean, whilst covered vessels remain clean, can be suitably explained by the idea that the covering protects the vessel from contracting contamination, and need not point to the fear that the ghost might take up its abode in the open vessel.

The pollution connected with the broad of mourners (27:5-25) referred to in Hos 9:3 is also explicable without a reference to a Jahwistic opposition to ancestor-worship. For the meal offered to mourners by way of comfort may be all that is meant; and if so, the uncleanness would only be that of ordinary contamination contracted by contact with dissolution.

An additional tabu, arising from opposition to the religion of Jahweh, would come in only in cases where a sufficiently recognizable element of ancestor-worship or some other heathen form of the cult of the dead showed itself; and as such practices were demonstrably not uncommon among the ancient Hebrews (see esp. § 3), the additional tabu would be of a considerably wider application. But the dead body itself would probably in such cases be affected only so far as the spirit may have been supposed to linger about it, for, as has already been remarked, the cult of the dead was not necessarily connected with the notion of the soul.

In the case of priests (Lv 21:1) greater restrictions against contact with dead bodies are laid down, because the contamination would make them for a time unfit for their work. The ground of the main ordinance there given cannot be opposed to the tabu here, because the tabu was in all cases a spiritual, whereas the above-mentioned priests may attend (father, mother, etc.) are just those to whom the heathen cult of the dead would chiefly appeal (see Grünen. op. cit. p. 115). The order, however, not to remove the hair from beneath the head or to make anything out of the flesh, appears (unless v. 2 be regarded as unconnected with the rule respecting smoking and burning) more particularly as in their case, to have been introduced in order to render those parts of the body, like that of uncleanness per se, would naturally be of greater stringency in the case of laying on of hands.

The strongest instance of the combined taboo of ordinary contamination and heathen worship appears in Exk 34:10, where doubts of kings erected quite close to the altar of Jahweh are clearly stated to have been places of a rival worship (note their zwisch, a usual form of unfaithfulness to Jahweh, borrowed from the relationship of marriage), whereby the 'holy name' of God is defiled. A similar double taboo is presented in Is 6:5, where graves, which are unclean in themselves (Nu 19:9), are used for purposes of necromancy.

8. Necromancy.—Though the Teraphim cannot be demonstrated to have been originally images of ancestors (see, § 2), there is ample independent evidence of the practice of necromancy among the ancient Hebrews. The spirits of the departed were called yhid'osim ("knowing ones") by those adored to the practice, and the "booth (ordinarily rendered 'soul') spirits" are present a form of necromancy, the calling up of the spirit of Samuel on behalf of Saul (analogous to the calling up of Eabani by Gilgamesh) having been effected by a man named Eabani (1 S 28:11). In Is 8:9 the people are distinctly charged with inquiring of the dead on behalf of the living; and Is 65:3 may safely be regarded as a strong evidence of necromancy practised at graves. The practice was definitely anti-Jahwistic, and is everywhere forbidden (whereas the inquiry of Teraphim is not always prohibited, see § 2). As has already been remarked, necromancy, which is in itself an important part of the cult of the dead, is, at the same time, indirectly considered in the offering of propitiatory gifts to the spirits consulted.

Summary.—In summing up all the extant evidence, the same result is obtained as in the Babylonian section. The OT embodies indubitable traces not only of the popular cult of the dead, but also of a certain degree of actual worship paid to ancestors and departed kings and heroes. But the importance of these practices has been much exaggerated. There is no ground for thinking that ancestor-worship was the only or even the chief religion of pre-Mosaic Israel. On the contrary, various parts of the OT prove clearly that Jahwism had to maintain at least as keen a struggle against the worship of the heavenly bodies and of various other powers of nature as against the cult of the dead. It is also true that in a certain modified form the exaltation of departed heroes, more especially of the spiritual type, was from the first quite compatible with the religion of Jahweh; and the final monotheistic development of the monotheism left still more room for the glorification of great human personalities in one form or another.

LITERATURE.—Works of F. Schwell, C. Grünen., R. Charles, and others have been more or less frequently quoted. A very full bibliography will be found in Grünene’s book, Add. A. Loda, La Croisade à la vie future et le culte des morts dans la Bible (Paris, 1909), gives a comprehensive account of earlier literature in French. For the notice esp. Oort, De deodenvergering bij de Israëlië, 7; V. H. V. N. p. 366; Stade, R. V. T. I, p. 267; J. R. Smith, Rel. Som. 3, and other publications contain much that bears on the problem. J. Frey (Tol, Sodegast, etc.) tries to prove that though there was a belief in the soul, no cult of the dead (in the sense of paying homage to them) existed among the ancient Hebrews. Kautzsch (Hastings’ DB, Ext. 1, pp. 614-615) agrees in (main with Grünene (animism, not ancestor-worship). Among com-

* The fact of Saul bowing to the ground at the appearance of the spirit of Samuel (1 S 28:11) might be regarded as an evidence of worship paid to the dead, though perhaps it was still the prophet who was honored.

1 Cf. Cheyne, The Prophecies of Isaiah, loc. cit. At the graves the spirits of the departed would be more naturally consulted than demons.
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Indian)

mentators (some of the leading modern commentaries have, as occasion required, been referred to), Solomon Yabbi, Abraham ibn Ezra, and David Kimhi will on a number of points still be found helpful.

G. MARQOLOUTH.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD. (Indian) — 1. It is under the worship of ancestors lies at the root of all the funeral rites. As now explained by official Brahmanism, the object of these is to provide the departed spirit with a kind of 'intermediate body interposed as a temporary interval between the terrestrial gross body which has just been destroyed by fire, and the new terrestrial body which it is compelled ultimately to assume' (Monier-Williams, 'Brahmanism and Hinduism' p. 77). This writer goes on to say that this intervening body, composed of gross elements, though less gross than those of earth, 'becomes necessary, because of the individualized spirit of man, after cremation of the terrestrial body, has nothing left to withhold it from re-absorption into the universal soul except its incombusable subtle body, which, as composed of the subtle elements, is not only proof against the fire of the Rik, but is free from any sensations in the temporary heaven or temporary hell, through one or other of which every separate human spirit is forced to pass before returning to earth and becoming re-invested with a terrestrial gross body proper to it.) This new body, the soul must, like the ghosts of the unburied Homeric dead (Homer, Od. xi. 54 ; II. xxii. 72), wander about as an impure preta, or ghost, on the earth or in the air, among demons and other evil spirits, into the state of which it will eventually pass unless it be protected by the performance of the Srdhda provided by its relatives on earth. Further than this, the new body thus created for the spirit and which the deceased provided, and which the spirit must be aided in its progress from lower to higher worlds and back to earth by the performance of the periodical Srdhda rites. This duty of the relatives is among Hindus supposed to be finally discharged only when the rite is performed at some specially sacred place. Gayy in Bhair is the most appropriate place for these rites, while the Hindus of the west, for the obliteration of a mother, prefer Siddheshvar, the Baroda State. Hence also arises the necessity of begetting a male heir, which is urgently felt by all Hindus, as is also the case in China. Using a folk-etymology, this name Skr. name of a son, putra, as if it were putra, 'he that delivers his father from the hell called Put.'

2. Feeding the dead. — This orthodox exception of the Srdhda—that it is intended to provide an 'intermediate body' for the departed soul—is a later development. The Srdhda was really evolved from the custom of feeding the dead, a rite common among all savage and semi-savage races. 'Like the habit of dressing the dead in his best clothes, it probably originated in the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come plaguing the living for food and rainment' (Frazier, 'JAF xv. 741'). The custom is well established among many of the Indian tribes. Thus, among the Nagas of Assan, the corpse is watched with great care, and when decent burial is given to it, large quantities of rice are thrown over it. Whatever the deceased was in the habit of eating and drinking in his lifetime (such as rice, vegetables, and spirits) is placed once a month on the corpse, and each month given in the body. At the end of the period of mourning, a great feast, consisting of liquor, rice, and flesh of cows and buffaloes, is prepared, and the members of the clan in war dress partake of it. Among the Lahu, and sept of the same tribe the cattle sacrificed are eaten, with the exception of one leg, which is buried under the head of the dead man to serve as food for him in the grave. Among the Angami sept, on the first day after a death, meat is distributed among the relatives and friends of the deceased. The next day the head of the dead man, eat part of the meat, and each member of the sep of the deceased throws a piece of liver out of the house to the distance of some eight poles. On the third day portions of the cooked rice are tied up in leaves, and burnt on the roof of the house on the fourth day. On the fifth day the platter and cup of the dead man are hung up in the house and left there till thirty days have passed, when they are given to a friend of their former owner. The funeral rites end with the sacrifice of a cock, the flesh of which is eaten by all the members of the family ('JAF xxvi. 196 f.).

Among a more civilized race, the Nayar's of Malabar, the Seshakriya, or rite of making offerings to the spirit of the dead, commences on the day after the cremation ceremony, and continues for seven days. All male members of the Taravâd, or sept of the deceased, at the house of the dead mourner taking with him a strip of cloth which he has torn from the dead man's shroud (probably in order to maintain communion with the dead), and a piece of iron (to scare evil spirits), brings some half-finished food, and at this 'ritual offering,' this food, and places them in the north-east corner of the courtyard, which is believed to be the abode of the spirit. A lamp, which is also probably intended to drive off evil spirits, is lighted beside the food. A piece of palmrya leaf, about a foot long and a finger broad, is taken, and one end of it is knotted. The knotted end is placed in the ground, and the other left standing up. This represents the deceased, and to it the food is offered. And the leaf, which is said of leaf is to be fixed has been cleansed carefully, and the leaf is placed in the centre of the prepared surface. The offerings made to it go direct to the spirit of the deceased, and the peace of the Taravâd is secured' (Fawcett, Bulletin Madras Museum, iii. No. iii. 247 f.).

The custom of providing food for the dead is common among the lower castes in Northern India. In Bengal the funeral rites of the Gonda last for three days, after which the mourners purify themselves by bathing and shaving, and make offerings of bread and milk to the spirit of the departed. Among the Domin of the north, they have the rite, 'on the eleventh day a feast is prepared for the relatives of the deceased; but before they can partake of it a small portion of every dish must be put on a leaf-plate and taken out into the jungle for the spirit of the dead man, and carefully watched until a fly or other insect settles on it. The watcher then covers up the plate with a slab of stone, eats his own food, which he brings with him to the place, and returns to tell the relatives that the dead man's spirit has received the offering set for him. The feast can then begin.' The Bliskat Orions preserve the bones of the dead, to be interred in the tribal cemetery. 'At this festival pigs and great quantities of rice are offered for the benefit of departed ancestors, who are also held in continual remembrance by fragments of rice or dal [pulse] cast on the ground at every meal, and by a pinch of tobacco sprinkled with rice and inside his pipe' (Risley, Tribes and Customs, i. 293, 305, 92).

The Mâl Pahriâs, who identify the Lores, or ancestors, with Gûmo Gossin or Gûnu Deota, the gods of the wooden pillar, and press their originators of the house to perform the same rite in another way. 'Round this centre are grouped a number of halls of hardened clay, representing the ancestors of the family, to whom the first-fruits of the earth are offered, and the blood of goats or fowls
poured forth at the foot of the pillar that the souls may not lag in the world of the dead" (Risley, ii. 71). The custom of offering first-fruits to the ancestral spirits is very common, and has been fully illustrated by Frazer (G.E.B. ii. 400, 462 ff.). The Mechus, again, adopt another method to secure that the dead may reach the etherized souls of the dead. When the corpse is buried, 'a small fire is kindled upon the grave, in which food and drink are burned for the benefit of the deceased' (Risley, ii. 89). The rites are performed in another way, by lighting on the night of the worship of the goddess Kāli, in the month of October-November, dried jute stems in honour of their deceased ancestors, 'and some even say that this is done to show their spirits the road to heaven' (ib. ii. 50).

In other parts of Northern India rites of the same kind are performed. The degraded Ghaecias of Mirzapur, at the annual mind-rite for the dead, lay out five leaf-platters containing the usual food of the family, with the prayer: 'O ancestors, take this and be kind to our children and cattle' (Crooke, Tribes and Customs, i. 183). If, however, there is a tribal feast, offer a fowl to the spirits of the dead, and pour a little liquor on the ground, with the prayer: 'Do not injure us or our children.' (ib. iii. 311). The Rājūs, who are perhaps the most degraded of all the tribes, and are on this account persecuted by the officials, bury the head of the corpse with the eyes, hands, and feet, and the relative who has charge of the corpse remains alone with it. In the Nats, a tribe wandering acrobats, is more remarkable. The mourners cook food on a riverbank, and spread a cloth on which the ghost is supposed to sit. The nearest relative, taking an earthen cup and a knife in his hand, dips into the water. The cup he places on his head with the knife upon the mouth of it, and then dives until the cup becomes filled with water. He deposits under the cloth on which the spirit sits, and lays a cup of water at each corner of the cloth. Within the enclosure thus made food is laid for the refreshment of the spirit, who is invited to partake of the meal. When the spirit is supposed to have done eating, they say: 'Go and descend to the place where those who have departed before you' (ib. iv. 631). Even more elaborate than this is the rite performed by the Musahars, a tribe which has hardly risen above the brute state. The body of the deceased is placed in a river or in the sea, where the corpse is flung into a river (which is their usual mode of disposing of the dead), a tree near the spot is selected as a refuge for the spirit, and food and water are laid at its foot for nine days in succession. At the time of presenting these offerings, the chief mourner invokes the dead: 'Come, O dead one, from the palace of Indra! Come and eat the food of this world! Take it and return to thy palace.' These offerings are allowed to lie for some time on the place where they were deposited, and are then removed by the mourner, who cooks and eats the food, throwing a morsel on the fire for the use of the deceased. Thus, among the Musahars, a hog is hanged upside down at the tree. The offerings are changed daily during the period of mourning, and the rite ends with a clan feast of the dead (ib. iv. 31 ff.).

In the United Provinces, among the various branches of the outcast Dom tribe, the idea of feeding or propitiating the spirits of the dead is combined with that of barring or preventing the return of the ghost, which is believed to afflict the living. Thus, among the Basars, a hog is hanged upside down at the tree, the offering of providing the spirit with food; while others kill the animal, cut off its legs, and bury the trunk in the field of the house of death, as a sort of sympathetic charm to prevent the spirit from rising out of its grave and afflicting the family (Crooke, op. cit. i. 226). Very similar is the custom of the Dhangars, among whom, on the tenth day after death, the mourner sacrifices a pig in the name of the deceased, and, cutting off its feet and snout, buries them under a stone in the courtyard, with the invocation to the spirit: 'I have buried you here, never to come out; you must rest here in spite of the spells of an exorcist, or of any one else who may try to wake you' (ib. ii. 290).

3. Vicious feeding of the spirits of the dead. — From this crude belief in the possibility of feeding the spirits of the dead, the transition to the theory that this can be done vicariously is easy. Among some of the Indian castes, survivals of the primitive matriclanship are found in the custom of providing for the feeding of the spirits by the bestowal of food on relatives in the female line. The Bhioksas of the sub-Himalayan Tarai, every year in the month set apart for mourning, feed the descendants of their daughters in order to propitiate the ghosts of the dead; and, for the same reason, the Juangs of Bengal and other nomencl tribes of Northern India invoke spirits of the deceased by employing the mortal man as tho offering priest (Crooke, op. cit. ii. 58; Risley, op. cit. i. 358). The next stage appears when the Pajari, or tribal priest of the non-Aryan peoples of the Vindhyan and Kaimur ranges in the centre of the north-west peninsula, is invited, adjut right in the office, to share in the funeral feast. When we reach the higher castes of Hindus in the Plains, we find the custom of feeding Brāhmans prevalent. The belief that food, once offered to the spirits, remains with its owner is not confined to the Hindus, and the present system of feeding the spirits is a survival of the older system of ceremonial acts and offerings.

4. Annual rites for the dead. — The establishment of an annual celebration, like the All Souls' Day of Christendom, when the dead are specially remembered and offerings of food are provided for them, appears among the most primitive tribes. Thus the Luhars and Magars in the United Provinces, who are followers of the Hinduism of the Vindhyas, have a festival in the month of December, hold a solemn festival in each village in honour of those members of the community who have died during the preceding year. The village priests conduct the rites, which culminate on the night of the new moon. On this occasion, they believe, the spirits of the dead appear at a distance from the village in the faint moonlight, wending their way slowly over the hills, and driving before them the victims slain for them or the cattle which they have stolen during their lives. Finally, the procession disappears over the distant hills, amidst the wailing of those who have lost relatives during the year (ib. pp. 182 ff., cxvi. 194). The period consecrated by orthodox Hindu usage to the propitiation of the spirits of the dead is known as the Kānagat, so called because it takes place in the sign of Kānya, or Virgo, or pata-pulkeha, or Loh (Crooke, op. cit. i. 311), occurring in the moonless half of the month Kān (August-September). This fortnight is specially devoted to the death cult, and the pious offers sacred balls of rice (pinda) in memory of their ancestors. During this time the pions fast; others abstain only from meat, or eat fish instead of it.

5. Ancestor-worship among the non-Aryan tribes. —The cult of the dead, so far as it extends to the provision of food for the spirits of the dead, is thus
not confined to the higher castes, but is widespread among the non-Aryan part of the population. Sometimes, as in the case of the wild Kurunbārus of Mysore, this worship is one of fear, and is devoted to the propitiation of the Virikas, or spirits of ancestors who have died unlamented, and who are thus supposed to be malignant (Buchanan, Journey, i, 397). The Yernkalas, one of the forest tribes of the Nilgiri Hills, sacrifice, in conjunction with other gods, to the Piris, or Manes of their ancestors (Opie, Original Inhabitants, i, 201). Brand Magdalen Prebendary

pidency many of the ruder Hindu tribes, such as the Dhor Kāthākars and Vaitis of Thāna, the Kumbis of the Konkan, Aṭṭe Kunbis, and Hāl-vakkī Vakkals of Kānara, worship their ancestors, usually in the form of an unhusked coconut (Gazetteer, ixi. 165, 182, xv. 217, 249, 293).

The Bhils of Khāndesh combine the cult of their ancestors with that of the Māttas, or Divine Mothers, and the same is the case with the Central Indian branch of the tribe (ib. xii. 93; Malcolm, Trans. Roy. As. Soc. i. 72). Gonds in the Central Provinces worship the family dead on the third day after a funeral, and, in some cases, during the last three days (Hislop, Aboriginal Tribes, 25; Gazetteer, 278). In Chota Nagpur the Kīnāns and Būhīyars adore their ancestors, but they have no notion that the latter are now spirits, or that there are spirits and ghosts in the water. The Kharrais and the Hinduas rever of their ancestors under the name of Bir or Vira, 'hero,' a title which, as we have seen, is often applied to malignant spirits; the Kharrais put the ashes of their dead into an earthen pot and filling it into a river; afterwards they set up in the vicinity slabs of stone as a resting-place for them, and to these they make daily oblations; the only worship performed by the Korwas is to their deceased minor gods; and they augur, and are taught by the Bhils of Khāndesh to mourn them in the same manner.

The Bhils and other tribes in the Central Provinces bury their dead in coffins, which are by no means beautiful. In the Central Provinces the coffin is a rectangular box, with a lid, and has a small hole in the top of it. The dead are placed in the coffin and the lid is closed. The coffin is then placed in the grave and covered with earth.

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living, let him, in performing the obsequies of his father, celebrate also his paternal grandfather. Having poured water with holy Kusa grass and sesamum into the hands of the Brāhmans, let him give them the upper part of the cakes, saying, ‘For the members that have been eaten, that having been eaten of the Śrāddha, gives the residue of it to a man of the servile class, falls headlong down to the hell named Kālaśūtra. The superfluous Pindas, or holy balls, may be given to a Brāhmaṇa, or a cow, to tied, or consigned to fire’ (Hast. ii. 229, 249, 361).

The form of the modern Śrāddha rite is most intricate, and includes a number of minute observances, the ritual of which is elaborately prescribed. In the form of the rite known as Ekoddishtha, which is performed for the benefit of a single deceased individual, for ten days after the cremation lamps are kept lighted for the benefit of the Manes, to light the ghost during its progress to join the Pitris or sainted dead, either in a temple, or under a sacred fig-tree, or on the spot where the obsequial rites are to be performed. These, technically called beneficial or purificatory rites, include: the pouring of running water; and the spot is hence known as the ghṛt, the usual term applied to the steps used for bathing at a river or tank. One condition is that it must not be done in the presence of the sacred yellow cow. This place, when selected, is carefully smeared with clay and cow-dung, a fireplace is erected, and beside it an altar of white clay, also smeared with the dung of the cow. The officiant, with his top-knot tied up, first bathes, and then standing with his face to the south, the land of spirits, offers a lamp, sesamum, barley, water, and sprigs of the sacred Kusa grass (Poa cymbaloides), with a dedication to that spirit constituent of the earth. The heat and thirst which the spirit must undergo during cremation. This ends the ceremonies of the first day, and during the next ten days, either once or twice daily, the rite of feeding the spirit is performed. For Brāhmaṇa and for the original sacred grain, and for Kṣatriyas, and the illegitimate sons of Brāhmaṇa, barley-flour, are prescribed. These grains are boiled in a jar of copper, the old sacred metal, mixed with honey, milk, and sesamum, and then made into a small ball (pinda), which is offered to the spirit with the invocation that it may obtain liberation, and reach the abodes of the blessed after crossing the hell. It is the pinda rite (pindātāma). By this rite the creation of a new body for the disembodied soul begins. On the first day one ball is offered, on the second two, and so on until during the observance of the ten days fifty-five balls have been offered.

The motive of the offerings appears in the numerous invocations which are made at various times in the service. One runs thus: ‘Thou hast been burnt in the fire of the pyre and hast become severed from thy brethren; bathe in this water and drink this milk, thou that dwellest in the ether without stay or support, troubled by storms and raging, the god of life, become thou happy. ’ Another hymn is as follows: ‘Let the lower, the upper, the middle fathers, the offerers of soma, arise! May those fathers who have attained the highest life protect us in the invocations! Let this reverence be paid to-day to the fathers who departed first, to those who departed last, who are situated in the terrestrial sphere, or who are now among the powerful races, the gods. Do us no injury, O Father, on account of any offence which we, after the manner of men, may commit against you. Fathers! be stow this wealth upon your sons, now grant them sustenance. Do thou, O resplendent soul, along with the fathers who, whether they have undergone

creation or not, are gladdened by our oblation, bless us ’ (Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, v. 297).

By these ten days' rites the spirit has been enabled to escape from the same number of different hells, and gradually a new body with all its members has been created. Only the members of this new body are formed is sometimes thus defined. On the first day the dead man gains his head; on the second his eyes, and nose; on the third the mouth; on the fourth his middle parts; on the fifth his legs and feet; on the sixth his vital organs; on the seventh his bones, marrow, veins, and arteries; on the eighth his nails, hair, and teeth; on the ninth all remaining limbs and organs and his main strength. The rites of the tenth day are usually specially devoted to the task of removing the sensations of hunger and thirst which the new body then begins to experience. The house and the vessels which it contains are purified so as to remove the last faint of the death pollution; the fireplace at the scene of the obsequies is broken, and a handful of water is offered to the ether to assuage the thirst of the spirit. After bathing the grandfather, and the stream than that where the obsequies were performed, the officiant and other relatives go home-wards, first being sprinkled with the five products (pāta, pītya, ś Hibīta) and then having to lay down uncooked meal on the road behind them, so as to attract the attention of the ghost and dissuade it from returning in their company.

On the eleventh day the chief rites consist in the gift of a cow (pāta, paśupūja) to the chief Brāhmaṇa, and the looping of a scape-bullock (yajñotsara) in the name of the deceased. This seems to be partly a survival of the ancient rite of animal sacrifice, and partly a symbol of the future life. (Drazer, Gīḍ. iii. 13 ff.) It is consecrated with the dedications: ‘To father, mother, and relatives on the father's and mother's side, to the family priest (pāruhita), wife's relatives, those who have died without rites, to those whom the task of the death (Frazier, Gīḍ. iii. 13 ff.) is allotted, to the salvation of the dead. At the present day the animal is usually branded with the divine emblems of the discus and trident, and henceforth is allowed to wander free in the villages. Food is again cooked, and offered to the Manes, with the invocation: ‘You have finished your course, and have reached the abodes of bliss. Bless us. ’ (De present, ii. 123 ff.) The general effect of the ceremony is that the spirit ceases to be a disembodied ghost, and becomes enrolled among the sainted dead. On the twelfth day food is again offered, and water poured at the root of a sacred fig-tree for the refreshment of the spirit.

The rite done for the benefit of one individual person (Ekoddishtha Śrāddha) is quite distinct from the annual propitiation of the Manes of the family. On the last day of this feast all ancestors are named and propitiated, but sacred food balls (pītya) are offered only for the three male ancestors on the father's side, and the dead father, his father, and grandfather. The idea prevails that the ancestor, once united with the sainted dead, needs no further special propitiation. The non-Aryan tribes believe that, like themselves, the spirits of the dead are mortal. What becomes of them after a certain number of generations no one cares to say. But when that period has elapsed, they are supposed to be finally disposed of, and, being no longer objects of fear to the survivors, their worship is neglected, and attention is paid only to the more recent dead, whose powers of mischief are recognized. The Gonds propitiate only for one year the souls of their departed friends, and this is done even if they have been persons of no note in their lifetime.
But with worthies of the tribe the case is different, and if one of them has founded a village or been its head man or priest, he is regarded as a god for many years, and a small shrine of earth is erected to his memory, at which sacrifices are annually offered (Hilop, op. cit. 16 ff.).

7. *Hindu worship of the Pitris._—The question remains — how far the Hindus can be said to 'worship' the Pitirs. In the earliest Vedic period the worship paid to the Manes was distinct from that of natural phenomena. It is not denied that the Hindus made gods of departed men. They did this long after the Vedic period, but there is no proof that the gods, or the gods of other names, were the worshipped souls of the dead. No argumentum a fere can show in a Vedic dawn-hymn anything other than a hymn to personified Dawn, or make it probable that this dawn was ever a mortal's name (Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 10). The general theory seems to have been that ancestors are of a class different from that of the gods, and that though they are divine and possessed of many godlike powers, yet that the Vedic poet thus invokes them, 'O Fathers, may the sky-people grant us life; may we follow the course of the living,' yet they are distinct from the gods, and never conformed (ib. 143). In the Vedic ritual of the Sraidda, when the king invites the gods and ancestors to the feast, he does so with two separate invocations (Colebrooke, *Essays*, 114). Speaking of the Vedic conception of Vainasa, the poet of Vainasa, Bahr's thus writes: 'It is there, at the remotest extremities of the heavens, the abode of light and the eternal waters, that he reigns henceforward in peace and in union with Varuna. There, by the sound of the great Vainasa, under the branches of the mythic tree, he assembles around him the dead who have lived nobly. They reach him in a crowd, convoked by Agni, guided by Pusan, and grinnedly scanned as they pass by the two monstrous dogs who are the guardians of the road. Chaya, in a glorious body, and made to drink of the celestial soma, which makes him immortal, they enjoy henceforward by his side an endless felicity, seated at the same tables with the gods; gods themselves, and adored here below and there above the earth (Ormazd), or father (Varuna) *Indo*, Eng. tr. 22 ff.). When we come to the Atharva Veda, we first encounter the specific doctrine of the elevation of the Pitirs. The due and proper performance of rites raises them to a higher estate; in fact, if offerings are not given, the spirits do not go to heaven. This view was still further extended in a later period. It is when we reach the Epic period that we find a progressive identification of the gods and the Pitirs. The divinities and the Manes are satisfied with the oblation in fire. The hosts of gods are waters; so, too, are the Manes. They are both of one being (Makabharata i, 7, 1 ff.). The poet speaks also of the Manes worship the Vedic god Indra, who is also the god of Paradise. It is in the Puranic period, when the Indian religious imagination ran riot, and produced that vague and complex system which is the Hindoo religion, that we find the Manes combined with other objects of devotion, like the bird Garuda and the world-snap Sesha. But throughout this progressive development the Pitirs seem invariably to lack that criterion of worship which we have already fixed. They are never regarded as independent divine beings; on the contrary, stress is always laid upon the fact that they depend upon their friends on earth for continuous aid and maintenance, and that their advancement to a higher stage is impossible without the due performance of rites done by their pious descendants. 

Larsen says: 'The Pitirs have been freely quoted in the course of this article. The best authority on the funeral rites of Hindooism is still Colebrooke's essay in *Aristic Researches* (1801), vii. 522 ff.; repeated in *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindoos*, ed. 1858, 95 ff. A good account of the modern rites will be found in Atkinson, Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts (1852-53), i. 855 f., 917 ff.; Grierson, *Bihar Present Life* (1883), 59 ff. Full details are given in the case articles in the Bombay Gazetteer, edited by Sir J. Campbell.

W. CROOKE.

**ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Iranian).**—The Zaraathushtrian religion, as known from the Avesta, comprises an elaborate system of religious thoughts and moral habits founded on the idea of two universal powers, one heavenly and pure, the world of Alura Mazda (Ormuz), the beneficent, and the world of the devils, the head of whom is Angra Mainyu (Ahriman). In this religion, according to its theoretical scheme, the ancestors, or the souls of the dead, play no part; but practically, in the popular customs and beliefs, the cult of the dead still survives. Parsism not only permits this popular worship, but even finds room for it in the official ritual, so that in the Yashis of the later Avesta we read a continuous litany of the ancestors or ghosts, in whom, no doubt, are to be recognized the souls of the dead, especially those of the ancestors. But it must be observed that these primitive ghosts are difficult to determine in shape and function in this Avestan composition, being often placed in the epical evolution as heroes or kings of old, as patrons or protectors of persons, families, or provinces, or as heavenly underlings of the national and religious ideas of the Iranians.

These ghosts are in the Avesta called Fravashis (Pahlavi *Pareervordi*), and are invoked in the 13th, or 15th, or 17th hour, until the 16th. In modern times, the Fravashi is a personification of the belief in the pious, his genius or his alter ego, who protects him and takes care of him during his lifetime, and who
will, in time, receive him in the other world. Under this theological fabric is no doubt concealed a more primitive idea of a being which in some way concert with or under the control of his soul (or as the principle of his life), nourishing him and giving him growth. These original functions of the Fravashis may be traced in the Avesta itself, when it tells that Ormazd, through these angels, maintained the place of the deceased out of the earth, gives offspring to the herbs, shapes the child in the mother’s womb, gives it all its limbs, lets it be born, and grants the mothers many children. Originally these beings may have conferred these boons themselves without the direction of any supreme god, thus fulfilling the functions that ordinarily belong to the province of the ancestors.

This character of ancestral patronage becomes yet more conspicuous when we recollect that the Persians, as we have seen, used to believe that during the period of their own life, the deceased are called into the world of the living by their own village, his own tribe, his own country.

That the Persians themselves looked upon the Fravashis as souls, we learn from Yasna xxvi. 7: "Who invoke the souls of the dead (drishtahdan uraeam Fravashis) at Fravashi." The Fravashis of all our kinsmen that have died in this house, the Fravashis of men and women, of both sexes we invoke (similarly Yasna Ixx. 28). The little we know of the exterior of the Fravashis fits in with this definition. ‘They come flying like a well-winged bird,’ we read in Yasht xiii. 70. The souls, then, were imagined in the shape of birds; as the Egyptian ba and as the souls in the Assyrian hell are described; as the souls, according to Grecian beliefs, left the bodies on the point of death under the guise of birds—the same idea as still confronts us in European folklore (cf. von Negelein, ‘Sole na Vogel’ in Globus, Ixxix. 357-361, 381-384; Goldziher, ib. lxxxii. 301-304).

The cult of the Fravashis has had its fixed place and its special time in Zoroastrianism; the time was the period Hamaspathmaedaya, March 10th-20th, i.e. the five last days of the year plus the five intercalary days, which days the Indo-European peoples always were wont to consecrate to the souls of the dead. Further, the Fravashis are always invoked in the evening. In the Aiwišrutirina Aibągāya (cf. Yasna i. 6; Gäh. iv. 1-2), being the first part of the night from 6 to 12,—the usual time reserved for the cult of the dead by kindred nations. We have our information about the customs of this cult from Yasht xiii. 49-52: ‘We invoke the mighty, the holy Fravashis of the righteous, who descend to the villages at the time of the Hamaspathmaedaya and return thither every year, every night ten nights to ask for help. Will anybody praise us? Will anybody pay homage to us? Who will accept us amongst his own? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with a handful of meat and a garment, and with sacred reverence? Everybody who fulfils his duty to these Fravashis—we are told in the same Yasht—shall have his house filled with good things during the coming year (Yasht xiii. 51 f.).

This custom survived far into the Middle Ages: the Arabian chronicist al-Birżinī testifies that the Persians during these days placed the meat in the rooms of the deceased, or on the roofs of the houses, believing that the dead conversed with the family; then they burnt juniper as incense in their honour (i.e. in reality to keep them away) (Abd el-Rahman, ‘Cholography’, transl. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 210 f.).

* Cf. also the metrical Sad-dar, dating probably from the end of the 15th cent., xiii., xli., xvi., tr. Hyde, ‘Hist. relig. veterum’.

The Fravashis are not only invoked during the Hamaspathmaedaya-period, but also commemorated on the 19th of every month; in the Persian calendar (see supra, Calends of Persia) they have, further, their place as the protectors of the first month of the year (Fravardin; cf. the Armenian loan-name of the twelfth month, Hroric; Hülsebmann, ‘Armenische Grammatik’, 1885, i. 194 f.). Corresponding to the official position of the Fravashis, the Persian imagination elevated them into higher and higher spheres; and we often meet with them as the genii of the stars (e.g. Yasht xiii. 5-7; Moret, ‘Miscellanea orientalium’), and after they seem in later times to have taken up a place in the Persian cosmology similar to the daimones in Greece.

Besides their place in the ritual, the Fravashis play a prominent part in the private cult of the Persians, especially in the funeral ceremony called afšingan (‘homeage’). It was a common meal to which the survivors invited both rich and poor; the priests attended the feast and performed several symbolical ceremonies. On that occasion cakes of meat and flour were offered to the spirit of the recently deceased. The origin of this feast seems to be a meal for the nourishment of the deceased. The same origin is also Rousseau’s, in memory of the deceased, or the Srosh Dorān, where cakes are offered to the angel of Death, Srosh.

In Armenia the Persian ideas on the Fravashis and their cult have continued into modern times. They are commemorated on the Saturdays before the five great festivals of the year, and, upon the whole, every Saturday. They are imagined as dwell in the neighbourhood of the tombs and in the houses of their kinsmen, and the survivors burn incense and light candles in honour of them. At the tombs the Armenians celebrate a special commemoration of the dead, when, during this occasion they burn quantities of incense. The Manes dwell three days on earth; then they fly away to heaven, leaving behind their blessings to their descendants. Especially between fathers and sons there is a vivid communication at that time. The Armenians as well as the Persians imagine that souls are connected with the stars.


ED. LEHMANN.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Japanese)—In order to understand what the worship of ancestors and of the dead actually amounts to in Japan, we must distinguish clearly the true national religion, that is to say, the native communion of the Shinto, as it existed during the first centuries of the Christian era, from the Shinto subsequently modified under the influence of Chinese ideas. This transformed Shinto indeed is of very little interest here, as it is only a shadow cast over Japan from the continent. Our task is to distinguish and emphasize the ideas that are really Japanese, original, and prior to this foreign influence; and to accomplish it we must examine only the most ancient documents, such as the Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters, A.D. 720), the Nihonshoki (Chronicles of Japan, A.D. 720), the Norito (rituals which were not published until the beginning of the 10th cent., but were undoubtedly compiled earlier, at least), the Nihonshoki being careful to eliminate, even in these documents, any traces of Chinese ideas which they may contain.

Perron, ‘Oxford, 1700, pp. 444, 447 f., 456. There is likewise a record of the celebration of the feast in 1508 in the shape of syrtikten personer personer Müsterøy, Leipzig, 1880, p. 75 f.); while in 565 Christians spent ten days at Nishiki to celebrate the Fravardin; see Baederker, ‘Die Sudetendeutschland’, Cap, 2, 1876, p. 578; "Horoteia xevà" (Messner, ed. Niebuhr, Bonn, 1829, p. 374).
It is on account of the neglect of these necessary precautions that Japanese writers, especially the great native philologists of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th cent., have represented their national religion as being mainly an ancestor-cult, while in reality it is mainly a cult of nature. For instance, the famous theologian Hirata (1776-1843), while claiming to restore the primitive Shinto, calls into existence a fanciful religion, into which he introduces, in an artificial way, ancestor-worship as practiced by the Chinese, and if the worshippers must pray to the whole succession of their family ancestors in order that these Manes may protect their descendants and see to their happiness (Tamadasuki, vol. x), then Japan this erroneous conception spread into Europe, where the writers have, one after another, repeated the statement that Shinto was chiefly an ancestor-cult. Even the most conscientious scholars have not escaped the influence of this prevailing idea. Sir Ernest Satow maintained in Murray's Handbook for Japan (Intro. pp. 62, 69) that 'in very early beginnings Shinto appears to have been ancestor-worship. This eminent Japanese scholar now, however, cannot deny that theory. But more recently, Prof. B. F. Chamberlain wrote (Things Japanese, 1898, p. 335): 'Shinto is the name given to the mythology and vague ancestor- and nature-worship which preceded the introduction of Buddhism to Japan.' Dr. W. E. Griffis (Religions of Japan, 1895, p. 88) emphasizes the idea, saying that 'from the Emperor to the humblest believer, the God-way is founded on ancestor-worship, and man has grafted upon its ritual system nature-worship.' Capt. Brinkley sums up the whole in the very concise statement: 'Ancestor-worship was the basis of Shinto.'

But there is, in the present writer's opinion, the reverse of the historical evolution as it actually took place. It is evident that at a certain period ancestor-worship was seen to be the dominant cult of Shinto, and when people in our country visit the temples which are dedicated for ever to illustrious ancestors or to certain nature-gods confounded with Imperial ancestors, they are tempted to see in them a confirmation of the general theory of Herbert Spencer. But if we get rid of these modern impressions, and also lay aside the conventional opinions of native commentators, and if we confine our attention simply to the ancient writings, we find that we arrive at a different part of the Kojiki and the Nihongi, those relating to the age of the gods, are essentially devoted to nature myths; that, moreover, the most important Nitoro celebrate the glory of the gods of nature, and that it is not animism but naturism that in Japan, as in so many other countries, constitutes the real basis of the primitive religion. Does this, however, mean that, as Dr. W. G. Aston maintains at the present time, 'Shinto, the native religion of Japan, had no cult of true ancestors' (Man, 1906, No. 23, cf. his Shinto, 1905, p. 44 and passim; K. Florenz, Nihongi, Zeitalter der Götter, Tokyo, 1910, p. 153. Art. Shinto and art), the present writer thinks rather that the truth lies between these two extremes, and that, if ancestor-worship did not appear after nature-worship, and if it was then developed chiefly under the influence of Chinese culture, the Chuang-tzu with his gods in the original Shinto as in the majority of primitive religions.

We shall not discuss the question as to whether cannibalism existed in prehistoric Japan, and if so, whether it was followed by a ceremonial anthropophagy, which is then explained by the desire to offer to certain ancestral gods the food they would most appreciate (see N. Gordon Munro, 'Primitive Culture in Japan,' in Trans. of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan, Dec. 1906, vol. xxxiv. pt. 2, pp. 133 ff. and 135 ff.). As a matter of fact, from the time that primitive man invests all the gods, if not with his own form, at least with his feelings, this moral anthropomorphism must lead him to offer to the gods, whose enjoys they are, offerings which appear most precious to himself, and the gods for whom these sacrifices are intended must be gods of nature quite as well as ancestral spirits. We shall therefore dismiss this questionable interpretation and confine ourselves wholly to the written documents.

These documents show us, in the first place, that the primitive Japanese had a vague belief in the immortality of the soul, without having, however, any precise or absolute idea on the subject. The Nihongi, when relating the story of the hero Tamichi, who appeared one day as a serpent with glaring eyes to punish the violators of his tomb, ascribes to the men of that time the thought: 'Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge? This passage alone is sufficient to prove that there was no popular opinion, which doubted the sentient immortality of the dead. In general, however, they believed that the dead survived this life. The common people descended through the opening of the grave to a dark lower region, Yomi, of the dead, there were neither rewards nor punishments, but where all, good and bad alike, continued to lead a vague existence, regretting the life and light of the upper world. The dead kingdom, which swarms with the fierce deities of disease and death, the hideous and polluted land' where Izanagi, horror-stricken, found his wife Izanami in a state of putrefaction. Other persons, such as Izanagi himself, do not share the general destiny: it is on a terrestrial island amidst the living that this god chooses his resting-place. Lastly, many divine heroes and illustrious persons were translated to the Plain of High Heaven (Takamakura hara). Just as the first parents had sent the most beautiful of their children, the Sun and the Moon, to that upper region to illuminate it with their brilliance, so men raised the objects of their adoration up to the stars. Like the deified Roman Emperors, they were 'siderious recepta.'

The dead whose brilliant career terminated in this final assumption were not, however, the most important, for they were found 'to exist' in a more modest place as the immortals, the deities of mountain and sea, etc. Their apotheosis was only the natural continuation of their former power. Thus, the particular abode of the dead depended chiefly upon their earthly dignity. Their future life, with which no moral consideration had to do, rested upon an idea that was purely aristocratic. The ladder of the ranks of men had a top which was lost in the clouds and leaned against the floor of the gods. In a word, the spirits of men found a place very readily in the society of the gods of nature. The heroic glory of the one corresponded to the physical brilliance of the other. They took up their abode in the same places, and in virtue of the same inherent sovereignty.

This being so, it follows that the cult of the dead was of a somewhat vague character, and that ancestors were worshipped mainly in proportion to the social power which they held or had held in life. The old mythical account, in which there is a description of the burial of the god Ame-waka-hiko ('heaven-young-prince') by a flock of birds, which comes near to a primitive ceremony, shows us clearly that the Japanese must have practised very complicated rites on such occasions. The existence of funeral sacrifices also shows that they rendered to their ancestors a worship intended to ensure their welfare, providing them with the
objects, animals, and companions which they would require in the other life. The most important writing on this subject is one which relates how human sacrifices were supposed to be made in the ancestral tombs of Japan place at a time corresponding to that of the birth of Christ, but which probably should be brought down to a more recent date, of the actual occurrence of which, however, there is no documentary evidence, first of all, why they thought of this suppression:

"The year of the reign of Suinin, 3 B.C., 13th month, 7th day, the Emperor finished the Mikado, and the Mikado's younger brother by the mother's side died."

"The 3rd month, 2nd day, Yamato-hiko was buried at Tonkatsu in Musa. Their first personal officials were assembled, and were all buried alive upright in the precinct of the palace for several days, then they died but, went and wailed and day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and cows gathered and ate them.

Another passage then tells how the reform was accomplished:

"The 20th year of the 2nd A.D., 7th month, 6th day, the Empress Hibiia-bime no Mikao died. Some time before the burial, the Emperor commanded his Ministers: 'We have already commanded the following of the dead to be buried. What should now be done in performing this burial?' Thereupon Numa, the son of the Emperor, rose forward and said, 'It is good to bury living men upright at the tombs of a prince. How can such a practice be handed down to posterity? I beg leave to propose an exception which you might adopt.' So he sent messengers to summon up from the Land of Izumo a hundred men of the clay-workers' Be (hereditary corporation). He himself directed the men of the clay-workers' Be to take clay and form therewith shapes of men, horses, and various objects, which he had intended to the Empress. Henceforward, he continued, to the future age substitute things of clay for living men, and to set them up. Then the Emperor was greatly rejoiced, and commended Numa no Sukune, saying: 'Thy expediency hath greatly pleased our heart.' So the clay-figures were set up at the palace, and the Mikado no Mikao. And a name was given to these clay objects. They were called shisa no, or clay gods.

Then a decree was issued, saying: 'Henceforth these clay figures must be set up at tumuli: let not men be harmed, and the Emperor hitherto rewarded Numa no Sukune for this service, and bestowed on him a kensencing place, and appointed him to the official charge of the clay-workers Be. His original title was therefore changed, and he was called Hashi no Omori. This is how it came to pass that the Hashi no Moraji superintended the burial of the Emperors (Yokomori), ir. by Akito, 1866, vol. i. p. 178."

With regard to the other funeral offerings, we are supplied only by the pottery, weapons, and ornaments brought to light by excavations in the ancient Japanese tombs. Aston interprets these customs as being 'partly a symbolical language adapted to the dead, and partly an expression of sympathy by the living, and a response by their friends.' The present writer thinks rather that we should see in them the proof of a belief in the continued sentient existence of the dead, and in the necessity for satisfying the needs which they still experience in the other world, i.e., in a word, the existence of a real cult of the dead. Even to-day the majority of the Japanese still retain a faith in a future life, and the conception of the immortality of the soul seems almost foreign to them; and yet towards their ancestors they perform no less rigorously the minute rites of the ancestral worship borrowed by them from China. There is no proof that the primitive Japanese also, who, as the ancient writings testify, were even at the hour of death not in the least concerned about a future life, felt none the less the necessity to do all that they thought might still be useful for their dead relatives. It is true that the ancient documents do not make any direct reference to this point; but the fact must not be lost sight of, that the name of Chief or Prince is reserved for any but famous persons are described, and in which we could hardly expect to find information regarding the obscure life of the common people. They men- tion the human sacrifices offered at the tomb of an Imperial prince more readily than the humble offering of rice and water which poor families might make. But in the ancient monuments, and to heroes and illustrious personages, we find very clear cases of delineation and of worship rendered to the far-off ancestors, gods of nature or human beings, who were regarded as the household gods (yagami) of the great families of the 5th century. (For further details on this last point see the present writer's book, Le Shinshinsa, Paris, 1907, p. 176.)

This cult of ancestors, which we can assert with certainty in some important cases, was developed and systematized under the influence of Oriental ideas. Then Chinese ancestor-worship came to be established with all the ceremonies which it involves and all the consequences it entails, beginning with the very important practice of adoption, which was intended to ensure the continuance of family descent.

The literary evidence, which is on some important points supported by practices prevalent at the present day, has here to be collected from (1) The Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings attached to the OT; (2) the Talmudic and Midrashic literature; (3) the Liturgy; (4) the Kabbalah.

With regard to the various un-Jewish notions about the dead, and even succeeded in partially invading the liturgical form of synagoga-worship.

The literary evidence, which is on some important points supported by practices prevalent at the present day, has here to be collected from (1) the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings attached to the OT; (2) the Talmudic and Midrashic literature; (3) the Liturgy; (4) the Kabbalah.

The only salient features need, however, be mentioned in each part.

1. Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature.—Taking the different parts of the subject, in so far as sufficiently important data exist, in the order followed by the 'Hebrew' article above, it must first be mentioned that the 'apocalyptic disc' assigned to Enoch and the other elect is, according to the Book of Enoch (325-307 B.C.), imagined to be at the end of the earth towards the east. In it is the tree of wisdom (326-4), whose fruit the holy ones eat and attain high knowledge. In 47:2 the holy ones who dwell in the heavens are, however, spoken of. The well of righteousness mentioned in 485 in perhaps a reminiscence of the 'water of life' which is to be found in the Babylonian heaven and other mythical localities. Whether the pseudepigraphical work known as the Assumption of Moses originally contained the last portions at the end an account of the translation of Moses to heaven still remains doubtful, though a negative answer would seem to accord best with the facts of the case (see above). The Introduction to the 18th Century. Jospehus, however, clearly implies a belief in it (Ant. viii. 48), and 11th in the Ass. Mos.

* The books contained in the Pseudepigrapha Apocrypha (ed. G. J. Ball) are here quoted by the page number, e.g., Hab. 2: 18. The following books, Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments (ed. Knaus, 1900) has been followed. The dates of the books range from about 470 (Sirach) to the earlier Christian period.
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Jewish)

itself (ending, 'the whole world is thy grave') would seem to be in consonance with the idea. Concerning Baruch, the friend and disciple of Jeremiah, we are informed that he went into Egypt to serve his master in the end of the 13th century (A poc. Bar. 13* 76a),—a favour which appears to stand in some relation to the translation of the earlier saints.

In the ridicule of Babylonian idol-worship contained in the Epistle of Jeremiah is found the statement that they set gifts before the idols 'as unto dead men' (vv. 9-10); but the practice of offering gifts to the dead thus understood to have been as purely Babylonian as the idol-worship itself. A direct warning against the heathen worship of the dead is contained in Jubilees 220 ('Their sacrifices they slay to the dead, and pray to the demons, and eat upon their altars'); and it is natural to suppose that the warning would not have been needed, if there had been no tendency to adopt these practices among the Jews. The supposed reference to offerings made to the dead in Sir 30 18 has been disputed by the Cairo Hebrew text (if here correct); for instead of 'messes of meat set upon a grave,' the Hebrew has 'heave-offerings placed before an idol' (gillul).* The treatment of these words by Steinschneider (about 1885) may possibly refer to offerings made to the departed, but it is not unlikely that religious rites only are meant in the former passage and funer al feasts in the latter. (For the connexion to the Vortr um Apocrypha). It would seem indeed that the progress of monotheism had by that time made habitual offerings to the dead impossible, and that the transformation of the practice into what has not inaptly been called 'the new sacrificial cult of the dead' ('Das neue Totenopfer' [Schwally, Das Leben nach dem Tode, p. 188]) had already set in.

In 2 Macc. 12 5, 6, Judas Maccabaeus is reported to have ordered the Jews under his command to offer up prayers and to send a large sum of money as a gift to Jerusalem, in order to effect an atonement for the Jewish soldiers killed in battle, under whose coats objects consecrated to idols—no doubt intended to serve as a sacred protection—had been found. It has been suggested that the prayers and offerings of money were in reality intended by Judas and his companions to recall rather than to substitute for the dead from the pollution of idolatry; but as the author or compiler of 2 Macc. interpreted the act as having been performed on behalf of the dead (see vv. 5-6, 12, 14), the practice of trying to benefit the dead rather than to substitute for them must have been in vogue when the narrative assumed its present form (some time in the 1st cent. B.C.).

The references to mourning customs found here and there in the Old Testament and in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphical writings in the main support the view that the objectionable practices mentioned in the 'Hebrew' article lay outside the range of topics contemplated by the authors. Even the picture of priests having 'their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven,' and roaring and crying before their gods 'as men do at the feast when one is dead' (Ep. Jer. vv. 31-32), is taken from a source of the period of the Exile, and shows that the practice of mourning in the Hebraistic tradition was of such a nature as to be permanently rooted among the people. With regard to the number of days given up to mourning, it is remarkable that, whilst Jth 16 and Sir 220 show that the practice of keeping seven days' mourning is universal, and does not necessarily point to exactly similar practices among the Jews. With regard to the number of days given up to mourning, it is remarkable that, whilst Jth 16 and Sir 220 show that the practice of keeping seven days' mourning is universal, and does not necessarily point to exactly similar practices among the Jews. With regard to the number of days given up to mourning, it is remarkable that, whilst Jth 16 and Sir 22 show that the practice of keeping seven days' mourning is universal, and does not necessarily point to exactly similar practices among the Jews. With regard to the number of days given up to mourning, it is remarkable that, whilst Jth 16 and Sir 22 show that the practice of keeping seven days' mourning is universal, and does not necessarily point to exactly similar practices among the Jews. With regard to the number of days given up to mourning, it is remarkable that, whilst Jth 16 and Sir 22 show that the practice of keeping seven days' mourning is universal, and does not necessarily point to exactly similar practices among the Jews. 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*In the OT, however, the plural only of this word is used. The word 'Qoehler' (q.v.) appears to rest on a misreading (Gelil for gillul); so also the Syriac.

**The suggestion that mourning for distant relatives only is here meant does not seem to suit the context (see note in Knauth's edition).

† For the full enumeration of this and the following lists see A. P. Bender, 'Death, Burial, and Mourning,' etc., in JQR vi. (1891) 341 f.
pressly granted, notwithstanding its known approximation to 'Amorite' customs. In the Shulḥān Arūkh of Joseph Caro (ob. Saed, 1575), which is the accepted guide of strictly orthodox Jewish practice, it is tolerated (see Hilkhōth Ḳeṭūfīth, § 350). Merely academically is, of course, the permission to make burials for kings, but not for persons of inferior rank. Thus, in the Hebrew article, § 3. One of the explanations suggested to account for the pouring away of all the water found in a house in which a death has taken place, is that an offering to the dead, or, at any rate, a provision of drink for them, was thereby intended (see A. P. Bender, JQR vii. [1895] p. 106 ff.). It is, however, more likely that the water was pored away because it was believed to have contracted contamination "(see § 7 in the 'Hebrew' article). A Karate writer of the 10th cent. (Abu-Sarī b. Māshīḥah) declares that a number of Rabbinite Jews of his day were in the habit of burning candles and offering incense in the Rabbinical idea bearing the object of thus offering sympathy and consolation to the bereaved, who are, besides, naturally unable to make satisfactory provision for their own wants at such a time. The rendering of the garments on the part of mourners is now generally, but not always a slight ceremonial act, consisting in tearing (the left) lapel of the coat one is wearing. In Talmudical and subsequent times there was a custom of barring the shoulder and arm (see Bab. Betah Gidōn, fol., and cf. Sonakhtoth i.x.). A. Bacher (ZATW, 1901, pp. 81-83) regards this act as a sign of subjection of the living to the dead (see § 4 in the 'Hebrew' article). If there were here a revival of the cult of the dead in the old sense of the word, Jastrow (ZATW, 1902, pp. 117-119) tries to controvert Bacher's opinion by showing that practices of this kind are a far cry from the ancient habits of life, entirely different, in fact, originally obtained in connexion with mourning (see §§ 5 and 6 in the 'Hebrew' article) because a state of mediocrity was the primitive condition of man. In reality, however, the two explanations do not clash with each other, for the sense of self-humiliation and subjection to the departed spirit would be quite compatible with a reversal to an older and less dignified mode of existence.

All trace of ancestor-worship (supposing that there ever was any in it) has disappeared from the rather precarious working of the levirate law in modern times. Nor is there now any trace of a ritual of ancestor-worship, based on the uncivilized dead bodies, fear of contamination through contact with a decaying human organism being the explanation adopted. A certain kind of maintaining dead men's names happens in e.g.

"Mr. Israel Abraham, on the authority of Ninian Gernon (ob. shortly after 1574), favours the view that the pouring away of water was not the taking of the dead in remembrance of a death (Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, p. 301); but if so, why was there pouring away all the water in the house? The practice, therefore, though primarily pointing to quite a different principle, naturally got to serve in a secondary way to indicate death by a kind of association of ideas."

See Perl, MGJW, 1861, p. 324.

Rab. B'rakhōth, 186 (parallel passage in 'Abod de-Rabbī Nathan, ch. ii.), where a certain pietist, having on some occasions taken up his lodging at the cemetery, is reported to have overheard the conversation of the mourning parties at the time of the funeral or failure of crops sown at different times of the year.

3. The Liturgy. — The high generation, almost amounting to a rule, peace to the Pharaoh, and also finds expression in some parts of the Jewish ritual. A cup of wine is at the present time in many places reserved for Elijah in the Passover-night Service, which, though celebrated in commemoration of the release from Egypt, also emphasizes the hope of future redemption by the Messiah, whose forerunner was to be Elijah. The same prophet is also assumed to preside at the ceremony of ancestor-worship, the chair in which the actual operator sits being designated the 'chair of Elijah'1 in the German and other forms of the ritual. In the Pirḳe de-Rabbī Eliezer (latter half of the 8th cent.), end of ch. xix., this idea is brought into connexion with the renovating of the dead on the Sabbath is recommended in order to prevent their returning to Gehenna (cf. the remarks on Kaddish and Ha'azinu Nishḥānāth in the next §).

Not much can be said here as significant is here to be noted in connexion with mourning customs. The repast provided in modern times for mourners by their neighbours after a funeral is clearly understood to have the object of thus offering sympathy and consolation to the bereaved, who, besides, naturally unable to make satisfactory provision for their own wants at such a time. The rending of the garments on the part of mourners is now generally, but not always a slight ceremonial act, consisting in tearing (the left) lapel of the coat one is wearing. In Talmudical and subsequent times there was a custom of barring the shoulder and arm (see Bab. Betah Gidōn, fol., and cf. Sonakhtoth i.x.). A. Bacher (ZATW, 1901, pp. 81-83) regards this act as a sign of subjection of the living to the dead (see § 4 in the 'Hebrew' article). If there were here a revival of the cult of the dead in the old sense of the word, Jastrow (ZATW, 1902, pp. 117-119) tries to controvert Bacher's opinion by showing that practices of this kind are a far cry from the ancient habits of life, entirely different, in fact, originally obtained in connexion with mourning (see §§ 5 and 6 in the 'Hebrew' article) because a state of mediocrity was the primitive condition of man. In reality, however, the two explanations do not clash with each other, for the sense of self-humiliation and subjection to the departed spirit would be quite compatible with a reversal to an older and less dignified mode of existence.

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1 The report found in Sonakhtoth i.x., of R. 'Akiba striking his breast at the death of R. Eliezer until the blood gushed out, has apparently no historical significance, the act having been merely an expression of great personal grief.
already in vogue in Macœbbean times, or, at any rate, at the time to which the composition of 2 Mac. belongs (see § 1). Instead of seeking to obtain benefits through the agency of the dead, the living engage in actions calculated to improve the condition of the departed; and as the surviving son or sons are the most approved agents of this form of the cult, it is only natural for those who see in the law of levirate (see § 6 in the 'Hebrew' article) an original connexion with the ancient notion of the descent, the legal use of the Kaddish in relation with that law, and to refer the religious function obligatory on the descendants to the same motive in both sets of regulations. The objection that might be raised is that, if the Kaddish were really connected with the idea underlying the law of levirate and the ancient sacrificial ritual of the dead, one would have expected to find it in use in much earlier times than can be attested by the existing literary evidence, continuity in essence being one of the marks of gradual development. But it is, on the other hand, not against analogy to suppose that if —as is the case with the Kaddish—the idea itself was not eradicated from the popular mind, it should, under certain favourable influences,* have been later on fully revived under the form of the Kaddish 'Kaddish (orphan's Kaddish). Such a use of the doctrine—that it should be the case—may be seen as the embodiment of old forms of thought in fresh and later shapes.

(b) The same may also be said of the most solemn office connected with the departed ancestors, i.e. the Hashkaran Nashanôn ("remembrance of souls"), which forms part of the Askenazic ritual for the eighth day of the Passover, the second day of Pentecost, the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the Day of Atonement. In this office, direct petitions for the well-being of departed parents and other relatives are offered;† thus more explicitly attesting the revival (though in a much modified form), since medieval times, of an earlier idea that the living are capable of rendering substantial service to the departed. In the Spanish ritual the same idea, in the form of direct petitions, is embodied in the Hashkaran ("laying to rest") which forms part of the burial ceremony and is also—under certain special regulations—recited during the synagogues services.

Concerned with the honour paid to departed worthies is the doctrine of metempsychosis, which, though in origin and essence entirely foreign to the Mosaic, ‡ and the Spanish, § Semitic thought, succeeded about the 8th cent. in passing from Greek (and Indian) thought into the tenets of certain Jewish sectaries, through the medium of Muhammadan mysticism. Saadyah Gaon (ob. 942), who appears to be the first to make mention of it in orthodox Jewish literature, protests strongly against it. But it nevertheless gained a firm footing in the Kabbalah, and attained an extraordinary development in the comparatively modern Kabbalistic system of Isaac Luria, the works on ḳabalah ("transmigrations") composed by himself and his followers, containing long lists of identifications of the departed with prominent Jewish women of later date. An addition to the doctrine of metempsychosis made by the Kabbalists is the principle of ṣabbūr ("impregnation"). If two souls (who may, of course, be spirits of the dead) do not separately feel equal to their several tasks, God unites them in one body, so that they may support and complete each other. This doctrine may have been suggested by the theory of incubation (see farther on), which is itself clearly connected with the belief in demonic possession, taking the term ḥa-da in this instance to denote a spirit, without reference to its origin or moral qualities.

Pilgrimages to graves are much encouraged by the later Kabbalists. The tomb of Simeon b.

* It may thus well be that, as some have thought, the Kaddish is in a way the Jewish counterpart of certain practices in the Hindu, and especially the Buddhist, tradition, † for the same time go back to ancient truly Semitic habits of thought. See further details see, e.g., L. N. Dembitz, op. cit. pp. 219-220.

† See Dr. Gaster's edition of the Spanish Services, vol. i. p. 289, and the particular case of the deceased (pp. 282-283). The article 'Jahreiz' in the JE (vol. vi.) will be found instructive, for both the modern and the ancient manner of observing it.

‡ The Samaritans often use the formula ה'כ ב י י ("by the merit of Moses")..

§ Concerned with the belief implied (though not countenanced in its literary sense) in 14.17, 18.

¶ On pilgrimages generally the art. "Pilgrimage" in the JE (vol. ii.) should be consulted.
Yobai at Meron near Safed is thus devoutly re-sorted to on the 33rd of ‘Omar (i.e. the 33rd day from the 2nd day of Passover), when a great popular festival, at which illuminations are an important feature, is celebrated. Pilgrimages to the grave of Isaac Luria at Safed are made each new moon, and the persistence in many places of the popular custom of praying at stated times (as, e.g., on the 9th of Ab) at the graves of departed relatives is probably also partly due to the influence of Kaballistic ideas.

The efforts of 16th and later Kabbalists to obtain inspiration from the souls of the departed by clinging with outstretched bodies to their graves, and thus in a manner to become incubated with the spirits of the dead, remind one of the practice of necromancy at graves condemned in Is 66:3 (see § 8 in the 'Hebrew art.'); but as the Kabbalists evidently arrived at this method by a new and largely borrowed line of thought, and as, furthermore, their object was not necromancy, but what they regarded as spiritual illumination, the custom cannot be considered as a survival of the ancient practice. A species of oneiromancy is the same Kabbalists' belief that information of high import can be obtained through dream-vision of the departed.

The general result obtained from a study of the Jewish part of the subject is, owing to the diverse forms of development undergone by the thoughts and practices in the different countries, far from homogeneous. The Talmudic and Midrashic literature thus exhibits a larger amount of reminiscence of, or revereration to, ancient thought than the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings, though these latter contain considerable influence of times to earlier Hebraism; and theLiturgical, influenced partly by the Kabbalah, and partly—as is not unlikely—by Christian practices, shows some interesting instances of the revival of old ideas in a much modified form. The Kabbalah itself, as has been shown, has added the doctrine of metempsychosis to the original Jewish and Hebrew stock of ideas, and it has in connection with it furthermore introduced the theory of dual personality, thus introducing in one body, thereby affecting the spirits of the departed in a manner previously unheard of in Judaism.

LITERATURE.—Besides the passages of the original sources (see also the following works), books, essays, or articles may be consulted with advantage. For the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings, in addition to Wrede, ch. ii., in F. Schwally's Leben nach dem Tode, 1892. From the Kabbalistic point of view, J. Freres, Die Leichenfeierlichkeiten im nach-jüdischen Judenthume in MfJ.W. x. (1891) pp. 345 ff., 376 ff.; A. P. Bender, Religie, Rites, and Customs of the Jews, connected with Death, Burial, and Mourning' in JQR. xxi. (1891-2) 371 ff., 464, 911, 918 ff. (also discusses modern points of view); A. Büchler, Das Enden der Schützer und des Armes als Zeichen der Träger in Z.A.W., 1891, pp. 31-32. For points in the Liturgy, the articles 'Seferfeiler,' 'Kaddish,' etc., in Hamburger's Der J. N. Dombritz, Jewish Services in Synagogues and Home (the same author wrote the art. 'Kaddish,' etc., in the J.E.). For metempsychosis, etc., L. Ginsberg's instruction on 'Kabbalah' in J.E. xiii. fully warrants, to be supplemented from other sources; also I. Brody's 'Transmigration of Souls' in J.E. xii. 251-298. A work dealing with the subject will be found in the literature given at the beginning of C. Grünseisen's Der Ahnenkultus und die Verehrung von Ahnen, 1896.

G. MARCOLDIOUTH.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Polynesian and Tasmanian).—In Polynesia ancestor-worship was far less important than in Melanesia or Micronesia.

ANCIENT-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Polynesian and Tasmanian).—In Polynesia ancestor-worship was far less important than in Melanesia or Micronesia. In the latter two, however, it was a prominent feature of the government, and even the officials and nobles who reigned in the island groups, meeting after death, the souls of the common people perishing immediately after death.

Ancestor-worship was of a different character in the lighter, more independent, and more isolated Polynesian islands. The influence of the old mysticism of the Bushmen is also noticeable. Among the Maoris, the spirit of the deceased is believed to return to the house in which he lived, and the household goods are not disturbed, but are used by the mourning relatives. The feeling of revenge is common, and it is believed that the dead will return to punish those who have caused their death. It is also believed that the dead will return to help the living and might work them either well or woe, but that they were in the main malevolent, and were accordingly, for the most part, objects of dread (Waitz-Gerland, loc. cit.).

Between the general worship of ghosts and the cult of ancestors a distinction should be drawn, according to the kind of female or gods, and were often the spirits of deceased fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, and other relatives, as well as of departed warriors who had been conspicuous for bravery. Although the oramatuas frequently helped in time of need, and opposed the malevolence of other ghosts or of hostile magic, they were, as a rule, cruel and irritable. It was thus necessary to place the corpse of the dead at a considerable height above the ground, this being apparently the origin of the fata mapumana, or altar for the dead (Moerenhout, Voyages dans les deux Grandes, Paris, 1829, i. 470-471). Food was brought daily to the dead for six weeks or two months, and if the deceased had been a man of eminence, a special priest, termed harientupana, visited the body for several weeks and offered food. It was stated (Moerenhout i. 1872) that a oramatu could smell the spiritual part of this offering, and, in case it returned, it would therefore be gratified and content, so that it would not desire to resume earthly life (Ellis, i. 404-405; Moerenhout, i. 547; Wilson, Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, London, 1799, p. 345). At the burial of a chief a hole was often dug in which the hostility of the deceased against his family was supposed to remain. Consequently, when the body was interred, his death, was buried, thus obviating the possibility of his malevolent return to his surviving kinsmen (Moerenhout, i. 552). Connected in a sense with the cult of ancestors was the mourning for the dead, together with the self-mutilations practised by the survivors (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 401-404); and here, too, belong the human sacrifices of wives, slaves, and favourites at graves in New Zealand, Hawaii (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 404-405), and the Fiji Islands (Russel, Polynesia, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 72). The motive for both these latter features was either the gratification of the oramatu at the sight of the grief which his death had caused, or a provision for his needs in the future life.

The religion of the Tasmanians was at a much lower stage of development than that of the Polynesians; yet it is clear that they, too, believed in a life beyond the grave, and thought that the souls of the dead might return to bless or curse them. They accordingly carried a bone of the deceased as a charm; yet the 'shades' (oramatu) of dead relatives and friends were regarded, on the whole, as more kindly than the gods. Of an actual cult of ancestors, however, little seems to be known (Ling Roth, Aborigines of Tasmania, 2nd ed., Halifax, 1899, pp. 54-56). Louis H. Gray.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Roman).—The great extent of ancestor-worship among the Romans, and its equally great influence, make it one of the most interesting problems in the field of Roman religion, but also a subject the understanding of which brings with it a grasp of the fundamental principles of Roman civilization and the development of the religion of the Romans. As it is in the main a private worship (secra privata) rather than a public one (secra publica); for instance, Antichrist, Anthologi, 134; Nator, 52; Volker, Leipzig, 1857, vi. 902; Dillon, Narrative of a Voyage in the South Sea, London, 1829, ii. 10-11). The ghosts of the dead might appear to the living and might work them either well or woe, but they were in the main malevolent, and were accordingly, for the most part, objects of dread (Waitz-Gerland, loc. cit.).
Empire, with its vast number of sepulchral inscriptions (CIL vi., CIG xiv., over 40,000 for Rome alone) has not had any extensive contemporary sources. For the earlier period, however, we have a sufficient number of literary sources to enable us to form a definite idea of the cult, inasmuch as the study of the cult of all religious ceremonies justifies us in combining testimonies from various historical periods; and, though the underlying ideas did undoubtedly change somewhat from generation to generation, the main course of the development has often been asserted that the Romans had from the beginning a persistent and continuous belief in the immortality of the soul. This statement is absolutely misleading. We have seen that the habit of thought of the early Romans possessed a double for everything; the dead must therefore have a double as well as the living. This double, even though it was the double of the dead, was thought of as possessing a certain sort of life—it could at certain times return to earth and exercise an influence for ill upon the living. This potentiality, however, was simply one of a vast number of similar potentialities; there was nothing individual about it. Each family, its own family represented by the living members. Subsequent centuries, saturated with Greek philosophy and filled with an idea of individuality which was totally unknown in the earlier days of Roman religion, in spite of its generally logical character, is no exception to the rule. It will never be possible for us, even with all the sepulchral inscriptions in the world, to establish one formula which will cover all cases—for the simple reason that no such formula ever existed. We are, however, able to make a general statement which will represent fairly well the normal concept, apart from the very numerous and very contradictory deviations.

When a man died, he went over into the Di Manes,—the good gods,—entering their ranks and losing all individuality and all specific earthly relations, except that when the Mones returned to earth, they entered the family to which they had belonged on earth; and thus the family idea, so fundamental in the social structure of Rome, triumphed over the grave, and possessed an immortality with which the individual failed to obtain. The inclusiveness of the term Di Manes is seen in the fact that the gods who ruled over the dead, as well as their subjects, the dead themselves as gods, were all included in the phrase, though it is equally significant of the masses that the actual gods of the dead, though demonstrably present, never rose to great individual prominence until the Greek Pluto-Persephone came into Rome as a Roman deity.

3. Upon this theory of the Manes the cult followed inevitably. If the dead were able to influence the affairs of the living, they must be propitiated, and incantations were used to this end; thus the cult of the dead was in its origin an ancestor-worship, and may well have been originally a family matter exclusively. Further, it was incumbent upon each living member of the family not only to perform these sacrifices, but also to

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Roman)
provide those who would succeed to the sacrifices after his death, in other words, to propagate the family. As for the State itself, it was also a family; and thus in that macrocosm of family life which the early State religion shows,—with its Vesta, its Cybebe, its living, after all, it must he said that the sacrifices for the dead, not only for the dead already provided for by their own families, but also for that ever-increasing number of 'ancestors' whose descendants, in spite of all precepts, continued hallowed through of those immediate claims on the world of the living had been removed, and who therefore all the more readily would turn their ill-will against the State at large, unless she gave them satisfaction. Thus it was that both the *sacra privata* and the *sacra publica* were in part a worship of the dead.

There are sufficient suggestions and recollections in the body of Roman law to warrant the assumption of this theory, which, as one readily recognizes, is a close parallel to the Hindu law; but there is also this distinction, that, whereas Hindu law is based directly upon a sacred foundation, Roman law, where we first meet it, is already in the dual stage of *jus divinum* and *jus humano*, with their intricate interlacing. We have merely the shadow picture of what once was. But even the shadow picture is tolerably complete, and the *jus Manuum* formed the basis of all the regular topics of Hindu law generally in relation to heirs and inheritances. The cardinal principle was that the dead was the apotheosis of the living, and his _sacra_. Thus Cicero (*de Legib. ii. 22*) quotes an old law: *'Let private sacrifices continue forever,'* keep sacred the laws concerning the *sacra_, and that the heir was under obligation to continue the sacrifices, and this was a prior lien on any money which the dead might bring him. Similarly all the regulations were often motivated by the desire of the adopter to obtain an heir to care for the sacrifices; and, though the process was a civil one, it was necessary, in so much as it involved the giving up of one set of sacrifices and the taking of another on the part of the living. Allusion, to discuss it in its fullest extent, is primitive of all the assemblies—the Conitia Curiae—and to obtain the consent of the Pontifex Maximus to the giving up of the one set of sacrifices for the adoption, *cf. Hunter* (p. 766), a consent which was never given if the transfer left the one set of *sacra* destitute of an earthly representative (for a similar precedence in Hindu law, *cf. Hunter*, p. 205, note 2). We may also compare the old law ascribed to Romulus (*Plut. Rom. 22*), whereby whoever sells his wife is given over to the *Manes_, probably because this was a blow to the stability of the family, and hence to the continuity of sacrifice to the dead. The actuating motive underlying all the *sacra Manum*, all the enactments concerning the dead, was neither a chivalrous pity nor primarily a regard for the comfort of the dead, but first and foremost a self-protective action on the part of the living. If the dead have offended the gods of the other world, and lest the powers under the earth might hinder the gathering of the crops which had come out of the earth, that every year before the beginning of harvest a sow (*pora praedicta*) was sacrificed to Tellus (and perhaps other *sacra*) by him who had sown the seed of the dead his due (Paul, p. 223); later, by all men to Ceres and Tellus together—*they might have offended, so that eventually it began to be thought of merely as a sacrifice to Ceres for a good harvest* (Wissowa, p. 109).

4. In its earlier stages the cult of the dead belonged to the religion of fear rather than the religion of love. The spirits of the dead were capable of doing injury; they must first be brought to rest in the lower world. There they were incapable of doing harm; and they could rise from there only on certain occasions, and on those occasions religion provided for their pacification. All the cult acts pertaining to the dead may be grouped, therefore, under these two ideas, the bringing of them to rest, which usually immediately after death, and the placating of the spirits on the regular annual occasions when they returned to earth again. Around this crude root of the religious idea of the dead itself, breathing a new and better spirit into these old forms, and possibly instituting one or two festivals of its own. But we must deal first with the self-protective side.

The ceremonies connected with death and burial do not as a whole concern us here, but merely those festivals which were strictly religious in character. These features seem, all of them, to go back to the earlier stages of the State for its extra-ordinary periods of devotion occasioned by some great calamity (on the number nine as a sacred number cf. Diels, *Sibyll. Blätter*, p. 41). On some of these days the *Feriae Dionysiacae* occurred, a celebration about which we know little, except that...
The attendance of the members of the family was considered so necessary that the military authori-
ties recognized it as a valid excuse for the absence of
a recruit from the enlistment inspection, 'pro-
vided it had not been set on that day for the pur-
pose of going to Rome.' (Feb. 4, 4 B.C.)
The period of mourning ceased on the ninth day with a
final banquet, with offerings to the dead, the
cena novemlalae; and if funeral games were cele-
brated afterwards, these were the same ones as on
this day (Indi novemlalae). The spirit of the dead
was now safely housed in the lower world, whence
he could not return, except on stated occasions;
and the Roman could go about his daily business,
mindful only of these stated occasions when they
arrived.

As regards the lower world itself, the Romans
seem originally to have interested themselves very
little in it. Every bit of description is given by
writers under Greek influence, and the details are
identical with those of the lower world of the
Greeks. Now, it is not likely that a strong Roman
tradition could thus have been totally destroyed;
we sought, however, to be liberal, and trust to
Hence it is probable that the Roman lower world
was not furnished with the fittings of imagination
until Greek mythology provided the models. There is
nothing to indicate this, when we consider that the
half-humanistic character of the Roman pantheon
precluded the growth of mythology for both the
greater and the lesser gods. From the time of the
Greeks on, the Romans pictured to themselves the
lower world in the same form as the Greeks had
done (cf. Rohde, Psyche, vol. i.); and before that
time, if they thought of it at all, and inevitably they
must have done so to some slight extent, it was
represented as a mere place of shadows and
darkness. Their practical concern was the ques-
tion of the eventual return of the spirits to trouble
them; and hence their attention was concentrated
not on the lower world in pleasant poetic fancies,
but on the door between it and the other world:
the passage through which these divine dead came
up. This entrance was the mundus, about which
the Romans possessed original beliefs strong
enough to remain even under the influence of
Greek thought. The mundus was the opening of
the lower world; it was in the form of a trench
into which sacrifices to the gods of the lower
world, and to the dead as gods, could be thrown.
In the centre of the trench was a tomb, and at its
end a trench was dug and sacrifices performed.
The oldest mundus of Rome was that of the Palatine
city (for its location cf. Richter, Die älteste Wohn-
döße des röm. Volkes, Berlin, 1891, p. 7 ff.;
Hülsen, Röm. Mitt. v. 76 ff., xi. 202 ff.). It
was opened three days in the year: August 24, Oc
tober 5, and November 8; probably the stone, and
possibly some earth was removed (cf. Poggio, p. 142;
Macrobius, Sat. i. 16, 17 f.). 'When,' as Varro
says (cf. Macr. i. 1), 'the mundus is open, the door
of the sad gods of the lower world is open, there-
fore it is not proper on those days for a battle to
be fought, nor for the army to march forth, a ship
to set sail, or a man to marry.
There were other sacred trenches of the same sort
in Rome: one in the Forum, the Lacinus Curtius,
connecting the Forum of M. and the Forum
recently discovered; cf. Hülsen, Röm. Forum, p. 139;
and, in general, Gilbert, Top. i. 334 ff.), another the
so-called 'grave of Tarpeia,' which was evidently
opened on Feb. 13, when one of the seven bands
sacrificed there on the 15th, the day to march
forth, a ship to set sail, or a man to marry.
On the other yearly festivals of the dead we
know but little: we hear of a festival of the Car-
neria on the first of June, the 'Bean Calends'
(Claud. Par. v. 106 f.).
The Flamen Quirinialis brought offerings (Varro,
Ling. Lat. vi. 23 f.; Fast. Prim. to Dec. 23; cf.
Wissowa, p. 188 and note 1).
6. Apart from these special occasions for each
particular genus, there were two general occa-
sions in the year when all the dead were
supposed to return to earth again, the nine
days from Feb. 13-21, and the three days, May 9,
11, 13. The first was called the Parentalia, the
second the Lemuria. These two were so
entirely different, and the Parentalia is on such an
infinitely higher plane ethically than the Lemuria,
that it is difficult to think of them as having the
same origin; yet, when we compare All-souls' Day
with Halloween, we see the same populace.
The Parentalia kept pace with Rome's increase in
culture, whereas all that was crudest in old folk-
lore clung to the Lemuria.

Since the Lemuria represents a more primitive
stage, it had better be discussed first. The most
picturesque account is that given by Ovid (Fasti,
v. 419 ff.), but we must be on our guard in using
it, remembering that Greek ideas and a poetical
imagination have been added to it. Ovid writes.
The ceremony takes place at midnight.
The father of the household, barefooted, passes
through the house, throws black beans behind his
back, and, as he does so, utters a prayer, 'that
these I redeem myself and my family,' Then he
shakes cymbals and says again nine times, 'Manes
exite paterni,' 'Go forth, ye divine shades of my
fathers.' The comparison of this ceremony with the
'driving out of the shades' by some common among
primitive peoples of to-day, suggests itself immedi-
ately (cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, iii. 83 f.). Here,
as everywhere else in this interesting and valuable
book, the task of the task of the archaeologist is
in examining the sources given, as they differ widely
in scientific value; cf. also Rohde, Psyche, i. p. 289.
The Parentalia presents quite a different picture.
As its name implies, it is the festival of the
ancestors, of the making of offerings to one's
ancestors. It began at noon of Feb. 13 and con-
cluded for nine days. The first eight days be-
longed only to the sphere of private worship, but
the ninth day (Feb. 21) was also a public celebra-
tion, the Forovia (Varro, op. cit. 15; Paul. p. 85;
cf. Marquardt, iii. 310 f.). During all these nine
days marriages were forbidden, the temples were
shut, and the magistrates laid aside their official
dress. Every family tree itself was considered as
an offshoot of one of its ancestors and made offerings there. Most
appropriately, on the day after the close of the celebra-
tion, Feb. 22, a family festival, the Ceristia, or
Carina Cognativa, was held, when family quarrels
were adjusted, and the peace which the individual
member of the family had just made with the dead
was now extended to the living members among
themselves (cf. Ovid, Fasti, ii. 617; Vol. Max. ii. 1
8; Colond, Philol., cf. CIL iii. 258).
The attempt has been made to distinguish between the
Lemuria and the Parentalia by considering the former as the feast of
the unbodied, the latter as the feast of the embodiment, and the latter as
the festival of the buried, and therefore friendly, dead (cf. Ward
Poucher, Rome, p. 106; CIL ii. 258). But Lemuria is
probably more former than the latter; but the
Parentalia is the same ancestor as the Lemuria,
and the the very fact that their interference, either for good or ill, is
confined to stated seasons, proves that they were buried, i.e.
admitted into the world of the dead. And this is
understandable.
Of the other yearly festivals of the dead we
know but little: we hear of a festival of the Car-
neria on the first of June, the 'Bean Calends'
(Claud. Par. v. 106 f.)

In one respect the spirit-worship of the Romans
was in distinct contrast to that of the Greeks and
of most other ancient peoples. The dead had the
power of returning to earth again on stated occasions, but they could not be called up and consulted. 'Neeronamcy' was an altogether imported idea, and wherever we meet with references to it, foreign influence is evident. custom is no accident. The idea of prophecy was hardly present in any form in native Roman religion; their science of augury and of the haruspices was simply a means of ascertaining the approval or disapproval of the gods in regard to a certain action, merely of obtaining an answer to a categorical question. But if the dead might not be called upon arbitrarily to give information, it was possible for certain individuals to be given over to them for punishment, as in the consecratio, or for certain individuals voluntarily to give themselves over to them, as in the devotio. Consecratio is the transfer of a person or thing out of the realm of the *sae humanum* into that of the *sae divinum*. Where a person is involved, it is, of course, a punishment. Persons or things might thus be given over to any deity or group of deities, and the *Di Regia* and *Plebeia*, formed of the surnames of those who sold their houses was *dis manibus nata* (Plut. Rom. 22); also a child who struck his parent (Fest. p. 230); and the violator of a grave (CIL x. 4253). The characteristics of the devotio are that the nature of the case, and further, the nature of a vow, made to the *Di Mancs*, or Tellus and the *Di Mancs*, whereby a man's life is given to the *Di Mancs* in advance in order that other men's lives may be destroyed. We have semi-legendary accounts of three generals who offered their own lives that the enemy of the State might be destroyed: the first the case of Decius, the father, in the battle of Vesuvius, B.C. 340 (cf. esp. Livy, viii. 6. 8-16; 9. 1-11, and, in general, Münzer, Di RAY. and Propserina, form of the sanctuary of the gods of the upper world; but this had the effect of only emphasizing the more the undeveloped dense mass of the *Di Mancs*. On the other hand, during these centuries of the Republic, another idea had been slowly developing, the idea of the *Genius* (or if a woman, the *Juno*), or divine double of the individual, accompanying him during all his lifetime. In the question as to what became of the *Genius* after the death of the individual, and in the answering of that question by ascribing to him a life after death, the idea of personal immortality had its rise in Rome. The state of personal immortality, indeed, was purely philosophical ideas foreign to the real beliefs of the company, and partly by a desire to identify and generally systematize all forms of Roman belief; but we can dimly recognize the following development. Originally the *Genius* and the *Di Mancs* had no connexion whatever, except the mere matter of sequence; so long as a man lived he had always an individuality, at first thought of as merely physical, later as psychological; but when he died, his individuality ceased, he was gathered to the majority (not the individuality, but the individuality as a group, or, in it), the *Di Mancs*. Now, in the course of time one of the effects of Greece on Rome was the development of individuality and of the idea of individuality. All these ideas centred in the *Genius*, and hence it was natural to think of the *Genius* as existing after death. It must, however, in that case stand in some relation to the *Mancs*, it must be identical with at least a part of them, that part contributed by the individual at his death. It is not surprising then, that, beginning with the Augustan age (cf. Hübner, in Müller's Handbuch, i. p. 529, § 47), the idea of the individual makes itself felt in connexion with the *Mancs*, and we find the idea arose simply that we have merely the *Genius* or the Juno of such a person (for the *Genius*, cf. CIL v. 246, iv. 5794; for the Juno, v. 160, x. 1009, 1023, 6597). This reinforcement by the *Genius* was the salvation of the *Mancs*; it gave new life to the concept, and the *Di Mancs* began to develop out of a mere mass of spirits into a host of individual protecting deities. The cult went on in its old forms, but a new spirit, a new idea, had been brought into it. It is along this line that the *Di Mancs* had their effect on the two great religious developments of the Empire—the emperor-worship of the first two centuries, and Christianity in its later centuries.

2. The worship of the dead and emperor-worship. —The elevation of the Roman emperors into gods was caused by two entirely distinct sets of tendencies; the one coming from the Orient, a tendency which, in so far as it was not checked (as it always was by all the better emperors), made the emperors into gods during their lifetime as well as after death; the other a thoroughly Roman concept, the idea that during life the man is not the *man*, the *Genius* was divine, but that after death, when the *Genius* still lived as the individualized *Mancs*, the offerings might be made to the individual as a god. The difference, therefore, between an emperor, who allowed himself to be worshipped merely within the limits authorized by Roman ideas, and an ordinary Roman citizen was this: during lifetime the *Genius* of each was an object of worship, but the emperor's *Genius* was always, in all cases, one of the regular gods of the State cult, whereas the *Genius* of the individual belonged purely to the private cult, usually confined to a man's household. After death, both the emperor and the ordinary citizen were worshipped as gods, with a similar distinction, namely, that in the case of certain emperors the Senate, after examining their acts, decreed that they should be included among the regular gods of the State. The only real distinction, therefore, was the inclusion of the emperor's *Genius* among the gods of the State in every case, during life, and the inclusion of the emperor himself, i.e. his *Mancs*, among the State gods after death. There can be little doubt that emperor-worship had the effect of strengthening the worship of the dead in general.

3. The worship of the writers and Christianity. — Among the many difficult problems which the teachers of the Christian religion had to solve in
the Roman world, perhaps none was more difficult than that presented by the developed concept of the worship of the dead as protecting and helping deities. Polytheism, so far as the greater gods were concerned, had given way to the veneration of the dead, placed over into monotheism without the aid of Christianity, merely by the doctrine of a philosophical syncrétism; but it was with inborn, almost instinctive beliefs, bred in the bone, such as the divinity of the dead, that the Church's real battle had to be fought. Her method was one of compromise; it was the authorization, nay the encouragement, of the worship of certain individuals, men and women who as martyrs had by one act set the seal upon their faith, or whose life had been holy to such a degree as to merit certain miraculous manifestations. The worship of these martyrs and saints was intended primarily to keep them as exemplars in the minds of the living. But this was not enough for a people who had worshipped the dead not so much because they had been good during their lives, as because these gods of the dead now used only evil, and protected and helped them in their hours of danger and need. The saints, too, must accomplish something for them. This also was granted by the Church, but merely in the sense that the saints acted as intermediaries, whose powers, when God was pleased to use them for the probability of obtaining one's petition. Theology stopped there, but humanity went further. By that facile transfer of the means into the end, of the intermediary into the final, which is so characterist of simple minds, aided too as they were in this case by a habit of thought which had made the dead into gods like other gods, these saintly intercessors soon became gods on their own account, and the number of each became a cult-legend, indicating the circumstances in which each was especially powerful. Thus there arose, literally from the dead, a host of minor gods, a myriad of potenti- als, like the old gods of the so-called Indigita- menta. Human frailty had, at least in the lower classes, triumphed over theology, and the real religious world of the Roman's latest descendants bore a startling resemblance to that of his peasant ancestors in the lower classes of Rome. See also art. ROMAN RELIGION.


JESSE BENEDET CARLTON.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Slavonic).—We have only very few references to the cult of the dead among the pagan Slavs. The German chronicler Thietmar, who had not much sympathy with the Slavs, says (in the first Book of his Chronicles, § 14), 'They believe that everything ends with death' (Omnia mortem usque ad finem patiuntur). The Russian chronicler known by the name of Nestor, in the chapter in which he relates the conversion of the Russian prince Vladimir, puts into his mouth the words, 'The Greek priests say that there is another world, which would seem to imply that the pagans of Russia did not believe in that other world. On the other hand, the Bohemian chronicler, Cosmas of Prague, declares that the Christian prince Bretislav II., by an edict in 1092, the Russian chronicler by the name of Nestor, in the chapter in which he relates the conversion of the Russian prince Vladimir, puts into his mouth the words, 'The Greek priests say that there is another world, which would seem to imply that the pagans of Russia did not believe in that other world. On the other hand, the Bohemian chronicler, Cosmas of Prague, declares that the Christian prince Bretislav II., by an edict in 1092, has suppressed 'sepulturas quae fiebant in silvis et campos, atque sceenas (or cenosis) quas ex gentili ritu faciebant in bilvis et in trivis quasi omniamurum paustatiunam, item et incyricus profanos quos super mortuos inanes cientes antiqua ritu, ad quos paupertatis et nescientiae causa, apud gentes a mortuis inanes cientes antiqua ritu, ad quos paupertatis et nescientiae causa, apud gentes a mortuis, 1901, 119).—It is therefore more than likely that the Lithuanians offered sacrifices to the dead on the anniversary of their decease, when, after a formal prayer to them, water and food were cast beneath the table of the feast in their honour, and lights were placed on it even at midday (Brückner, Archiv für slawische Philologie, 1901, 119).—See also art. Aryan Religion.


ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Teutonic).—There is abundant evidence for Manes-worship among all Teutonic peoples. As a rule, however, the authorities give no indication in their writings of the rites being confined to descendants and relatives of the deceased, though it is not unlikely that the worship referred to in such passages as 'Die Totenfeiern,' 'Inscriptions,' 'The cult of the dead ad sepulchra mortuorum,' was generally of this variety. In Saxon-
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Ugro-Finnic) — ANDAMANS

Navian lands also we hear of worship paid to kings and other distinguished men, apparently at or near their tombs, but here again the cult appears to have been shared by the dead man's subjects or dependants.

Perhaps the nearest approach to strict ancestor-worship is to be found in the records of the colonists of Iceland, who believed that all members of their families would pass after death into certain hills. They regarded these places as spiritual residences and constructed sacrificial shrines there. Again, the element of ancestor-worship may be said to enter into the cult of certain gods, from whom most royal families, in England as well as in the North, claimed descent. Yet in the case of deities whose cult was wide-spread, such as that of Woden-Othin (by far the most frequent case), it would be unsafe to assume that this was the original element. On the other hand, deities whose worship was more or less local, like Thorgerdi Holgaviri, may very well have been regarded originally as ancestral spirits. In this connection account is to be taken also of the hunting of the guardian-spirits of the dead, which are represented as similar to valkyries or water-maidens.

Lastly, mention must be made of the eri—a word which in various Ugro-Finnian languages means inherited property, but in Scandinavian a wake or feast in honour of a dead person, especially held at the head of the house. Such feasts were often held on an immense scale, and many hundreds of persons invited. Large quantities of ale were then drunk in memory of the deceased—whence the banquet was also called eri-dl, a name which survived until recently in the northern English word awdow.

Towards the close of the feast the heir was for the first time allowed to occupy the vacant high seat. At religious festivals also it was customary to drink to departed relatives as well as to the gods.

The Cult of the Dead among the Tedung will be fully described under art. YUGAN RELIGION.


ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Ugro-Finnic).—Ancestor-worship and the cult of the dead is, so far as we can judge, the oldest form of religion among the Ugro-Finnian peoples. It is almost the only form common to them all. Their places of sacrifice frequently stand in close proximity to their places of burial; their images are chiefl y representations of the dead; their offerings are to be explained by the needs (food, clothes, etc.) of the dead; and their whole system of magic seems to the main aim at a union with the spirits of the dead. See art. FINNS, LAPPs, MORDVINIANS, OSIARKS.

KAARLE KROHN.

ANDAMANS.—1. The Country and the People.

The Andamans form the Northern portion of a string of islands extending in a north-westerly direction (the Nicobars forming the Southern portion), stretching across the Eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, between Cape Negrais in Burma and Achin Head in Sumatra. Certain islands in this latter chain have a commingation with phenomena exhibited by the fauna and flora of the respective terminal countries, have long been held to point to the former existence of a continuous range of mountains, thought to be sub-aerial, between these two points. Assuming this opinion to be correct, the Andamans are, in their present condition, the summits of a submarine range, connected with the Arakan Yoma range of Burma, which has, at some time or other, become almost wholly submerged by a volcanic subsidence. This range need not have been more than the physically possible one of two hundred fathoms, to connect a long narrow peninsula jutting out from the Burma coast with the present Andaman group of islands.

These considerations are of importance for the present purpose, as, according to Portman (see Literature below), the tradition of the South Andaman, or Bogrijgiri, group of tribes is that the Main Tomin (the original chief of the group) which they all sprang, dispersed them after a cataclysm, which caused a subsidence of part of the land, leaving them stranded in the present Andaman Islands, and drowned large numbers of the old inhabitants, together with many large and fierce beasts that have since perished. He also adds that in order to show the junction of the Andaman Islands with the mainland, that, besides the South Andaman tradition, the people of the Little Andaman have names for animals that do not now exist and which they cannot describe.

Lying as they do in the track of a great commerce, which has gone on for at least two thousand years, both from China and Japan westwards and from the Levant and India eastwards, the existence of the Andamans has been reported probably from the days of Ptolemy (McCrie, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, 1855, p. 236) under some name, though not with a variety of names, representing some form of Andaman, meaning a 'monkey' people, and indicating the savage aboriginal ancestors of the more civilized early population of India. As early as the 9th century the inhabitants of the islands were quite unstruly described by Arab travellers as cannibals (Reinard, Relation des voyages, 1845, i. 8)—a mistake that seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attack and murdered without provocation every stranger they could seize on his landing, as one of the tribes does still; they burnt his body (as they did in fact of every enemy). They also burnt all their dead. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused in ignorant mariners' minds by such occurrences in a far land, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result. This is a consideration of cardinal importance, as this false charge led to the Andamans being left severely alone until 1857 (except for a brief period between 1759 and 1768), when the British Government was forced to take steps to put a stop to murders of shipwrecked crews by occupying the islands. The result is that there exists in the Andamans an aboriginal people incompletely influenced by foreign influences, whose religious ideas are of native growth and exhibit the phenomena of a truly untrained philosophy.

The Andamanese are naked pigmy savages, as low in civilization as almost any known upon earth, though close observation of them discloses the immense distance in mental development between them and the highest of the brute beasts, one most notable fact being that they eat nothing raw, cooking all their food, however slightly, and making pots for the purpose, and this from time immemorial. Their various tribes belong to one race, speaking varieties of one fundamentally isolated language. They are the relics of a bygone Negrito population now represented by themselves, the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, and the Aetas (the Philippines) the last two (though mixed with the surrounding peoples), who in very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic Continent and its offlying islands before the irruptions of the oldest of peoples whose existence, or traces of it, can now be found there. In this view the Andamanese are of extreme interest, as preserving in their persons and customs, owing to an indefinite number of centuries of complete isolation, the last pure remnant of the oldest kind of man in existence.
ANDAMANS

2. Character of the People.—In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax; and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilized child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of education, nor, until the English taught him the use of dogs, did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count, and all his ideas are hazy, incalculable, and ill-defined. He has never developed, unaided, any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired, and is apt to break down physically under mental training.

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child; of very short but strong memory; suspicious of, but hospitable to, strangers; ungrateful, impatient, and watchful of his companions and neighbours; vain and, under the spar of vanity, industrious and persevering; teachable up to a quickly reached limit; fond of undefined games and jokes, and always careless; too intractable, too careless, indeed, to store water even for a voyage; plucky but not courageous; reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger; selfish, but not vicious; not taught to sit or lie down for their own or others' comfort or honour; petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childlike in action in his wrath, and equally quick to forget affectionate, lively in his movements, and exceedingly gay in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the weakly or the helpless, and to captives; kind to their wives and protectors. Their children are thoughtless, over-tactful, over-eager, but when angered, cruel, jealous, treacherous, and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive, and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen, and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase for sheer love of it and other physical occupations, and not fruitful, indolent, or obscenely abusive. In the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful, and quarrelsome—a people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, and not amenable to any law except that of nature, or that of their own superstitions, on some of them has introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. The intelligence of the women is good, though not, as a rule, equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected.

There is no idea of government, but to each tribe and to every sept of it belongs a recognized chief, who commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self-interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is no social status that is not personally acquired on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical. There is no property in land, and the idea of such possessions is not rudimentary, and are accompanied by an incipient tacit of the property belonging to a chief. Custom is the only law, and the only power is that of numbers; unless it is the form and adornment of manufactured articles. In the religious ideas of such a people as this, religion is seen in its most primitive form.

3. Religion.—The religion is simple animism, and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease, and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner. There is neither ceremonial nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphemic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, i.e. acts displeasing to him, are avoided. His fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga now reigns in the sky, and is used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the soul after death will go under the earth by an aerial bridge, but there is no heaven or hell, nor any idea of a bodily resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct, and in the utterances of wise men, dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune. These practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit, by means of charms, which are rare, and which, as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants, or ordeals, nor are there any forms of appeal to supernatural powers.

Puluga, who is fundamentally identifiable with some definite deity, perhaps a god, or a spirit (wulin), despite his confusion with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by ‘God.’ He has, however, a wife named Puluguela, and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters the Morowin, who are his messengers. He has no authority over the evil spirits, and contents himself with pointing out to them offenders against his religion, and rendering evil spirits, or harmful spirits are Erem-changa of the forest and Juruwin of the sea. Like Puluga, both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila, and a numerous class of the Chol, who are practically spirants of disease. The sun is the wife of the moon, and the stars are their children, dwelling near Puluga; but there is no trace of sun-worship, though the Andamanese twang their bows and ‘chaff’ the moon during an eclipse; and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of a soul arises out of his reflexion in water, and not out of his shadow, as in India, which follows him. A spirit, which follows him, is an evil spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world (chaitan) under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally, and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence, and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitious, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one (because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one), and in the recognition of all natives of India and the Far East as changa, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

4. Superstitions.—The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus fire is ‘Puluguela’s nose’ (Pulis nose) and so it is always carried (the practical reason is that the Andamanese are the only people known who have never been able to ‘make’ fire). To avoid offending the sun and the moon, they keep aloof from them, as well as to children, are but rudimentary, and are accompanied by an incipient tacit of the property belonging to a chief. Custom is the only law, and the only power is that of numbers; unless it is the form and adornment of manufactured articles. In the religious ideas of such a people as this, religion is seen in its most primitive form.

3. Religion.—The religion is simple animism, and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease, and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner. There is neither ceremonial nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, i.e. acts displeasing to him, are avoided. His fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga now reigns in the sky, and is used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the soul after death will go under the earth by an aerial bridge, but there is no heaven or hell, nor any idea of a bodily resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct, and in the utterances of *wise men*, dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune. These practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit, by means of charms, which are rare, and which, as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants, or ordeals, nor are there any forms of appeal to supernatural powers.

Puluga, who is fundamentally identifiable with some definite deity, perhaps a god, or a spirit (wulin), despite his confusion with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by ‘God.’ He has, however, a wife named Puluguela, and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters the Morowin, who are his messengers. He has no authority over the evil spirits, and contents himself with pointing out to them offenders against his religion. Other harmful spirits are Erem-changa of the forest and Juruwin of the sea. Like Puluga, both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila, and a numerous class of the Chol, who are practically spirants of disease. The sun is the wife of the moon, and the stars are their children, dwelling near Puluga; but there is no trace of sun-worship, though the Andamanese twang their bows and ‘chaff’ the moon during an eclipse; and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

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and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and customs. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities. For instance, murdered persons have been found with heavy stones placed on them, and with stones placed along the pathway. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to tell the English that the men have been murdered, but that the murderers have passed along the path in front. Primitive simplicity here comes to the surface, as the presence of an object is interpreted as a message. The Andamaner understands the signs exactly what has happened.

5. Mythology. — The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tono, the first ancestor; to him and his wife Puluga brought fire and taught all the arts, and for them he created everything. This line of belief is still alive, and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus, when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano on Barren Island, seeing the smoke from the top, they at once called it Moloturchon, 'Smoke Island,' and said the fire was Puluga's. The next most important element in their mythology is the story of endogamous exogamy. The custom was, and was, of course, caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Lurafut, the kingfisher, and placed in the earth. It is the custom to the cataclysm because the chausu, or 'ghostly ancestors.' Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs (e.g. tatting and dancing), the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metamorphosis, and of metempsychosis into animals, fish, birds, stones, and other objects in nature. Indeed, the island chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

6. Customs. — There are rudimentary initiatory ceremonies for both males and females connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability, and pointing to a limited tabu, but they are not accompanied by the communication of any secrets or by any religious ceremony. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food, and every man has through life his own tabued article. This is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable. Tatting is partly a marriage ceremony, and the perpetuation of the tabu also becomes ceremonial on occasion. Neither has any religious significance, and the songs accompanying the dances rarely relate to beliefs and superstitions. Among the gaues, mock burials and 'ghost' hunts are favourites. Religion does not enter into the naming customs, except possibly into the 'flower' names for girls, which are bestowed after some one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards age, and more strictly, group. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Betrothal accounted as marriage is recognized, and the marriage relations are tabu-like, and quite as strictly observed as among civilized communities. Deaths occasion loud lamentations from all connected with the deceased. Burial in the ground and exposure in trees, as an honour, are practiced. A death causes an encampment, or more strictly, band to be ceremonially marked, and to be deserted for about three months, and burial spots are also marked and avoided. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refrainning from danceing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up, and made into ornaments. To these great importance is attached as mementoes of the deceased, and they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the breasts. The skull is put round the neck and worn down the back, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower, or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the (deposits of the dead) are emotional, reverential, and by no means without elaboration in detail.


ANDEANS. — 1. The pre-Inca people. — For the study of the Andean religions it is necessary to take account of a civilization which flourished long before the rise of the Incas; because the later power inherited some of the names, and with them the religious beliefs, of the more ancient. The Andean region, the Andes, extends from the Near the shore of Lake Titicaca, now over 12,000 feet above the sea-level, there are very extensive ruins of a most remarkable character. They are those of great cities that have existed in a very large population in the vicinity; the stones are of such size, and any possible quarry so distant, that the people must have been possessed of very remarkable mechanical skill; and they are cut and carved with such accuracy and precision that the workers must have been skilful masons. The mouldings and symmetrical ornamentation show most accurate measurements, and no want of artistic taste. There are some enormous statues, and much detailed carving. The monoliths are so enormous, one of them 36 feet by 7, another 26 feet by 16 by 6, that they are excelled in size only by the obelisks and statues of Egypt. The ancient people who built them may well receive the name of the monolithic people, forming a monolithic empire.† Universal tradition points to the south as the direction whence they came. The building of Tiwanacu, as the ruins are now called, needed the working of the country can sustain only a very sparse population. The monolithic builders cannot have worked at that elevation, or anything like it. The early Spanish writers give unanimous evidence that the ruins of Tiwanacu were built long before the time of the Incas.‡

2. Pre-Inca religion. — The only clue to the religion of the monolithic people is to be found in a famous doorway cut out of one enormous stone. The masonry is excellent throughout, and all the lines are as straight, the angles as square, and the surfaces as level as could be produced by any good workman of the present day. A. The length of the

* The Megalithic Age of Peru, by Sir Clements Markham, American Congress, Stuttgart, 1904.
† The best recent accounts are by Richard Inwards, The Temple of the Andes (1859), and by Le Comte de Creux Montfort, Mission Scientifique Française, Travaux et Fouilles de Tiwanacu, 1863.
‡ See Archéologie, vol. VIII. (2nd series, p. 73), on the transport of monoliths for Stonehenge and in Egypt. All needful appliances existed in the Stone Age, but a large amount of men was essential. The date of Stonehenge is now placed at 3500 B.C., (1700 B.C.)
§ Cleza de Leon, cap. cv. pp. 374-379; Gardeliasco de la Vega, l. pp. 71, 75, 210, 212, 43. 307, Acestas, pp. 71, 415. These references are to the present writer's translation (Hakluyt Society). See also Relaciones Geografía de Indias, II, p. 56.
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monolith is over 13 ft., and the opening of the doorway 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. Above the doorway there is much carving. There is a central figure with many symbols and accessories. There are rays round the head; in each hand there is a sort of sceptre ending with bunches of birds; the marks on the dress are the same as those round a golden representation of the sun of the Incaral times, denoting the Incas months Conmay and Coquep Kaynut. It is the work of a highly skilled mason, but not of Inca skill. On each side of the central figure there are three rows of kneeling figures, eight in each row. They all hold sceptres, and are crowned. Those on one side have the heads of men, and on the other those of birds. Underneath there is a beautifully designed ornament running along the length of the stone, consisting of rectangular patterns, ending with birds’ heads, and three human heads similarly ornamented. This central figure may, the present writer thinks, be assumed to represent the deity worshipped by all the chiefs of the people and all the animal creation. But there must have been an interval of many centuries between the monolithic monument, caused by the region becoming uninhabitable for a large population, and the rise of that of the Incas. When the old empire fell to pieces, the Andean region must have been occupied by many tribes, and their language divided into numerous dialects. One, spoken in the basin of Lake Titicaca, received the name of Aymara from the Jesuit missionaries of Judi; another spoken in the region of the Incas was called Quichua by the first Spaniard who wrote its grammar; another dialect was spoken further north. Eventually, some five centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Incas began to form another great empire, and their language prevailed over the others.

3. The Incas.—There had been a long interval of disintegration. Nevertheless, all memory of the monolithic empire had not been lost. There were myths telling how the great God first made Himself known at Lake Titicaca, how the sun first appeared there, and how the first man was created there.* But the main tradition was the revelation of the almighty God, named Viracocha, who is carved with his adoring worshippers on the monolithic doorway. His worship was maintained by chiefs and learned men, after the old empire had disappeared, and was inherited by the Incas. Some of the attributes handed down are attributed to the almighty God. The chief of these were Con, Ulla, Ticsi, Pachayachaaki, Pachacamac. The meaning of Ulla is unknown. Ulla means light. Ticsi is said to be a founder. The anonymous Jesuit explains the word as Principium rerum sine principio. The derivation of Viracocha is lost to us. Two authorities† say that the first part of the word is a corruption of pikuwa, a depositary or abode. The primary meaning of coerce is a lake, but here it is said to mean an abyss, profundity, space—’ Dweller in space.’ Pachayachaaki and Pachacamac are attributes of the deity. Pachac means time or place, also the universe, yachachi a teacher, causa of rule or govern—’The teacher and ruler of the universe.’ The name Viracocha suffered to convey to the minds of the Incas the idea of a Supreme Creator, yet they added other titles to it, intended to express some of the attributes of the deity.*

4. Viracocha.—The Incas, with their Amanutos

*The Titicaca myths are related by Garcilasso de la Vega, Clíe de Leon, Molina, Belanzon, Salcamayhua, and the anonymous Jesuit. Official history is mentioned but not sufficiently to be intelligible. The names are not mentioned by Balboa, Montesinos, Acosta, or Pinto.
†Montesinos and the anonymous Jesuit.
‡The best essay on the word Viracocha is by Don Leonardo Villar (Lima, 1857).

(wise men) and Quipucamayocs (registrars), certainly worshipped the Supreme Being under the name of Viracocha, having received the tradition from remote ages, and they looked upon all other deities as his servants, ordained to do his will. An Inca styled named Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, who wrote early in the 17th cent., mentions another being as having been made known in the early times, whose name was handed down by tradition. This was Tonapa, or also called Tarapac. He is also mentioned by Sarmiento as a servant of Viracocha. The details about him are puerile. It is possible that Tonapa represents a solar myth. The name occurs with that of the creator in some of the Inca hymns.

The Incas certainly worshipped Viracocha, the supreme creator of all things, but they approached him as an unknown god, who to them was shrouded in mystery. They cried to him to be taught where he was, that they might know and understand him; and they recognized that the sun, the moon, and the seasons were ordained and ordered by him. They sought to know the will of the Deity, and prayed for knowledge and support.

5. Some hymns of the Incas have been preserved by Salcamayhua, but in a very corrupt form, and it is difficult to make out their exact meaning in English;* but they are so important a part of the Peruvian religion that it seems desirable to give English versions of two of the hymns.

I.

Viracocha! Lord of the Universe,
Now art thou male,
Now art thou female,
Lord of heaven! Lord of generation!

Can divination be employed
To learn where thou art?
Hast thou art there?
Whether thou art above,
Whether thou art below,
Whether thou art around
Thy royal throne and sceptre,
O hear me!
From the heaven above,
From the sea below,
Where’er thou art,
O Creator of the world,
O God of man,
Lord of all lords,
To thee I come,
With eyes that fall,
With longing to know thee,
I come to thee
To know thee,
To understand thee,
Thou seest me,
Thou knowest me.
The Sun, the Moon,
The day, the night,
Spring and winter,
They all travel,
Not ordained in vain,
From appointed places
To their destinations;
They duly arrive
Whithersoever may be ordained.
Thou holdest them
Under thy sceptre,
Thou holdest them.
O hear me!
Let me be thy chosen;
Do not suffer
That I should tire,
That I should die.’

* They were originally printed in the corrupt Quichua, exactly as in the manuscripts, in the present writer’s translation of Salcamayhua (Hablado Society, 1872). Ximenez de la Espada brought out the first edition in 1659, and the first edition of Quichua in the same way. Don Samuel A. Lafone Quedvedo then took the Quichua in hand, and, with the able assistance of Pedro Most, the editor of one of the latest Quichua dictionaries, numerous emendations were made, and still more corrections in the separation of words. The text was sufficiently intelligible to bear translation into Spanish (Ensayo Mitologico, Los Hidalgos de la Ciudad de los Reyes del Cuzco, from S. A. Lafone Quedvedo, Talara del Museo de La Plata, 1892).
† Are these lines, conceivably, intended to convey an idea analogous to the Hindu Liapoj and Jom?  

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ANDEANS

7. Ancestor-worship. — The other ayllus had various beasts or birds, natural objects or mummies, as their paccarrina. It was the worship of ancestors by the side of the worship of celestial bodies. The mallquis, or bodies of the dead, were preserved, and treated with the greatest respect. In the mountains round Cuzco and in the Yucuy valley they were kept in caves faced with masonry. In the basin of Lake Titicaca they were preserved in towers called chulpes. Those at Sillustani are circular, and carefully built with ashlar masonry. In Quito the dead were interred in mounds called tufes.

The bodies of the Incas were preserved with extreme care, and it is stated, in the official report of Sarmiento, that the special huaca or idol of each Inca was kept with the mummy (Sarmiento, Hist.). There were servants for the mummies of the sovereigns, and estates for their maintenance. The names of seven of the so-called Idols have been preserved; and they do not support the idea that they were idols in our sense of the word, but rather insignia or commemorative ornaments, perhaps in the nature of penates, used by each sovereign in his lifetime. It was a custom, not only as regards the Inca mallquis but among all classes of the people, to place with the dead, offerings of food and other things required by them when living. This custom has never been eradicated, and even now it is practised secretly in many parts of Peru. The belief which originated this custom, and which caused its continuance even to the present day, must have been very deeply seatd. It is exceedingly difficult to acquire a complete understanding of the ideas of another race of people which give rise to special customs. But the present writer was well acquainted with an old priest, Dr. Pablo P. Justiniani, a lineal descendant of the Incas, whose intense sympathy for his people enabled him to comprehend their ideas, if any one ever did so. He told the present writer that they felt a certainty that their dead continued to exist apart from their bodies, and that they had needs, but spiritual, not corporeal needs. They were certain of this because many of them had seen their dead. Don Pablo attributed this conviction to appearances in dreams and visions. Of a future state of rewards and punishments they do not appear to have had any idea in the time of the Incas, only the conviction that their ancestors continued to exist after death. In this state they were souls without bodies, but still with needs and requirements, not corporeal, but spiritual. Thence arose the strange belief that all things had souls as well as their material parts, and that the spirits of the dead needed the souls or spiritual parts of food, chicha, coca, llamas, even clothing. By placing the corporeal parts of these things with the dead, it was believed that their souls or spiritual essences were conveyed, through prayer and certain ceremonies, to the souls of the dead. This belief was so deeply impressed on the Inca people that it survived all subsequent persecution. The practice existed

6. Huacas. — Subordinate to Viracocha, to whom a temple was dedicated in the great square of Cuzco, the worship of the Sun, Moon, Lightning, and of certain deities, called Huacas, was ordained. When the Empire had come to its greatest, there was a complicated ritual, with special ceremonies, festivals, and sacrifices for each month. Our information is mainly derived from the first Spaniards who came to Peru and wrote narratives. They were well informed writers, in two instances, but chiefly priests who were full of pre-conceived ideas. It is not always easy to separate their pre-conceptions and the results of their leading questions from the facts they were told. It is still more difficult to reach the exact nature of the beliefs of a people, when we have reports only of their ceremonies and of their outward worship.

The people were divided into ayllus or tribes, which had a close analogy to the Roman gens. Every ayllu had a common huaca or sacred object of worship, which was called paccarrina. The chief paccarrina of the Inca ayllu was the Sun. The Incas were children of the Sun. But there was another very sacred huaca, which is often mentioned in Inca history, and to which a legend was attached.

The origin of the Incas is connected with this huaca. Four brothers and four sisters are said to have issued from 'windows' at a place called Paccari-tampu (some leagues south of Cuzco), two words used by Machu Pichu, the leader was Manco Capac, the first sovereign Inca. They had many followers, and they advanced northwards to occupy the valley of Cuzco. During the march one of the brothers was turned to stone at a place called Huannacuri. This is the legend. Next to the celestial bodies, this huaca of Huannacuri became the most sacred object of worship. It was three miles from Cuzco. Very elaborate sacrifices were offered to it, and it was at Huannacuri that the great festival was celebrated, when the Inca youths went through their ordeals previous to receiving knighthood. But the exact position of the Huannacuri huaca in the Inca religion is not clear. It was certainly a very important one in the traditions of the Inca ayllu.

* Inca Huaya Capac.

Manco Inca.

Maria Tupac Ucaca = Pedro Ortiz de Orbe.

Catalina Ortiz = Luis Justiniani.

Luis Justiniani.

Nicola Justiniani.

Justo Pastor Justiniani.

Dr. Don Pablo Policarpio Justiniani.

Puca Capac.

Inca.
secretly fifty years ago to some extent, as Don Pedro instructed Inca. The tale is told by Barón Erland Nordenskiöld, who returned from Peru in the year 1906, that the practice still exists. This appears to have been the position of the Inca worship of their ancestors, possibly accompanied by human sacrifices, because at that period Inca, each aylu had a paccarina or so-called idol, represented by a hill or other natural object, occasionally by an image. This was apart from the human sacrifices, which were no human sacrifices. He felt this to be remarkable, for the idea of propitiatory sacrifice is to offer the best and most loved, as in the cases of Isae and Carua, and Jerchiah’s noticed presently. Human sacrifices were more in the nature of thanksgiving than of propitiatory offerings. But the authoritative evidence of Molina and Sarmiento has led him to modify this view. On extraordinary occasions, two children, a male and a female, were first strangled and then included in the burnt-offerings. Such occasions were the celebration of great victories, or the commencement of wars, and the Huacas festival at Huayna Capac.

11. Sun-worship. Nearly all the ceremonies were connected with agriculture and with the course of the sun, so that it was natural that the sun should be the chief object of adoration with the people. It was observed and celebrated in a square, and some of the rays were worshipped. The subject are recorded of one or two of the Inca (by Garcilasso de la Vega, Comm. Real). Seeing that the Sun had to accomplish its circle every year, they concluded that it must have a master. It was the same thought as that of Omar Khayyám:

"And that inverted Bowl they call the Sky,
Whereunto crawling moost we live and die."
Lift not your hands to it for help—for it
As ineptly moves as you or I.

So they turned to Vturacocha, the Creator obeyed by the sun and all living things, as the chief object of their adoration.

12. Government. The religious beliefs of the people away from Cuzco were connected with their mode of life and their environment. It seems desirable to give a short account of the rural life of the people, and of the administrative organization of Inca rule. It was, in fact, pure socialism—a system which can exist only under a despotism. Several very able Spanish lawyers, notably Polo de Undegardo and Santillana, were employed, soon after the conquest, to investigate and report upon the Incaian system of government. Reliance may be placed upon the correctness of the details they collected. It appears that the whole of the people were divided into ten classes, according to their ages and ability to work.

1. Mose aparao (baby) "recently begotten," Just born.
3. Manta puric (child that can walk), age 6 to 8.
4. Tinta requiste (bread receiver), about 3.
5. Pucalla huarina (playing boy), 8 to 15.
6. Cucu pello (coco picker), very light work, 16 to 20.
7. Yma huarina (as a youth), light work, 20 to 28.
8. Pucir (able-bodied), tribute service, 28 to 50.
9. Chumapi pucos (elderly), light work, 50 to 60.
10. Pukhapi pucos (dolago), no work, over 60.

The Puric was the unit of administration, the other classes being dependent on him. A Pachacas was 100 Purics under a Pachaca-cannayoc or Centurion. 1000 Purics were under a Huanacanchayoc, or officer over a thousand. A Pachaca-cannayoc governed the whole aylu or gens of 10,000 Purics. There were four Viceroys over the four provinces, who were called Tucnricos ("He who sees all"). There were also a reporter on vital statistics and a tax-collector, who maintained his head upon charges and accidents, one to each aylu. The land belonged to the people in their aylu. The produce was divided between the Inca (government), the Huacas (church), the warina (chiefs), and the new fire for the altar before the Sun was kindled. The Ayrihua came next, being the beginning of harvest. The offerings of maize were brought to the temples of the Creator and of the Sun, youths and maidens, in procession, singing a harvest song called queroc. The harvesting month was Aynumay in May and June.

10. Human sacrifice.—The religious ceremonies included burnt-offerings in great profusion. The present writer formerly held that the weight of evidence was on the side of human sacrifices. He felt this to be remarkable, for the idea of propitiatory sacrifice is to offer the best and most loved, as in the cases of Isae and Carua, and Jerchiah’s noticed presently. Human sacrifices were more in the nature of thanksgiving than of propitiatory offerings. But the authoritative evidence of Molina and Sarmiento has led him to modify this view. On extraordinary occasions, two children, a male and a female, were first strangled and then included in the burnt-offerings. Such occasions were the celebration of great victories, or the commencement of wars, and the Huacas festival at Huayna Capac.
Thus the land belonged to the whole agnus, and each able-bodied member, or *puric*, had a right to his share of the harvest, provided that he had been present at the sowing. No one who had been absent at the sowing could receive a share of the harvest. This was done with the utmost religious ceremony and zealously observed, but the evils of minute sub-division were avoided by the system of *mitinunas* or colonists.*

13. Various cults.—The worship of Viracocha, the Supreme Being, was universal to the Incas and learned men. The worship of the Sun was more extended, and was the religion of all who took part in the festivals of the Incas; but the religion of the mass of the people was different. Each agnus had its *pucumari*, with its festival and worship. But each *puric*, or head of a family, believed that all things in nature had an ideal or soul which ruled and guided them, and to which they might pray for help. Thus there was a soul or ideal of the maize and other harvests, of the llamas, and of all things that influenced their daily life. They made statues or other representations of these objects, and prayed and sacrificed to them for the well-being of the family. The statues were made of pottery or stone, sometimes of the precious metals, and were called *huacas* or *conopas*. In Huaytori, and, no doubt, in other provinces, the three or four chief places of worship held a great interest in the study of their folklore; and the discovery of the remaining reports on the extermination of idolatry will throw further light on the religion of the Peruvian people.

14. Oracles. — The valley on the coast, from Nasca to the Rimac, were occupied by people of the same race and language as the Incas, and at Nasca there are marvellous irrigation works. Here was the head of the Huaca, which was supposed to receive the worship that was given to other powers of nature in the Sierra; and there were two or more famous oracles to which people resorted from great distances. One was at Rimac, whence the name of Lima, the modern capital of Peru. Another famous temple was on the coast, at a place called Pachacamac. Raised on an eminence, with an extensive city at its feet, the oracle itself appears to have been a fish canopy, which was supposed to give answers to the questions of pilgrims.

There was no temple to the Supreme Being at Pachacamac. The word is that of an attribute of the Almighty Creator. But in this case it is not the word of the creator, but of any other place received names from deities or festivals. There was another name in the church, and *Reyman* (festival) forms part of the names of several places in Peru. The great temple at Pachacamac on the coast was dedicated to two concepts of the coast people, a fish deity and a fox deity, which became famous oracles. The temple was surrounded by a temple, and an extensive town rose up at the foot of the temple. It was falling to ruin when the Spaniards arrived.

15. An unknown civilized people conquered by the Incas.— There was another civilization of people along the northern part of the coast of Peru, quite distinct from the Andean tribes, but finally conquered by the Incas. We have evidence of their civilization from the contents of the tombs examined by Reiss and Stübel at Ancon. We have further evidence in the great palace of the *Gran Chimú* near Trujillo, and Balboa has described the same in his *Historia General* of the coast, by sea and land at Lambayeque, which also threw little light on their superstitions. There is a grammar of their language, which is totally unlike any other

* Polo de Ondegardo, 1828; Santillana.

1 *Poema de la Independencia del Peru, por el Padre Pedro Pablo Joseph de Arriaga (Lima, 1821). Arriaga says he destroyed 2,000 homes of 315 congregations in public.*

2 *Narraciones de los Padres de la Provincia de Huarochirí, by Dr. Francisco de Avila, 1835 (see the previous note).*

3 *Miscellanea America, por Miguel Cavello Balboa, written between 1576 and 1586. Translated into French, and published in the series de Ternaux-Compagnon, 1849.*

ANDEANS. But there is no account of the religion of this strange civilization of the Peruvian coast, now practically extinct.

Quito was conquered by the last great and undisputed sovereign of the Inca dynasty; but there are no records on the death of the people and the work of the Spaniards. *Histórias de Quito,* the accounts in it are comparatively modern and of doubtful authority. We have no narratives giving details respecting the religious beliefs of the Quito people, and it was told to the Inca Huayna Capac. It is stated that they worshipped the Sun.

16. The Chibchas.—Farther north there was a civilized people, the Chibchas, of whose religion there is some account. Their land is where the Andes divide into three cordilleras, with the three great rivers of Magdalena, Caica, and Atrato flowing northwards between them into the Caribbean Sea. The Chibchas dwelt on the tablelands of Bogota and Tunja, with their river Funza flowing to the Magdalena, their eastern drainage being carried by the Meta to the Orinoco. This territory is about 150 miles in length, by 40 to 50 broad. It was ruled by two of the chieftains, the Zipa of Bogota and the Zaque of Tunja. The Zipa was striving for a paramount position before the arrival of the Spaniards, and had subjugated the chief of Guatavita. It is stated in the same story that he held a great annual festival on the banks of the Lake of Guatavita when he covered himself with grease, and then rolled in gold dust. Gilded and resplendent, he then entered a canoe, and was transported to the centre of the lake. Before all his people, he plunged into the water, and his bath was followed by fasting and dancing. This was the origin of the story of El Dorado.

The religious beliefs of the Chibchas have thus far been stated by the earliest writers. Light was originally enclosed in a receptacle called chinamimanga, and this receptacle appears to have been, in the conception of these people, the Supreme Creator. The Chibchas are said to have worshipped this almighty deity, but none of the less they also worshipped the sun, the moon, the rainbow (called cuchairna), hills, lakes, rivers, trees, and many idols. Human sacrifices appear to have been offered only to the Sun, as a deity to be feared and propitiated. The Chibchas had a tradition of a beneficent being named Bochica having appeared amongst them, and having taught them all they knew. He also was worshipped. *Pachacamac* is said to be an agency for the river Funza, and to have formed the famous falls of Tequendama. The people had several curious myths, and they appear to have conducted their ceremonial worship with some magnificence. There was a procession in which the Zipa joined at the time of sowing, and another at harvest time. There is certainly a superficial resemblance between the religions of the Incas and that of the Chibchas.

There are two early authorities for Chibcha civilization. *Padre Fray Pedro Simon wrote his Noticias Historicales in 1653, and the work was published at Quito in 1657. Dr. Ivan Lucas Fernández Piedrahita, the Bishop of Santa Marta, wrote his *Tradición General de las Naciones del suroeste de Venezuela* in 1767. Simon is the best authority, being nearest to the time; but Piedrahita wrote well, and gives a brief but clear account of the Chibchas. He was descended from the Incas of Peru. There is a Grammar of the Chibcha language by Fray Barnabe de Lugo, 1824. The above work is the best written on the subject are Humboldt in his *Viaje a los Andes*, Acesta in his *Compendio Historico* (Paris, 1840), and E. Urianochez in his *Memoria sobre las antiguas naciones de Colombia* (Paris, 1850).*

The Chibcha language prevailed among all the Andean dialects. But there is no account of the religion of this strange civilization of the Peruvian coast, now practically extinct.
tribes of the highlands, and they had all made advances in civilization, although those of Bogota and Tunja were far in advance of the rest. The general movement of the Chibcha tribes had been from south to north, and this race appears to have advanced its settlements beyond the mountainous regions as far as Chiriqui. There is also some evidence that any people of Aztec or Maya affinities ever entered South America or had relations with South American peoples.

The Originality of the Andean religion.—The Andean races moved from the south northwards. Their civilization was of spontaneous growth, without any foreign aid, and uninfluenced by communication with other races. Elaborate attempts have been made to establish identity between Quichua words and words of similar meaning in Aryan languages, but a careful study of the subject cannot fail to produce the conviction that they are fanciful, and based on an insufficient knowledge of the Quichua language. The South American race naturally reached its highest development in the Andean region, where agriculture and the textile and other arts were necessary for the support and well-being of the people, and where a temperate climate conduced to the development of various civilized influences and to a reasoning contemplation of the powers of nature, guided by religious impulses. In this way, as well as by any foreign influences, that the Andean religions were developed by the races inhabiting the cordilleras of the Andes. In their highest form the Andean religions recognized the existence of a Supreme Creator and ruler of the universe, and it was his will by prayer and praise. The celestial bodies, the thunder and the rainbow, were revered as bringing good to man, but only as inferior deities obeisant to the worship of the Quichua. The worship of the paccorinias and of ancestors there is a clear indication of a belief in a future existence; and the power attributed to the souls of animals and crops, and of inanimate objects, among the masses of the people, is peculiar to the Andean races in the form in which it prevailed amongst them. In whatever comparative position the Andean religion may be placed among the religions of the world, it was characterised by a just conception of the Andean people, uninfluenced by any communication with other races.

LITERATURE.—The works which give detailed accounts of the Andean tribes are all based on works on the civilization and history of the native races. The first account is contained in the second part of the Chronicle of Cierva de Leon by Sir Cynthia R. Markham, in the Hakluyt Society. The Spanish text was afterwards printed and edited by Ximenes de la Espada at Madrid. Juan Jose de Betanzos wrote his Narration in 1531. He knew the Quichua language, and married an Andean princess. His work has been printed and edited at Madrid in 1869, but has not been translated. The two Relaciones of the learned lawyer Polo de Quedagordo are still in manuscript. But one of his reports has been translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Clements R. Markham, 1872. Fernando de Santillana was a Judge of the Lima Audience in 1530. His valuable Relation remained in manuscript until it was edited and printed by Ximenes de la Espada in 1579. The most detailed and best work on the religion of the Incas was written in about 1575 by a priest at Cuzco named Cristoval de Molina. The manuscript has been edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Clements R. Markham in 1872. Miguel Cavello Balboa is the authority for the civilized people of the river of the River of Peru. He wrote his Relacion de la Guerra against the Incas in 1567. The works of Fernando Moncada, entitled Anales de las Indias de Peru, have a peculiar interest as containing the records of the religions he gives, to be found nowhere else. He came to Peru in 1569. His work remained in manuscript until it was edited by the Ternaux Company in 1840. The Spanish text was edited by Ximenes de la Espada at Madrid, 1872. The works of Fernando Moncada, entitled Anales de las Indias de Peru, have a peculiar interest as containing the records of the religions he gives, to be found nowhere else. He came to Peru in 1569. His work remained in manuscript until it was edited by the Ternaux Company in 1840. The Spanish text was edited by Ximenes de la Espada at Madrid, 1872.
ANGR (Psychological and Ethical)—I. PSYCHOLOGICAL.—There are two ways, according to Aristotel (de Anima, i, 1), in which anger may be characterized. By the dialectician or speculative philosopher (διαλέκτους), it may be defined as 'the desire of retaliation, or a love-like,' i.e., the natural philosopher (φυσικός), as 'the house, or chamber, of the heart, or of heat.' Neither of these two ways, taken by itself, does he regard as adequate; for the one has respect only to the 'form,' while the other takes account solely of the 'matter,' and the complete view requires that both form and matter be attended to. In other words, Aristotle is here exemplifying in a concrete instance the great psychological truth that the emotions are 'naturalized motions' (νηστατικά ἐνέργεια), that they have both an inward or psychological side and an outward or corporeal expression; and that each of these requires to be reckoned with, if the phenomenon is to be satisfactorily explained. It is, in all probability, on the psychological side that far, and maintain, with Darwin (The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, p. 239), that 'most of our emotions are so closely connected with their expression, that they hardly exist if the body remains passive.' Certainly, the control of anger consists very much in conscious abstraction from the modes in which it physically embodies itself.

(1) On the physical side, anger, in the individual, manifests itself in marked disturbance of the bodily organism: e.g., the movements of hands and jaws become pronounced, respiration is quickened, the pupils are dilated, the respiration is short and rapid, the heart is accelerated, the face changes colour, the eyes flash, the eyebrows knit, the voice waxes loud, harsh, and discordant; and, in that species of anger which we know as rage, there is wild 'striking out,' vehement and uncontrolled, so that the anger, or fury, of the mind may be characterized by psychologists (e.g., Bain, James, Stout) to a 'sounding-board,' on which the nervous excitation correlated with the emotion 'plays,' and which is in turn affected and modified by the organic 'resonance.' This organic factor is highly important; in the words of Mr. H. G. Wells, 'as has been done by Professor James, who, in his theory of emotion, reduces emotion to a kind of sensation begotten of organic disturbance.

Our natural way of thinking about these tender emotions (grief, fear, rage) has, however, been shown (The Principles of Psychology, p. 194, It. ii, 449, 'that is the mental perception of some fact excites the mental affection towards the fact, and the organic state of mind gives rise to the bodily expression. My theory, on the contrary, is that the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur in emotion. Common sense says, we lose our fortune, are sorry, and weep; we meet a bear, are frightened, and run; we are insulted by a rival, are angry, and strike. The hypothesis here to be defended says that this order of sequence is incorrect, that the one mental state is not immediately induced by the other, that the bodily manifestations must first be interposed between, and that the more rational statement is that we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble, and not that we cry, strike, or tremble, because we are sorry, angry, or afraid. In the case of the former, it is the function of delay and deliberation to calm the feeling and to produce indifference.'

(2) Taken on the psychical side, anger is mental disturbance, or, by some, organic movement, a useful, or friendly movement, arising from opposition, hatred, or harm received, operating like a reflex act, viz., by immediate active response, or reaction without deliberation, or recognition of the unacceptable or offending fact that arouses it. It has thus a necessary relation to the conative, as well as to the emotive, side of our being. What induces anger is something that has to be got rid of; and, in the angry state, our activity is strongly put forth, so that the resistance may be readily secured. Moreover, if the real cause of the offence cannot be reached at the moment, the obliation vents itself on something else (thing or person) within reach—stool, chair, book: the pent-up anger must find vent, and the explosion is inevitable. 'Young children, when in a violent rage, roll on the ground on their backs or bellies, screaming, kicking, scratching, or biting everything within reach' (Darwin, op. cit., p. 241). Thus anger may be said to be instinctive. It does not wait for reason (though it may be brought under the control of reason), and is, in itself, regardless of results. It is aroused in us by what opposes us, or threatens us, by what offends and pains us (all such we resent); and it aims at repressing or suppressing the opposition, and at preventing its future operation. It is not, however, in itself unprofitable and, frequently, is not really a synonym of retaliation, as Aristotle's 'dialectic' would make it to be. Hence, such a definition as Locke's (An Essay concerning Human Understanding, ii. 20) must be rejected: 'Anger is an uneasiness of the mind, upon the receipt of an injury, with a present purpose of revenge.' The present purpose is not of revenge, but simply of rebuffing the offence or getting rid of it: it is that, to use a popular expression, 'for' revenge. The anger may easily follow in the wake of it. Thus it is that we may very well be angry with a man without hearing him ill-will; and thus it is that anger is only of brief duration (thence differing
from wrath, which is a settled disposition, although the choleric man is liable to repeated fits of it.

Like other 'passions,' anger lacks in moderation —transgresses limits, defies proportion. This indicates its danger as a motive power. When it acts like the wind, it exercises a useful function; when it becomes the whirlwind, it may do serious damage. On this account, its effects on the irate individual himself may be unsatisfactory; when the passions are intense, the subject inevitably ensues, exhaustion thus taking its revenge.

Anger is a primary emotion of the human mind, and needs to be experienced in order to be known. It has a distinct quality of its own, different from that of every other emotion; and no one could, by mere description, make it intelligible to a man who had never himself been angry. Not only is it not derived from other emotions, it does not even presuppose experience of other emotions to give it being. Yet it enters itself into other emotions, —sometimes as their basis, sometimes as a subsidiary factor,— and so may be allied with 'affects' that are distinctly malevolent. It is an egoistic, and at times even a most horrid, emotion. The anger of a venomous reptile is a nervously excited subject; and peevishness is undue sensibility to trifles, annoyance at them far beyond what their real value or significance warrants.

ii. Ethical. — Anger, as has just been said, is not in itself malevolent: it is simply a protection or defence against harm or hurt, and may be directed against things as well as against persons. It is a species of resentment being, and is instinctively, and, therefore, without due regard to consequences; hence the need of direction and restraint, and hence the ethical bearings of the emotion. As instinctive resentment, it is neither to be praised nor to be blamed, but is to be accepted as a part of the human constitution necessary to the welfare of the individual, and therefore ultimately to the good of the community. But inasmuch as the causes of anger are frequently human beings, and its object is also human beings, as anger is apt to expend itself in excessive measure, and, in cases where the causes of it cannot be immediately reached, on objects that had no share in arousing it, it has to be brought under the control of reason. It is in every case, if it is to be a help to justice. But, in thus rationalizing it, we are giving it a distinctly moral character, and are taking it in a wider significance than is accorded it by the psychologist. We are now estimating it in relation to its consequences, and assigning it a place in an ethical scheme of values. This means (to use Butler's famous analysis) that we are distinguishing between resentment that is sudden or instinctive and resentment that is deliberate, and appraising each in connexion with its social bearings.

Sudden or instinctive resentment, on the ethical side, is not to be thought of as a purely objective, or immediately on the perception of the offended, as discriminated from mere hurt or harm; it presupposes a conscious agent, intentionally doing an offending act for the purpose of injuring us. It consequently assumes the form of moral indignation, which is the spontaneous emotion caused by the sight, sense, or thought of wrong or evil, when the wrong or evil is designedly effected. It is the resentment of a healthy mind sensitive to injustice, and responding unreflectingly or immediately on the perception of the offended. Without this kind of anger, it is hardly conceivable how the moral nature could be effective at all.

When, on the other hand, we turn to deliberate resentment, we find that we are giving anger a different complexion, and are bringing it into relation with other phenomena of human nature that may or may not be conducive to men's highest interests. In so far as deliberate resentment means simply restraining the act that would naturally follow from an immediate perception of the injury inflicted, till we have assured ourselves (in cases where some doubt may be possible) whether our resentment is just or not, and whether the consequences of our action may not be out of all proportion to the injury done, then it is justifiable and commendable. But when, as is so frequently the case, deliberate resentment allies itself with our malevolent inclinations (with the savage or the fiend within us), then it becomes morally reprehensible, often in the highest degree. It is the nature of anger voluntarily nursed to magnify the offence that caused it; vanity and offended dignity come in to intensify and transform the emotion,—a grudge rankling in the bosom naturally exaggerates. Further, there can be little question that anger readily associates itself with that desire to injure others or to inflict pain on them that seems to be native to human beings, and so is easily transformed into a desire for destruction, or revenge, or, keener still, vindictiveness. It is now exclusively aimed at persons, and in its nature diametrically opposed to the sympathetic and humane sentiments, the tender emotions, that bind men together; it is the very antithesis of love, and, instead of attracting and cementing, alienates and repels. It is not only that the angry person, full of hate, is estranged from his fellow or resents his action; he also desires to inflict injury on him, to cause him pain, and glouts over and delights in his suffering. If he longs simply to pay him back or to requite him for the offence committed, his emotion, proceeding on the principle of equivalents, the lex talionis: — an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,—oblivious altogether of the promptings of generosity and mercy. When he harbours ill-will and cherishes his wrath, refusing to be pacified, meditating unmeasured requital and waiting for the favourable opportunity, it is revenge. Revenge is in its very nature inequitable and relentless, bloodthirsty and cruel, satisfied with nothing less than 'the head of John the Baptist in a charger.' When revenge pursues its object spitefully with unremitting persistence, and finds zest in every petty infliction of evil on him, it is vindictiveness. The vindictiveness gives it a very different character, (with the usual negative expressions, is not susceptible of.)

Various questions concerning anger suggest themselves:

1. A point that the earlier British psychologists (Butler, Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, etc.) delighted to investigate regarding anger and the malevolent affections, was their use or final cause. Accepting human nature as a given hierarchy of principles and faculties, and intending their philosophy to have practical value, they asked what end these seemingly destructive and objectionable forces served in the economy of man's being. They had little difficulty in showing that, given man and given his circumstances, these forces minister both to the protection or self-preservation of the individual and to the good of the community. Sudden anger clearly conduces to the defence of the irate person against hurt or harm. When what is at stake is another living person, it serves as a warning to him to desist; it is the Scottish Thistle fully displayed, with the significant motto, 'Nemo me impune læctet.' Even more sanely in this purpose served by retaliation and revenge, when the vengeful person has to deal with others of like vengeful disposition as his own. His anger, being fierce, is both punitive and deterrent.
ANGER (WRATH) OF GOD

(2) In more recent times, another question has come prominently forward, viz. Whether the malevolence of human nature (which nobody denies as a fact) is really native to it? The negative answer was early given by Aristotle, and was afterwards supported by P. H. Bradley, who tried to reduce malevolence to excitement, or love of power, or self-assertion, or such-like. This was strenuously opposed by Professor Bain, who insisted, that making all such attributes for self-assertion and the like, reduces to its lowest elements, reduces to its lowest elements, and similar strong emotions, there is a certain residue that is unaccounted for, and this residue is simply innate malevolence.

'Let us take, then, the examples where we are witnesses to suffering inflicted by others, and where we ourselves are noways concerned, or at all events, very remotely. Why do multitudes delight in being spectators of punishments, including the gallows? In former days, when executions were public, when whippings, the pillory, and the stocks were open to everybody's gaze, what was the source of the fascination attending the spectacles? They were remotely connected with the security of the people generally, but they were most frequented by those that thought least of public security. . . . We can go a step farther. There are abundance of examples of delinquents by belief of the most absolutely gratuitous kind, beginning in tender years, and continuing more or less until maturity. The love of teaching, of practical logic, of the love of telling trouble and making sport without cause, whatever it is, too manifest to be denied. . . . The demand for those forms that the forms that take by preference, inasmuch as these are probably something more than mere excitement; they involve a more conspicuous pleasure. The nature of excitement are in the habit of seeking it by molesting, annoying, chastising, by the inheritance is that his punishment is the mere cover for a definite pleasure, the pleasure of malevolence.

To sit on a road fence, and pass insulting and jeering remarks upon those whom we see passing, is a mere appeal to a meek love of excitement; it arises from the deeper fountains of malignity, revenge, and spite. The pursuit of excitement in the sake of exciting others, while provoking something, must do the same as if they had no heart; we may even find excitement, and pleasure too, in bestowing benefits; when we habitually seek it in the shape of loud laughter, and the ridicule and disapprobation of the public. . . . The question ever recurs—Why is it that such a source of comparative pleasure, if there be not a flagrant pleasure for the connexion with the sufferings of others? (Bain, Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics, pp. 84-104).

The strength of the argument seems to lie on the side of the affirmative; and, however unacceptable it may be, the fact must be recognized that man has an original tendency to inflict suffering on others, and derives real satisfaction and delight from contemplating the suffering that he inflicts.

(3) Our repugnance to this position may perhaps be mitigated, if we accept the explanation of the origin or source of the malevolent affections offered by the theory of Evolution. In his masterly work on the Origin of Species (1859), Darwin has amased materials to show that these affections originated, were in the predatory habits of the race, taken in connexion with those of the lower animals. They are the result of the necessity for combat and mutual warfare in the early struggle for existence. It was in these far back times that anger, retaliation, and revenge, were the ways of giving outward expression to them, so significant of their animal origin, arose; and they are a heritage to us from the past. By this hypothesis, the wolf in man receives an explanation of a scientific kind, which, whether fully adequate or not, throws light on many points connected with malevolence that otherwise remain dark and puzzling. The philosophers of some countries (Oriental in particular) have tried to explain the origin of the expression of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, especially the passage of the soul of a brute into the body of a man. The lower impulses and passions seem thereby to be accounted for, and man's baser nature to be so far justified. This is but the imaginative and non-scientific way of solving the problem; over against which has to be placed the scientific and reasoned mode of solution offered by Evolution.

LITERATURE.—Aristotle, de Anim a, i. 1, and Eth. Xic, iv. 5; Seneca, de Ira; Butler, Sermons, viii. and ix.; Hume, d.


WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

ANGER(WRATH)OF GOD.—I. THE DIVINE ANGER AS PRESENTED IN THE OT.—The God is revealed in the OT as a living Being, who has a merciful purpose toward the universe which He has made. During all the ages of human history, He is seeking to carry out this purpose to its consummation. In doing so, He is confronted by the ignorance and slowness of men, by their will and their hostility. The objects of His such feelings as would be stirred in the heart of a wise and good man, in view of the hindrances and oppositions with which he met in the course of some great, beneficent and providential work. The OT speaks freely of the grief, and jealousy, and anger of God. There are doubtless very grave difficulties in attributing these emotions, and, indeed, emotions of any kind, to One whose thoughts are not as the thoughts of men. But the writers of the OT, while guarding against an obvious abuse of this anthropomorphic method of conceiving the Divine nature (I 1566), do not stop to discuss such problems. They are chiefly concerned to make vivid and real the thought of God, as a living Person in whose image human beings have been made. Human qualities, accordingly, are attributed to God, because human nature is homogeneous with the Divine nature. In man these attributes and affections are marked by finitude and imperfection. In God they exist in absolute perfection. This makes a great difference between what is found in man and what is attributed to God, as the OT writers are well aware. But there is an identity deeper than the difference; and therefore even the latest and most spiritual of the prophets and psalmists make fearless use of anthropomorphism. Wherever they have failed to do so, they would have endangered, in the minds of their readers, the personality and the moral nature of God. Anger, accordingly, is found in the Divine character, as it is always found in any strong human character.

I. THE NATURE OF THE DIVINE ANGER.—The OT describes it in terms which are laden with terror. What created thing can stand before the flame of that great anger (Dt 2922; cf. De 129, Ps 7821; 8860-8-8, i. 2)? The Divine anger, described in these and other passages, is not to be confounded with the ceaseless and capricious fury which men have been wont to attribute to the gods of Homer and the Iliad. It is always to be understood by reference to the central truth of Jehovah's self-revelation. He is the covenant God of His people. He promised and declared that it is when the conditions under which alone He can work out that salvation is infringed, and His purpose of mercy is imperilled. The relation in which He stands to Israel necessarily implies that His holiness, i.e. His Godhead, be not violated in any of its manifestations. A God who is not holy and inviolable cannot be a Saviour To invade His sanctity is to defeat His purpose. The anger of God is aroused, therefore, by any act which stands between Him and the end which He has in view.
Incidents are recorded which seem to bring the anger of Jehovah down to the level of the inexplicable rage of an un-ethical bestial nature (e.g., 1 S 6-9, 2 S 24-29; 1 K 19:14; Ex 21:25, 30). All such cases, however, are to be understood less in the light of a divine purpose, than as evidence that the pride and self-will of man invade the sphere of the divine holiness. What is at stake is not a ceremonial regulation as such, but the very nature of God Himself. By such acts as those referred to, therefore, the anger of God is kindled, and moves upon the perpetrators of them it descends in crushing might.

2. Its Objects.—The objects of the Divine anger, accordingly, are men who oppose themselves to the Divine will. Such an attitude was hostile to the people, the people of God's choice, the realm wherein He rules: the nations who rage, and the peoples who imagine a vain thing (Ps 2), the enemies that reproach, and the foolish people who blaspheme His name (Ps 74). Not these alone, however, nor these chieflY, provoke Him to anger. When Israel breaks the laws of righteousness, upon which the commonwealth of God is founded, or does dishonour to Him who redeems His people, His heart is not within Him; and He punishes, not with cold, unemotional, judicial exactitude, but with an intensity of indignation which, to a awakened conscience, is the most awful element in this part of the story (Ls 139, 1 Ls 61). The long education of Israel, culminating in the teaching of the prophets, has burned into the conscience of men that sin is a reality for God, and that towards it He is moved with a just and terrible anger (Ps 119). The depth of God's concern with regard to sin can be fathomed only by estimating aright the relation in which He stands to His people. He is their Saviour, and the tenderest and most hearty concern for them is in the heart of the Father, whose selfish pride or ambition may be made subservient to the will of God, so that it may, unconsciously, be the rod of Jehovah's anger (Is 10). The prophets, however, clearly discern that God's operations, alike in mercy and in judgment, cannot be carried to completion in the state of the world as they know it. Not in any of these common days, which succeed one another with uncompleted significance, can the work of God be finished, but only in a Day, which completes the series, and at once reveals and fulfils the whole design of God. This Day of the Lord will be both the consummation of all the teachings and personal pride (Am 5:28-29, Zeph 1:12, Mal 2:2-3). Thus the wrath of God gains a predominantly eschatological sense, not, however, to the exclusion of the view that it is a present quality of the Divine nature, which is continuously manifest in His attitude toward sin.

4. The turning away of the Divine anger.—Being under the control of the ultimate Divine purpose, the wrath of God may be restrained, or even entirely turned away, and give place to the unhindered outpourings of loving-kindness. It is, indeed, plain that, if God gave free vent to His anger, the objects of it would immediately be destroyed (Ps 130). Such an action on His part, however, would be contrary to His own ends. During the historic period, through which God is pursuing His aim, His wrath cannot be fully executed (Ps 78:35-36). One consideration is paramount—the honour of His Name, i.e., the success of His mission. Thus, if men of mercy cannot submit to be tainted with failure (Ezk 20, Is 48-49). He is angry, and He punishes. But He waits to see if, by punishments restrained and controlled by His mercy, those who oppose themselves to His will, will turn to Him, and live. Beyond this period of discipline there lies an awful possibility of exhausted forbearance, and final and measureless doom. What, then, will avert this doom, and turn anger into acceptance and delight? The OT has no clear or full answer to give. The sacrifices, obviously, could not atone for sin, in its real spiritual significance; and their symbolism cannot have conveyed an exact dogmatic teaching. The prophets, however, had grasped one great and fruitful thought: if a representative of the people be found who, standing in living relation to the nation, yet separating himself from the national trespas, shall deeply and sincerely feel the sinfulness of the nation's sin, and the terror of the Divine judgment upon it, and shall make profound acknowledgment before God, in the name of the people, of their guilt and ill-desert, the Divine anger will be appeased, and God will return to His people in mercy (Gr 32, Ex 32:14, Nu 21:26-29). It is true that no perfectly competent representative can be found among the people themselves, Even a Moses or a Sennacherib would be insufficient for being such an one. Yet the principle of atonement through sin-bearing remained deep in the prophetic consciousness (Ezk 22, Jer 5, Is 59), and, in the great vision of Is 55, one is depicted capable of undertaking even this vocation of unspeakable suffering, and, through his faithful discharge of it, procuring deliverance for the transgressors.

II. THE DIVINE ANGER AS PRESENTED IN THE NT.—The OT and the NT are at one in their intense conviction that God is 'a Person, with ethical attributes,' a living Being, having moral powers and qualities, which are reflected and reproduced in man. They agree also in their presentation of man as participating in the ethicalizing of the idea of God which is seen in the prophets of the OT is assumed as fundamental truth by the teachers of the NT. Love and mercy, holiness and righteousness, are qualities which believing men, alike before and after the coming of Christ, discern in the character of God, and adore with reverence and joy.

So also the NT, like the OT, has no hesitation in attributing emotions to God. Peace, and pleasure, and gladness are all to be found in Him, and, through their effects in the hearts of believers, are part of the Christian's heritage of blessedness. The conceptions of the Divine emotions are so wrought into Christian experience, as expressed in the NT, that to question it or explain it away would deprive the experience itself of its life and meaning.

1. It may be urged, however, that while it is true that the NT, like the OT, attributes emotions to God, it differs in not attributing to Him the emotions of anger. Thus their anger disappear in NT teaching as an element in the character of God? It is well known that Ritschl, and some other theologians of his school maintain that the only NT use of the Divine anger is eschatological. Is this correct? (a) It is true that the NT rage is primarily eschatological. Thus the expressions of the angels of the prophets of the OT, had the Day of Wrath full in view. The Baptist made it the burden of his warning address (Mt 3:7). However difficult it may be to find questions or responses in connection with certain portions of the tradition, it is certain that eschatology occupied a large place in the teaching of Jesus, and
that He used OT figures in describing the terror of the Judgment. In the Apocalypse of St. John that final pouring out of the wrath of God weights upon an aweful sense of doom (e.g. Rev. 14:19). The preaching of the Apostles is full of the terror of the Lord. To them and to their hearers it is a reality, and not the imagination of a man; and one element, not the greatest, yet very precious and wonderful, in the gospel, is that the Moslems have seized on this unapproachable terror (1 Th 5:16, Ro 9:20). (b) It is not true, however, that the usage is exclusively eschatological. It is to be observed, moreover, that however readily awakened by references to the ultimate Judgment and its dread accompaniments, a deeper awe is produced by the contemplation of a judgment that is present and continuous, and an anger that is awake and abiding even now. This more solemn sense of the wrath of God is not absent in the NT. The teaching of Jesus is very far from depicting a God who is undisturbed at the sight of human pride and self-sufficiency. Sin is a reality for God, and there is one sin, which itself is the ultimate product of sin, which hath never forgiveness. Some of the parables are heavy with the weight of the Divine indignation (e.g. Mt 23:29-30). More significant still than the words of Jesus were His own feelings and their outcome in act. He who said, 'We have not eaten the flesh of the Father' (Jn 6:56) was not stolidly cold or sublimely unmoved in presence of evil. Once and again He was filled with a great anger (Mt 23:15, 17; Mt 21:13). In allowing Himself this emotion and its utterance, Jesus certainly did not regard Himself as out of harmony with the feeling and attitude of God towards the evils that so moved Him. This teaching is echoed throughout the NT. Sin always seems to have that same wrath of God (Ro 1:18; 2:8, etc.). In its inmost significance, is equivalent to rejection of the Divine mercy incarnate in the Son of God. This teaching is not to be误会: God abideth on Him (Jn 3:34). When we remember what 'life' means, and how much it means for the old and New Testament writers, the favour and fellowship of God, we are compelled to put into this saying the profoundest sense of a weighty total indignation now resting upon the soul which is not standing in the obedience of Christ. It is possible to deny the doctrine thus covered, and yet be happy in the fear it conveys, and it is not possible to deny that NT writers held this doctrine, and owned this overwhelming terror.

2. The wrath of God, then, rests on the soul that rejects Christ; and upon the soul that is ‘in Christ’ no such awful load remains. The NT writers are at one in attributing this great deliverance to the saving work of Christ, especially to His death, which they regard as a sacrifice for sin. When Christ was raised from the dead, ‘the cloud of Divine wrath—the 659 so long suspended and threatening to brake (Ro 3:25) has been and will never be awaked away. This is the thought which lies at the bottom of Ro 6:10-13 (Sunday on Ro 4:25, in ICC). The penitent believer, looking to the cross of Christ, is certified, by the witness of the Spirit within him, that the wrath of God, which once rested upon him, is now turned away from him. Is it then the intention of the Biblical writers to convey the idea that Christ bore the wrath of God, that He endured the outpouring of the Divine anger? Is it fitting for the redeemed to say: The Father lifted up His rod: (De 32:19; Ps 75:9, Jl 2:20.) It is a remarkable fact that the NT never does, in words, connect the death of Christ with the Divine anger, even in passages where the line of argument might have seemed to culminate in such a thought. It seems as though the writers deliberately refrained from any language which might suggest that the Son became the subject of the Father’s anger, or that His death was due to an outburst of the Divine wrath, a wrath, as it were, drawn forth in lightning stroke, smote the holy breath of Jesus. At the same time it is to be noted that experiences which are themselves expressions of the wrath of God are attributed to Christ, and owe only to Him their existence to them. In Gal 3:13 Christ is described as having become ‘a curse for us, and in 2 Co 5:21 as having been made ‘sin’ on our behalf. Whatever these mysterious expressions, ‘blessing in the Lord’s sight’, ‘suffering of sin’, ‘utterance of the wrath’, to which such language may be made to refer, they cannot mean less than an actual experience, by the sinless One, of what sin involves; and that, without doubt, is the wrath of God. Yet the actual experience of sin is not used. It must be remembered, also, that Jesus, in dying, experienced ‘anguish’, whose source and bitterness we can never fully know; which, as it broke from Him in the cry of desertion, cannot have meant less than an unapproachable sense of the Divine judgment upon human sin (cf. Principal Garvie in Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus, p. 417.) Yet it does not appear, even in that cry of infinite pain, that He felt that God was angry with Him. Descriptions are given, implying that Jesus in death experienced a profound realization of what it means, and of what the Divine attitude and feeling toward it, and the Divine judgment upon it, really are. In these very descriptions, however, phrases which might lead to inferences regarding the anger of God are being endured by the Son of His love are carefully avoided. Christian faith is directed to One who was the Son of God, in whom the Father was well pleased, who hung upon the cross in fulfillment of the mission to which the Father summoned Him, and who must therefore have been, in that hour, the object of the Father’s deep satisfaction and most tender love, who yet surrounded the comforts of the Father’s fellowship, identified Himself with sinful men, and passed, Himself sinless, through the apprehension of God’s sentence upon sin, acknowledging its justice, and approving, as in the holy will, so in the holy action of God. The believer, when he commits himself to the crucified and risen Lord, receives from Him salvation, and enters upon the joy of those from whom the Divine anger is turned away, and who live in the Divine favour and fellowship. At the same time, being spiritually one with his Lord, he enters into the experiences in which Christ won his deliverance, realizes and acknowledges God’s judgment upon sin, dies to sin as a power over him, and begins to live the new life, which is not over sin; and in these experiences, which strangely reproduce both the passion and the glory of the Redeemer, the salvation, which he receives as a gift, is wrought out in a growing assimilation to Christ. He combines, in his own experience, what he has seen combined upon the Cross, the wrath of God against sin and the Divine mercy toward sinners. The terror of the Lord and the love of Christ are the two powers which operate within him, to make him flee from sin, and live unto Him who for His sake died and rose again. It may be possible to have a religious experience in which the sense of the wrath of God is experienced, but it ought to be acknowledged that it would not be an experience which has the cross of Christ for its starting-point and the NT for its rule and guide. It fell on Ten.

III. DOCTRINAL CONCLUSIONS.—The Biblical usage warrants certain inferences, which require to have their place in any theology whose guiding principles are found in the Scriptures.

1. The reality of the Divine anger.—The passion of anger is implanted in man, and has for its end the prevention and remedy of injury and the miseries arising out of it. ‘It is to be considered,’ in the words of Bishop Berkeley in his famous Sermon on Recollection (§ 11), ‘as a weapon, put into our hands by nature, against injury, injustice, and cruelty’; and ‘it may be innocently employed and made use of.’ We ascribe human qualities to God, not because we think of Him as a magnified man, but because we necessarily regard men as reflecting, under conditions of finitude and limitation, the qualities of the Divine nature. Human anger should be a model for the perfection of the Divine. The wrath of God is not a passion to be willed, but a passion to be experienced in the hands of man. The ‘wrath which is put into our hands’ we often use unwisely, forgetting, as we wield it, the claims of both righteousness and love. Divine anger is far removed from any such defect. It is a reflection of One who is at the same time all gracious and all righteous. It is completely under the control of...
ANGER (WRATH) OF GOD

attributes which are themselves combined, without any opposition, in the harmony of the Divine character. But it is in God essentially what it is in man. In Him, also, it is a 'weapon' against injustice and its kindred evil, turned against those who, in pride and self-will, seek to injure God. The classical theological statement of this position is to be found in Lactantius' De Ira Dei. The gods of Epicurus inhabit 'the void interspace of voids,' and 'are in no way sorrows, to mar their sacred everlasting calm.' The God of Stoicism is another name for the Universal Reason embodied in the universe, and is lifted far above the throb of feeling. Against any such views of the apathy of the Divine nature, Lactantius sets the Christian conviction of the character of God as love, and announces the principle 'qui non odit, nec diligat.' 'If God is not love, and its kindred evil, it is clear that He does not love the pious and the righteous. Therefore the error of those is more consistent who take away at once both anger and kindness. This line of argument has been often followed, e.g., by Trench (Syllomus, p. 120):

'There is a wrath of God, which would not be good unless He hated evil, the two being inseparable, so that He must do both or neither.'

Other aspects of the question of the Divine anger have arisen mainly from an intrusion of philosophical theory into the sphere of theology, and for this, in Trench, is a confession, Augustine is chiefly responsible. He is still very largely under the control of Neo-Platonism, and shares the dread, always entertained by mystical piety, of lowering the Divine nature, by connecting it with finite things, or of breaking in upon the transcendence and infinitude of its attributes taken from human experience. Thus in the City of God (bk. xv. ch. 25) he speaks of 'the anger of God, which does not inform His mind, nor disturb His unchangeable tranquillity and identifies it with the sentence which God pronounces upon sin.' 'The anger of God is of a disturbing emotion of His mind, but a judgment by which a punishment is inflicted.' The language which in Scripture attributes anger to God, he regards as anthropomorphic, and explains it as 'a condescension to man's finitude, imputing itself into the minds of all classes of men, alarming the proud, assuaging the careless, exercising the inquisitive, and satisfying the intelligence.' He may extraneous something of the same hesitation in Dr. John Caird's estimate of the value and the defects of anthropomorphism, and analogously he says:

'... when we are told of His wrath as being reserved or alated... the religious mind passes beyond the anthropomorphic language and identifies it with the mercy, the holy spiritual man, the man who has been truly instructed by the scriptural language, who has the expression, who expresses the sentiments of the Deity as well as the mind of man, which has been truly exhibited in the spiritual man. But it is a god, not only the religious mind, instructed by Scripture and by experience, will not necessarily presuppose the construction to a conception of the Divine personality. The difficulty of conceiving how God can be both the Absolute and a living Person is, of course, very great. Probably we ought to direct our thoughts to a fresh study of the conception of the Absolute, particularly with the aim of freeing it from the immobility and sterility which an exclusive use of the category of substance has imparted to it. In any case, we must seek to be just in our thinking to an absolute will of love, which determines the whole counsel and action of God; and, also, to His attitude toward that which conflicts with this with an attitude which can be construed only as condemnation and wrath.'

2. Sin and the Divine anger.—(1) The indignation is the expression of a love that is all-pervading, and the outburst of wrath and the unhindered manifestation of love are real also. Theology, accordingly, in its effort to give reflective expression to the facts of Charity, and its sincerity, cannot neglect the idea of the wrath of God, nor be at variance with it.

Ritschl, indeed, refuses to allow any theological value to the idea of the wrath of God. He makes great work on Justification and Reconciliation as 'ein ebenso heilloses wie absichtloses Theologenweib' (vol. ii. p. 283 [Eng. tr.] he says: 'From the point of view of theology, no validity can be assigned to the idea of the wrath of God and His judgment, as it stands as yet unconquered from this theological standpoint, is any special mediation between the wrath of God and the sinner conceivable or necessary in order to explain the reconciliation of God and man.') The new depends (a) on an interpretation of the Biblical usage, viz. that 'wrath' has a uniformly eschatological meaning, which is surely unnecessary; (b) on a conception of an absolutely and exclusively love, justice being excluded from the Divine essence, which imperils the ultimate distinctions of Good and Evil. When the Divine reason, clothed with omnipotence, has created morally free beings, the right of punitive justice cannot be excluded from it, viz., in the whole moral world to the danger of falling a prey to chaos' (Dennert, System of Christian Doctrine, vol. iv. p. 65).\n
(2) The wrath of God against sin stands in the closest relation to all His ethical attributes, particularly to His holiness and His love. His holy character is outraged by the presence of moral evil. If it is worship, as the impersonation and the guardian of righteousness. A trained conscience bows before this righteous wrath of God against evil, recognizing it as an element in ideal excellence. That nature alone which is upright is blind to what judgment is perverted, fails to be angry at the sight of moral evil. 'A sinner,' says Dr. A. B. Davidson, 'is an ill judge of sin' (Comm. on Hebrews, ch. 10). But the law which knows sin and hates it with a perfect hatred. His love is not less affronted than His holiness. The welfare of men, which is the aim of His love, is ruined by moral evil. The highest good of men depends on the conquest of sin in them, and their conformity to the holy character of God. His love for men, therefore, intensifies the heat of His indignation against that in them which opposes the realization of His loving purpose for them.

Some theologians have pressed this close connection between love and anger to the point of identifying them. So Martensen: 'This wrath is holy love itself, feeling itself restrained, hindered, and stayed through unrighteousness'; Oesterlee: 'Not without reason has this wrath been termed the extreme burning point of the flame of love'; and many modern writers, e.g., Scott Lidgett: 'The manifestation of the Fatherhood of God is shut out, and because shut out, is turned to wrath; for the wrath of God is simply the love of the Fatherhood denied its purpose by rebellion'; and Stevens: 'The wrath of God is the reaction of His holy love against sin. It is not the opposite of love; it is a part or aspect of love.'

It may be doubted, however, whether this identification is correct. Love and wrath are not the same thing. While incompatible with revenge, is certainly not inconsistent with resentment (cf. Butler, Sermon ix. § 10). It is possible to love those who have injured us, while feeling a deep and just indignation at the moral turpitude of their conduct. But our anger is certainly not a part or aspect of our love. Even a parent's anger at the evil conduct of a beloved child is not to be confused with his love for his child; though it is closely related to his love, being intensified by his desire to secure for his son the very highest moral results, and being, at the same time, controlled and directed by love in its manifestations. Anger is connected primarily with passion the passing away of wrath and the unhindered manifestation of love are real also. Thus anger, accordingly, in its effort to give reflective expression to the facts of Charity, and its sincerity, cannot neglect the idea of the wrath of God, nor be at variance with it.

This new view of the wrath of God in its relation to love and love of the Father's love and anger are real and distinct.
Their relations to each other constitute a problem the solution of which will tax his utmost wisdom. It is after this analogy that the Biblical usage presents the Divine anger; and by it theological thought must needs go back from a consideration of love to the sinner, while at the same time He burns with just and awful resentment against his sin. His love and His wrath are alike real, and each has its distinctive place in the character of God. Their relation to the problem which presents itself cannot be adequately set forth in terms of thought; while yet Christian faith grasps the solution in the cross of Christ.

Even Martensen, who identifies love and wrath, dwells upon the tension or apparent variance which sin has produced between the Divine love and the Divine righteousness, and defines the idea of the Atonement as the solution of a certain antithesis in the very life of God as revealed to man, or of the apparent opposition between God’s love and God’s righteousness (Christian Dogmatics, p. 325).

3. The turning away of wrath.—Scripture never suggests that there is any antagonism between the Divine love and the Divine anger, and nowhere could there be a stronger instance of love than with sinners that He felt it necessary to pour out His fury on someone before He could begin to love anyone. Theologians, who have kept close to Scripture, even in the teaching of Augustine concerning the ground of an ‘objective’ theory of the Atonement, have not failed to protest against this outrageous perversion of the truth. Calvin, whose expressions may often be criticised for their gloom and terror, is absolutely consistent. This infinite love being reconciled by the death of Christ must not be understood as if the Son reconciled us, in order that the Father, then hating, might begin to love us; but that we were reconciled (to Him) already loving, though at enmity with us because of sin. (Institutes, bk. ii. ch. xvi. § 4). The Divine love, accordingly, is the original impulse and the continual inspiration of the whole redemptive activity of God. Let the Divine love not compel and obliterate the Divine anger by a mere overflow of sentiment. The Divine anger can be turned away only when those against whom it is directed enter, with profound insight and entire assent, into its grounds and reasons, and submit themselves, with unquaking surrender, to the experiences in which the awful displeasure of the Holy One is manifested and realized. To say this, however, is to say nothing about the Divine love. It is the sinners the unspeakable terrors of the Divine judgment. Suppose, however, that, in the centre of the human race, there should appear One so related to man as to enter, as He was able to enter upon Himself service which no sinner can render for his brother, and no sinner can discharge in his own interests. Suppose that He should enter, without one shade of disparity or inadequacy, into the mind of God regarding sin, and submit Himself freely to the whole experience in which that mind is expressed, feeling, as He did so, an extremity of spiritual anguish for which no sinful soul has any conception. Suppose that He could not, by His suffering be a sacrifice for sin which the Divine love could accept without any infringement of its holiness, while the cloud of the Divine wrath would roll away for ever? Suppose, further, that such an One were the gift of God’s love to the race, as indeed He would need to be, seeing that the race could not produce Him, and were in Himself the very Word of God, the express image of His Person, as He would need to be if He were to reveal God’s mind toward sinners. Would He not be the living personal meeting-point of the Divine love and the Divine anger? But this is the message of the NT. Is it not the very message of the love of God reaches its consummation, and by then the wrath of God is stilled for evermore. To the question whether the Son endured the wrath of God, we must, following the usage of Scripture and the obvious truth of the situation, give a negative answer. ‘We do not,’ says Calvin, commenting on the cry of dismay uttered over the lot of the sinner, while at the same time He burns with just and awful resentment against his sin. His love and His wrath are alike real, and each has its distinctive place in the character of God. Their relation to the problem which presents itself cannot be adequately set forth in terms of thought; while yet Christian faith grasps the solution in the cross of Christ.

The faith which apprehends Christ as Saviour means the transition from a condition which involves the hostility of God, while yet His love is devising means for the restoration of the sinner, to a state in which the Divine love may satisfy itself in accepting the penitent and crowning him with goodness, and that it is to be this spiritual act has for its object Christ in His experience of sin-bearing, and implies spiritual oneness with Christ in it. The penitent, as he first comes to Christ, will know but little of what was involved in that experience. But the most rudimentary faith implies that the sinner identifies himself with Christ, as Christ had identified Himself with him; that the Divine judgment upon sin which Christ bore, and so vindicated for ever, the sinner accepts and ratifies, and thus, under the constraint of the love of Christ, dies to sin in its principle and power. Thus, though the sinner does not bear the anger of God laid upon sin, yet, taught by the suffering of Christ, he knows what that righteous indignation is from which he has been delivered, and enters with purged conscience upon the new life of fellowship and obedience.

4. The day of wrath.—The NT is occupied mainly with the proclamation of the gospel, and with opening to believers the wealth of opportunity and blessedness which is theirs in Christ. It has, accordingly, comparatively little material for a doctrine of the Last Things on its negative side. Yet the conclusion to which we are led admits of no doubt. If there is sin, after the full period of probation is ended, those who persist in their opposition to God and their rejection of the Divine mercy, whose characters have attained a final fixity, the NT leaves no doubt as to what their condition must be. They have sinned an eternal sin (Mk 3:30). They must endure the utmost visitation of the wrath of God (1 Th 5:19, Ro 2:8-9, 2 Th 1:9). We are not called on to decide the question, whether there shall be a final destruction of lost souls, or even whether any such shall be found at the time of the consummation. We are warned against accepted descriptions of what is in its nature, unimaginable, the loss and the misery of such a state. In any case any serious thought of the nature of human nature, and of the relations of God and
man, leads to the conclusion that such fixity of opposition to God must be included in the possi-
bilities of the development of human character, and that, if this possibility is ever realized, it must
involve none other than this overwhelming judg-
ment.

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T. B. KILPATRICK.

ANGLO-ISRAELISM.—The theory that the inhabitants of England are the descendants of the 'lost' (? Ten Tribes of Israel is held somewhat widely, and is said to have two million adherents in Great Britain and the United States. The Anglo-Israelites are, at any rate, sufficiently numer-
ous to support one publisher who devotes his business entirely to publications dealing with the subject. There are also several periodicals published in furtherance of the views of the Anglo-
Israelites. The earliest suggestions of an Israelitish ances-
tory of the English are to be found in John Sudder's Rights of the Kingdom (1619). These take the form of a series of parallels between English law and customs and those of the Hebrews and Jews. The name 'Britain' itself is traced to a Phoenician source, Berat Anak ('The Field of Tin and Lead'). Many of the legends attached to the Coronation Stone have also a Jewish tinge, and are traced back to a period of residence under the lead of Jeremiah and Baruch, in Ireland. The modern movement owes its foundation to Richard Brothers (1757–1824), a half-pay officer of ecclesiastical habits in the navy. According to his account he was a Divinely appointed prophet. He described himself as a 'nephew of the Almighty,' and claimed descent from David. Among his prophecies were those of the imminent restoration of Israel to the Holy Land, and the elevation of himself as prince of the Hebrews and ruler of the world. Brothers was confined as a lunatic, but succeeded in obtaining many admirers, among whom Abel Bracewell of Hampton, M. P. for Lymington. The non-fulfilment of his prophecies did not completely destroy the faith of the believers, but through good and ill he retained the loyalty of John Finlayson, previously a Scotch lawyer with an extensive and lucrative practice. According to the Dictionary of National Biography, Brothers printed in all fifteen volumes, chiefly in support of his theory of the Israelitic descent of most of the inhabitants of England. The more important of the volumes are Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times (1794), and A Correct Account of the Invasion and Conquest of this Island by the Saxons (1822). Prominent among the literature that followed upon Brothers' prophecies were Finlayson's writings. In 1840 the theory was adopted by John Wilson, who lectured and wrote widely on the subject. His Our Israelitic Origin is the exposition of the theory. Other advocates in the nineteenth century were W. Carpenter (Israelitae Found), F. R. A. Glover (England the Remnant of Judah), and C. Piazza Smyth, the Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, who devoted himself to the investigation of the geographical regions in which the Israelites are supposed to have passed. In 1871, Edward Hine published his Identification of the British Nation with Lost Israel, of which a quartet of a million copies are said to have been sold. In the United States the leaders of the movement have been W. H. Poole and G. W. Greenwood. The theory has also been adopted to a slight extent on the Con-

continent, where, for instance, the hostility of the English to Napoleon and Russia, and the sympathy aroused by the Dreyfus case are attributed to this cause.

The advocates of the theory identify Israel with the Khumri of the Assyrians, the Cimmeri of the Greeks, the Cimbri of the Romans, and the Cimri of the Romans. All these forms, it is said, are variations of the same name, and traces of it are to be found in Crema, Cumberland, Cambria, and Gurni (a Russian fortress on the banks of the Araxes, the place of the Israelitish exile). The Ten Tribes of the Assyrian Captivity on leaving the land of their sojourn are supposed to have wandered towards the west, while those of the Babylonian Captivity passed eastwards towards Afghanistan and India. It is claimed that evidence of the journey towards the north-west is to be found in the toms, alleged to be of Israelitish origin, that stretch from the Nile to the Jumna and those of the ancient Caucasian peoples towards the Araxes. The further passage westwards can be traced, we are told, in the river nomenclature of Russia: the Don, Danz, Don(?)siper, Don(?)ster, and Danube. The theory goes on to state that these migrants were driven by Alexander the Great over the Danube and settled in Dacia. There they were attacked by the Romans, whom they ultimately repulsed. Many of them, however, were driven farther north, and founded colonies of Israelites which were passed into the west and as far as the Danube, as well. The Goths, who were also descendants of Israelitish descent (Goth =Gete=Gad) were driven by the Huns into the dominions of Rome, in which and beyond which they spread. In consequence of these events, almost the whole of Europe, as well as her colonies in other continents, is held to be peopled by descendants of Israel. Among the local identifications are the tribes of Simeon and Levi among the Ionians, Asher in the Etruscans, Dan in the Danes, Judah in the Jutes, and Manasseh in the Celts. The Sced-
ne-monians are also stated to have been descendants of Judah.

The Khumri are divided into the Scuthae or Scythians—where Scotch—and the Saco—afterwards Saxons (sons of Isaac). The former, it is said, composed the migration of B.C. 670, when the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Man-
asses, started from the Araxes. The latter consisted of the remains of the victims of the captivity of nineteen years later. One branch of the tribe of Dan, however, escaped on ships, and ultimately settled in Spain and Ireland, where they were known as the Tuatha-de-Danann. They arrived in Ireland under the lead of the scribe Barnach and possibly also of Jeremiah. Accompany-
ing them, we are told, was an Israelitish princess who subsequently married a local chieftain, the couple being crowned on the Bethel stone, rescued from the ruins of the Temple. This stone, the Lia-
Fail, it is claimed, accompanied the Scots to Scot-
land, and was ultimately transferred there. It was removed by Edward I. from Stone to West-
minster, and is identical with that now used at English coronations. There is in reality consider-
able doubt whether the Coronation Stone is identi-
cal with the Lia-Fail.

In support of the theory many alleged identifica-
tions in respect of customs, traditions, beliefs, etc., have been adduced. These, without exception, depend upon the inadequate support of the Great Pyramid that the English were descended from the Lost Tribes. In 1871, Edward Hine published his Identification of the British Nation with Lost Israel, of which a quartet of a million copies are said to have been sold. In the United States
the persons of his descendents, the English. It is also argued that the English must be the representative of the race, as otherwise the many Divine promises made to that race would be unfulfilled.

The theory relies to a very considerable extent on a very literal interpretation of certain passages in the Old Testament (e.g. Jer 31:2-5). It is pointed out that Israel was to change his name ( Hos 11), increase beyond number, dwell in islands (Is 24:23) to the north (Jer 37) and the west, and be a great nation (Mic 5). Israel would also extend beyond the limits and found his collection (Is 49:20, 54), Dt 28:46 and 32:8). One of the tribes, Manasseh, was to become an independent nation (Gen 48:9). From this tribe, we are told, the United States was derived. Reference is found to the lion and the unicorn in Num 24:4, and to the American eagle in Ezek 17. The promise that Israel shall possess the gates of her enemies (Gen 22:24) is fulfilled in the case of Britain by the possession of Gibraltar, the one city or another, among the early Dickinson, A. one way or another, among the early.

ANGRÁ MAINYU.—See Ahimā.

ANGUTTARA NIKĀYĀ.—The fourth of the five Nikāyas, or collections, which constitute the Sutta Pitakā, the Basket of the tradition as to doctrine, the second of the three Pitakas in the canon of the early Buddhists. The standing calculation in Buddhist books on the subject is that it consists of 9557 suttas or short passages.

Modern computations would be different. This large number is arrived at by counting as three separate books such a statement as: *Earnestness, British Israelites and The Ten Tribes (1855); T. R. Howiet's Anglo-Israel and the Jewish Problem (1863); The Sukos, Our Cretan Saviours (1882); H. H. Pain's English Israelites (1859); Ozoan's Israel's Wanderings (1851); H. A. Smith's Israel's History (1882), C. L. Totten's Israel's Race (1879); and H. W. Poole's Anglo-Israel (1859). Other books that should be consulted are: C. Piazza Smyth's Our inheritors of History (1884); R. Gorel's English derived from Hebrew, and Identity of the Philistines called Druidical and Hebrew (1859); W. C. Davenant's Hebrews (1866). C. also Jacobs in JE I. 601. A very large number of books and pamphlets on the subject is published by Banks, Jacobson Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

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being; the savage, in his treatment of the game which has fallen a victim to the prowess of the hunter, represents the loss of a similar state of mind; he attributes to the soul of the beast an anxiety as to, and a knowledge of, the good or bad treatment of its mortal remains. When the animal is still alive, he regards it as open to argument; he will reproach the crocodile with having slain those who have done it no harm, and point out that the crocodiles, having been the aggressors, have only themselves to thank when men free them and extend to them all the last rights and friends. He attributes to animals the power of speech, a power which in the case of the monkey is said to be put to no use, owing to the animal’s fear that he might be made to work if he once began to talk. Both in fables and folk-tales, animals are represented as carrying on conversations and as being moved by the same motives as the human beings who narrate the stories (MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, pp. 33-41, 247-278); so much so, in fact, that in Africa the arguments in a judicial process not uncommonly turn on the question of what the crocodile said to the hen—in which form the negro embodies his practical reasoning. For in Europe it is not hard to find traces of this primitive attitude of mind; there is a well-known custom of telling the bees when the master of the house dies; and few beliefs are more firmly rooted in the minds of country people than that neglect of this precaution will offend the insects, and deprive the new master or mistress of their labours. So, too, a knowledge of the moral character of those about them is attributed to the bees, with a corresponding influence on their activity. There is therefore no line of demarcation between man and beast, so that the North American Micmacs say: ‘In the beginning of things, men were as animals and animals as men’ (Leland, *Algonquin Legends*, p. 31). To the uncultured the difference is in the form, not in the nature, of things. The Indians of Guinea do not see any sharp line of distinction between man and other animals, between one kind of animal and another, or even between animals—man included—and inanimate objects. On the contrary, to the Indian all objects, animate and inanimate, seem exactly of the same nature, except that they differ in the accident of bodily form. Every object in the whole world is a being consisting of body and spirit, and differs from every other object in no respect save that of bodily form, and in the greater or less power of the convoking or dominating spirit consequent on the difference of bodily form and bodily habits (Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guinea*, p. 350).

But this is one of the essential similarity of all things, in spite of differences of form, does not embody the whole of the savage’s creed. Perhaps still more essential is his belief in the impermanence of form. We find this exemplified even in Europe; few tales are more common than those of the transformation of an old witch into a cat or a hare. But magical powers are by no means essential to this change of form. To take only one example: There is a wide-spread belief that certain migratory birds, and especially the stork, assume human form in other lands; and no sense of incongruity is felt when the story is told of a traveller in foreign lands, being one day approached by an unknown man, who, as one learns, is in fact a stork, representing his family affairs, inquires after the health of his children, and takes a general interest in what is going on in the distant Fatherland. The traveller is so far interested that he learns that the stranger obtained his knowledge on the spot. His request for an explanation is met by the simple reply that the stranger is the stork who nests on the good man’s roof. All the world over we find the same belief in the power of men, animals, and plants, to assume another form at will (cf. MacCulloch, *Phigalia*, pp. 149-187). It is therefore no wonder if the savage attitude towards nature is widely different from our own.

These transformations can take place during life. Of a slightly different nature, but almost equally important for the comprehension of the beliefs and customs of the uncultured, is the idea that death does not merely mean a cessation of existence, but is quite as material as the former. One of the great sources of the respect paid to animals is the belief that certain species are the embodiments of the souls of the dead, or even the souls of the dead (for the view varies), and that these souls must receive respect, not only because they are ancestors or relatives, but also because their anger would mean the anger of the species of animals which their souls inhabit. Thus a kind of alliance springs up between certain human kins and certain species of animals, in which some writers have sought the germ of totemism. Less important, because more temporary, is the alliance sought at the initiation ceremony. For in Europe it is not without a tincture of truth to believe in a spirit, sometimes as a living animal, on whose aid he relies in the battle of life.

Again, to the superior knowledge of animals, to their magical powers, or sometimes, and as a later development, to their position as messengers of a deity, are to be attributed the wide-spread angural beliefs and practices. To sum up, the savage has a very real sense of his kinship with animals; they are not merely his brothers, but his elder brothers; to them he looks for help and guidance. Not only so, but on them he depends for a great part of his subsistence—a fact which is far more vividly brought home to him than to the meat-eating human being of civilized societies, and in like manner he is far more liable than more cultured peoples to meet his death beneath the claws of a lion or a bear, or to succumb to the venom of the serpent. It is therefore small wonder that his attitude towards the animal creation is one of reverence rather than superiority.

I. AGRICULTURE.—The researches of Mannhardt have shown that the European peasant of to-day conceives that the life of the corn exists in the shape of an animal or human being apart from the corn itself. The animal corn-spirit is believed to take various forms, as horse, dog, cat, ass, cow, etc., and is often conceived to lie in the last ears to be cut, the reaping of which is termed in some parts ‘cutting the neck.’ The corn-spirit is found not only in the harvest field, but also in the barn and the threshing-floor; the corn-spirit is killed in beating out the last grains from the ears. As a rite of sacralization of the eater, or de-sacralization of the corn, the animal incarnation of the corn-spirit is eaten in a ritual meal at the harvest supper, at secktime, or at other periods; the bones or parts of the flesh of this ritual food are used in magic to promote the fertility of the new crop. Sometimes the actual animal is not itself eaten; in its place we find the cake of an animal form; but we cannot assume that this cake has taken the place of a former sacrifice of the animal, for it is made of the corn; the eating of the corn in the form of the animal is not the expression of a sacrificial rite, such as the eating of the animal itself.

In Greece and other parts of the ancient world we find traces of the conception of the corn-spirit as an animal. The corn-spirit is the pig, and was actually represented at Phigalia in the form of a horse, while her priests were called horses. In the case of Attis and other *prima facie*
corn-deities a similar connection with animals can be traced. Among the American Indians the corn-spirit is occasionally conceived in animal form (bison, deer, goat; see below). In some parts of the world an anthropomorphically or simply anthropomorphically conceived animal is thus associated with corn.

Various theories have been advanced to account for the form of the corn-spirit. Frazier (Golden Bough, ii. 539) suggested that animal forms which are driven out of corn in the process of roasting may have suggested the idea. Marillier (Worship xxii. 38) holds, with more probability, that the association of the corn-spirit with the soul of the earth was so familiar a conception that it was sufficiently suggested that the life of the corn must be in the form of a rabbit. Tress show cases some of the connexion of animals with corn or other vegetables, as their tutelary deities, on the ground that they were originally held to influence the supply of heat (Ann. Anth. N. S. 49; 50th Ann. Rep. Ethn. xvi. p. 206, etc.), from which, like other magical animals (Golden Bough, xxxvi. 192; Arch. Anth. N. S. i. 1424), they become tutelary deities. Possibly, too, the belief in soul-animals (see p. 459) may have had some influence; it is not uncommon to make offerings to ancestors in connexion with agriculture; these ancestors are sometimes conceived in the form of animals; it is therefore no long step to the concept of a corn-spirit in animal form. In Indo-China the ancestor is actually believed to guard the fields in the form of a toad at seclusion (Miss. Cath. 189, p. 41). In Yucatan, spirits in the form of lizards were believed to protect the fields. In British Columbia the Salish wild-tiger is held to guard the plantations against wild pigs (Tylor, xlii. 570).

Vegetation spirits generally are conceived in Europe to be in animal form; but in other parts of the world this idea is seldom so extended.

2. ART (DECORATIVE).—It is an almost universal custom to decorate weapons, pottery, clothing, etc., with designs, often so highly conventionalized as to be recognizable only on comparison with less stylized forms. One of the main sources of decorative design is the animal world, and the object was, it may be assumed, magical in the first instance. In its later forms there is a combination of the savage and the artistic; the animal has come to be associated with a god. In this case the use of the animal as an art motif is a form of worship; at the same time, if the animal is the emblem, for example, of rain, its use is equivalent to a prayer for rain. There are, however, innumerable instances of the use of animals in art, both in connexion with totemism and otherwise, for magical or non-magical purposes. The totem poles of the Hurons have all sorts of decorative animal carvings, sometimes of genealogical significance; in New Guinea the totem is delineated on drums and pipes. The lizard (see below) is largely used in Africa and the Pacific, and in Australia the sand is covered with delineations of animals; animals are figured at Australian and South African initiation ceremonies; and many Australian decorative designs are totemic, or at least animal motifs. Probably the skin markings (see 'Tata' below) of the Australian and other peoples are largely conventionalized forms of similar motives. Where a religious significance has once been attached to a design, the art motif may continue to be largely used merely for magical purposes and finally for luck. In Europe we are familiar with the use of animals in heraldry. See articles on ART.

3. COLOUR.—The colour of animals is highly important, both in magic (wh. see) and otherwise. In Europe the king of the snakes is said to be white. White horses (see below) are especially sacred. In Indo-China the cult of the white elephant is well known. In Japan white animals have a high importance (Globus, lxv, 272), and good fortune for the reigning house is inferred from their presence. The Manchu, a man who feeds 1000 white hares in his house will marry a prince. In Patagonia white cassowaries are sacrosanct; the Patagonians believe that the species will die out if they are killed, while white horses and cows enjoy an equal respect (ib. lxii. 63). The white animal is often preferred as a victim. The Woguls offer a white horse in autumn; the officiants dance round it and stab it with their knives till it falls dead (ib. liv, 282). The Japanese 'white animals' (Erman, Archiv, i. 415). Among the Shans of Annam a white buffalo is sacrificed annually (Miss. Cath. 1896, 59), and the Battas also select white victims (Marsden, Sumatra, p. 355).

In August or September the corn-spirit of the New Zealanders was held in Peru; the priests received for sacrifice one of the holy white llamas, which were never shorn (Australand, lixiv, 901). See also 'Bear,' etc., below.

For special purposes distinctive colours must be used. Thus the rain-cloud is black; in a sacrifice for rain, therefore, the victim must be in imitation of it. The Wambugwes of East Africa offer a black sheep and a black calf when they want rain; the Garos of Assam offer a black goat on the top of a very high mountain in time of drought; in Sumatra a black cat is thrown into a river and allowed to escape after swimming about for a time; the ancient Hindus set a black horse with its face towards the west and the sun, a symbol of the sun-god (ib. 106). For an agricultural sacrifice at Rome red-haired oxen were consecrated, in imitation of the corn-spirit of ripe corn (ib. ii. 311). In the same way in Egypt red-haired oxen were the chosen victims (ib. p. 142). The Iroquois sacrifice of the white dog (see below) may perhaps be set down as another example; for although white is not everywhere the emblem of purity, it is natural to connect with this idea the selection of a white dog for a public sacrifice.

4. CREATORS.—It is by no means self-evident to the European that the savage mind associates the creator of the universe and or of some part of it are necessarily united with those of its sustainer, or of a moral ruler of mankind, or even of a god. Hence, though we find cases in which the Creator is an object of worship, or at least of respect (see 'Crow' below), we also find a share in creation assigned to animals which are not even specially sacred.

The Great Vessre account of the origin of the world is that the world was once all water, inhabited only by a swan, which in some unaccountable way produced a crow, a wolf, and a water-hen. One day the crow propounded to the wolf the idea of sending down the water-hen to look for earth, for they would be so much happier if they had a little ground under their feet. The earth was brought up, and while the wolf was on a rattle, the crow sprinkled the earth about on the waters and formed the sea. It was then that the human central man was created, and the crow turned herself into an Indian (Cones, Henry and Thompson, MS. Edin., p. 251). According to the Guarayurs of South America, they were created from the earth, in imitation of all the other nations by a decree of the cacaraca bird, but they show it no special respect (Patricia, 104, p. 20). In some cases chance seems to have caused an animal to figure as Creator; in S. Australia the islands were said to have resulted from a blow of a great serpent's tail, but Voorende created other things (Eyre, Expedition, ii, 356).

5. CULT.—Anthropological data are supplied in many cases by the chance remarks of a traveller, who, if he understands the true nature of the phenomena he is describing, does not always appreciate their importance, and consequently leaves us in the dark on points which are indispensable to the correct understanding of his information. This is especially the case when the information relates to the worship or supposed worship of animals; not only are the sources of such a cult extremely various, but it may be possible for actions which spring from purely utilitarian motives to wear the appearances which elsewhere characterize the ritual of an animal cult.

We find, for example, that in the East Indies it was the practice to feed the sacred crocodiles, which were associated with the god Souchs (Sobek); in modern days we have a similar practice recorded in West Africa; but in the absence of information from those who give them food we can hardly inter-
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pret the custom without fear of error. Prudence is a faculty commonly denied to the peoples in lower stages of culture; but it may well have happened that accident, if not reflection, suggested to some one that a hungry crocodile is a far more dangerous neighbour than one which is in need of food. We cannot, therefore, explain the modern custom, without more ado, as crocodile-worship; the possibility of the utilitarian explanation must also be kept in mind. Quite apart from this, there is little likelihood of the existence of the data which arises from the indefinite nature of many of the observances. Savage ritual is well-established, but the savage creed is often vague and fluctuating. At any rate, in the hands of European questioners, it is not uncommon for one native to assert one thing while another will maintain exactly the reverse; or one and the same man will put forward contradictory propositions either after an interval of time or even during a single interview. Where the ritual is unmistakably religious or magical, we can dispense with the commentary of the officiating priest or magician; but in the great majority of cases of this sort we will allow to do without this guidance, even though we know that the explanation given is not necessarily the original one.

The terms 'worship' and 'cult' are used, especially in dealing with animal superstitions, with extreme vagueness; and, moreover, the interpretation of the facts to which they are applied is in itself uncertain. At one end of the scale we find the real divinization, commonly conceived of as a 'god-body,' i.e., the temporary incarnation of a superior being, with a circle of worshippers. At the other end, separated from the real cult by imperceptible transitions, we find such practices as respect for the bones of smaller animal, or the use of a bird as animal food, as one of the conditions for avoiding some curse. The question is one with the general problem of the definition of religion; it cannot profitably be discussed in connection with a single species of cult, and it is the less necessary to do so here, as we are concerned only with general principles and broad outlines.

Animal cults may be classified on two principles: (a) according to their outward form, and (b) according to their genesis. The first kind of classification is important chiefly for the comprehension of the principles which underlie the evolution of animal worship, into anthropomorphic cults; the second is primarily concerned with the account of the actual beginnings, it may be, of the religious sentiment or its manifestation.

(a) Formal Classification.—Animal cults may be broadly divided into two classes: (i) the whole species without exception is sacred; (ii) one or a fixed number of a species is sacred. In a certain number of cases the second class may be indistinguishable from the first; this is the case in the Boromean cult of the hawk; there were only thirty-three real men among the Ians of Borome in olden days, but they were indistinguishable from their fellows.

Although it is by no means axiomatic that the cult of the species has in every case preceded the cult of the individual animal, it seems probable that we may regard this as the normal course of events. There is a direct transition from the anthropomorphic cults; the second is primarily concerned with the account of the actual beginnings, it may be, of the religious sentiment or its manifestation.

(1) As in the case of the hawk (see below) among the Boromean peoples, a simple progress from theocratic to anthropomorphic ideas may suffice to explain the change. There is no reason to doubt that such a transition may be done without foreign influence and without any internal impulse due to the rise of sun, moon, or other cults of single deities, which would naturally tend to produce a species of syncretism in previously existing multiple cults. Among more than one Australian tribe, for example, the eagle-hawk seems to have been transformed into an anthropomorphic deity; but there is no reason to suspect either foreign influence or assimilation to other native cultures for the development of this cult. It may be that the cult of the eagle-hawk was once universal, but has been supplanted by other cults.

Yet, so far as Central Australia is concerned, the Wol-hunqua totem animal is a mythical serpent; the totemic ceremonies are performed to keep him in a good humour, and not, as is the case with the other totemic cults of the same type, to propitiate a single animal, mythical or otherwise, we are on the verge of worship, if indeed the boundary between totemism and animal cults proper has not long been overpassed. At the same time, not only may the rise of individual cults, such as those of the heavenly bodies, exert a deep influence on the multiple cults, but a specialization of function may, where multiple cults alone are present, aid to bring about the same result. The chief purpose for which the Boromean peoples require omens is to get directions for the course of the hawk, and it is therefore possible (in other words) that the conditions themselves made for the specialization of a war-god, either multiple or unified.

Intertribal war tends to increase, if it does not call to existence, the power of the chief; and by the leading of the successful war-god, the predominance of one individual among the omen birds is not a long step; and we actually find evidence that it was taken by the Ians, while the Kayans have gone far in the same direction. Evidence of similar tendencies can readily be produced from many other areas; the Amerinds had, in the very early days of the Jesuit missions, already attained the conception of an 'Elder Brother' or 'Magician' as the one to whom the use of the sacrifice of the war-god was attributed and powerful (Boc. des Jés., 1634, p. 13). In California the Acagchemens worshipped the pene bird; each village sacrificed a different bird, and the sacrifice was annual; but the vision of which the worshippers took was that only one bird was sacrificed, each year the same, and the same in each village. In Sumon the process had not gone quite so far; the gods of the villages were incarnate in animals; each god was incarnate in all the animals of the species; consequently although respect was shown to the individual dead animal, the life of the god was in no way affected by its decease; he continued to survive in the remainder of the species (Turner, Pidpa, p. 21). That of other peoples will be found in Tylor (Prim. Cult. 22. 3).

(2) The process of unification, as in the case of the Acagchemens, where mystical ideas have also played their part, may be hastened by a custom of sacrificing the sacred animal annually. The doctrines of reincarnation and identity of the sacrificial animal would undoubtedly be highly important for the history of the case of evolution, if it were not probable that they were later developments, if not actually due to the influence of European ideas. For an example of a stage in which the importance of sacrifice pure and simple is manifest we may turn to the Egyptians. Once in each year they go in crowds into the woods and kill one of each species of animals, preferring the horse and the tiger as best; they flay off their skins, hang up the entrails, and in the names of gods, falling prostrate on the earth; after which they eat the flesh togeth-er (Iddes, Three Years Travels, p. 1). In this example we are not, it is true, told how the sacrifice was done, but the author tells us (Straits, Beige, pp. 93, 119) that the Cim Tartars and others hang the skin of the sacrificial animal on a pole and worship it. We find that the Egyptians clothed the image of Ammon in the
fleece of the ram which was sacrificed to him once a year. Intermediate stages are given by the Cubans, in the form of preserving the skin and using it as the tobet, or cloak, of Chinchinich- 
ich; and by the Floridian sacrifice of the goat (see below), whose skin was preserved for a year, until its pelt terminates with the death of the animal, and then given away by another living animal. This form of worship may perhaps be due in the first instance to the commonly felt wish to apologize and do honour to the animal about to be slain, in order that its comrades, honoured in its person, may show no disinclination to fall victims to the hunter's dart.

(6) Genetic Classification. — In dealing with animal cults from the generic point of view, it must not be forgotten that, while changes in ritual are at most but gradual, the explanations which are given of the acts are liable to change in a much greater degree. Foreign influences apart, development in creeds is often a slow process; but it may be taken as axiomatic, at any rate for the lower stages of culture, that belief changes far more rapidly than ritual. If, therefore, we find that at the present day a species of animals is held in reverence, by no means, or used in the real or conventional mythology, as an animal. However this may be, it is evident that the passage from multiplicity to unity may have come about by a process which implies a certain amount of philosophizing. Just as in Egypt there was a tendency to identify all the gods with Ra, so in Greece, in a minor degree, went on the process of identifying the local corn- 
gods with more central and systematized cults. Thus the idea of a fertility cult of a deity to spread beyond its original area and to swallow up less important or nameless objects of worship, and this went on in the case of animal no less than of other cults. At the same time, we must not overestimate the importance of the movement, which may have penetrated but slightly the lower strata of the population. It may be noted in passing that it is possible to have two distinct kinds of syncretism: (a) where one deity swallow up his fellows, all being of the same species, which probably occurred in the case of Demeter, com- piled, however, by the fact that the horse as well as the pig was associated with her, thus leading to a double identification of the protection of the many local homogeneous corn-spirits, plus the unification of the different species of animals, the heterogenous corn-spirits — from which we get Demeter as she is presented to us by classical authors; and (2) where there is no underlying unity of function. If the cult of Apollo Smintheus de- veloped from an older cult of the mous, we can indeed explain why the mouse-god should also be the sun-god, because they devastate the fields under cover of darkness, and that the sun- god is the natural protector of the farmer against the plague of mice. But though we can explain syncretism-rationalizations, it is not the same in this case, it by no means follows that we have given the real explanation; and it would be far from easy to hit upon similarly obvious explanations of other syncretic processes.

(4) Side by side with the immolation of the victim, and sometimes supplementing the animal sacrifice as a cause of the sanctity of a special animal, may be placed the custom of selecting an animal for special honour. We find this in the second type, the animal, so far from remaining inviolate, is sacrificed at the end of the year or after a certain period of time; but, unlike the cases referred to in a previous section, its sanctity and honour are not terminated without death, and the skin is given to another living animal. This form of worship may perhaps be due in the first instance to the commonly felt wish to apologize and do honour to the animal about to be slain, in order that its comrades, honoured in its person, may show no disinclination to fall victims to the hunter's dart.

Animal cults may be conveniently classified under ten specific heads, with another class for non-
the small animal. They are mainly practised in Africa and South Asia; as examples may be taken the cult of the crocodile and the tiger (see below). The dangers to be avoided are twofold: in the first place, the soul of the slain beast may take vengeance on the hunter, who therefore submits to the same Fate as is imposed on him during a season of mourning, with the idea of either deceiving or keeping at a distance the malevolent ghost; in the second place, as in the previous sections, the remainder of the species has to be kept in good humour or properised from threats which are the property of their comrade. To this end, in Sunamtra, a magician is employed when a crocodile is to be hunted, and elaborate explanations are frequently given that the animal is to be or has been killed because it attacked a human being and thus broke the truce normally subsisting between man and the species. In Japan, a man who kills a snake should crush its head, or more will come; this seems to be intended as a means of preventing it from calling its fellows to avenge its death. Again, after hunting the leopard, it is the custom for the hunter to imitate the voice or the habits of the leopard; if this is not intended to deceive the spirit of the slain animal, it may be the intention to appease the remainder of the species. Vermin are propitiated in various ways, and many of the practices are applied to mice (see below). In the Baltic island of Oesel an offering is made to a weevil, and they think less damage will then be done to the corn. In the island of Nias in the Dutch East Indies the ant is very destructive; at harvest time it is propitiated by being called 'Nia or Sillia—the name of a good spirit which is supposed to protect the crop from harm. With the position of this spirit may be compared that of Apollo Smintheus (see ‘Mouse’ below), Dionysus Bassareus (see ‘Fox’ below), Baalzebul, and other deities whose names are associated with vermin. It is open to question how far we are justified in assuming that any cult of vermin is implied which has subsequently developed into the cult of a god or been united with it by a process of syncretism. In Central India the Waralis worship a stone which they call the lord of tigers (see below; see also ‘Horse’), but there is no reason to suppose that they believe the stone to have been a tiger, or to contain the spirit of a tiger; nor is any cult of the living tiger recorded among them. It does not necessarily follow that Apollo Smintheus must have been a mouse, or that a mouse cult must have been amalgamated with an independent cult unconnected with mice.

(4) We come to an entirely different set of ideas, in the respect shown to animals because they are regarded as the abode of the souls of the dead, or sometimes as the actual souls of the dead, and even of the living (Ren. de l'Hist. des Rel. xxvii. 385; Golden Bough, i. 409 ff., 430 ff.; van Gennep, Tabou, pass.; Folklore, xi. 253; von den Steinen, Unter des Naturvölker, pp. 512, 553, etc.). Some of the Celebes tribes perform a periodical ceremony in honour of the crocodiles, on the ground that their departed relatives take that form; they take provisions and musical instruments in a procession up and down, playing on the instruments, till a crocodile appears; they offer food to it and hope thereby to recommend themselves to their kindred (Hawkesworth, iii. 750). More especially among the Bantu tribes of South Africa it is the belief found that the dead pass into certain animals, which among the Bechuana differ for each clan. What is sometimes regarded as totemism, is at times connected with a similar worship (Men, 1901, No. 111). With the South African facts should be compared the Madagascar beliefs (v. Gennep, Tabou, pass.). In the Solomon
Islands it appears to be the custom for a dying man to inform his family into what species of animal he proposes to metamorphose (JAI xxvii. 147). The abode thus taken up in an animal is commonly regarded as permanent, the soul of the dead man passing into another of the same species, if his particular animal is killed (Mon. 1904, No. 118), but occasionally the soul is believed to pass on after a time to its final abode (Folklore, xii. 342). The belief is occasionally found in Africa that a chief has put his soul for safe keeping into a sacred animal, which is therefore re-spected (Golden Bough, iii. 407; JAI xx. 13; see below, ‘Goat’, ‘Cattle’). 

If we are entitled to assume that the sibolokism of the South African Bantu is totemism, or has replaced an earlier stage of pure totemism, the soul-animal occupies a specially important place in the history of savage religion. In any case, the worship or respect for the soul-animal has probably been the starting-point of other cults; thus the Zulu and Masai respect for the serpent may re-present the beginnings of serpent-worship. The association of the dog with the Lar at Rome probably points to a time when the dog was held, as a man being with the species of soul; at the same time it should not be forgotten that the Lar was also a household god, and that the dog might with special appropriateness be associated with it; the dog was likewise associated with Hecate, also apparently a family goddess.

(5) One of the most widely distributed animal cults is that known as totemism; it is, however, rather negative, consisting in abstinence from injuring the totem animal, or positive, showing itself in acts of worship. There are, however, exceptions; the Wollunqua totem is a single mythical animal; the Warrannunga ceremonies with regard to it are held on the principle of treating the animal as a man being with the species of soul; at the same time it should not be forgotten that the Lar was also a household god, and that the dog might with special appropriateness be associated with it; the dog was likewise associated with Hecate, also apparently a family goddess.

(6) In the case of the totem kin, the association of a totem animal is hereditary, and no choice in the matter is permitted to him. Of a more voluntary nature are secret societies. Even here inheritance has much to do with the evolution of these secret societies, especially in N.W. America. At the same time, initiation seems to play a considerable role in the case of the secret society; in the absence of initiation ceremonies a man remains outside the society, but this can hardly be the totem kin, for women, too, belong to it, though their initiation ceremonies, if performed at all, do not seem, any more than those of the males, and probably much less, to bear any relation to the totem. The fundamental idea of many secret societies is the acquisition of a tutelary animal. In the same way the individual gains an animal genius by his initiation last. Closely connected with these 'magnals,' as they may conveniently be termed, are the familiar animals, the wer-wolves, or other animal forms of wer-women.

(7) More especially in Greek and Roman mythology we find a number of woodland deities, which are very clearly spots of the woods or primitive totemism. In bearing in mind the possibility of syncretism, it may be recognized that even if Dionysus and other deities commonly associated with vegetation cults are sometimes conceived in animal form, this is no proof that they were so conceivably vow vegetation spirits; but this objection applies in a much less degree to Pan, the Satyrs, and Silenes, while in the case of the Fauns there is a general agreement that they are spirits of the woods (Mannhardt, Ant. Wbild. u. Feldkulte, p. 113). We have a parallel to them in modern European folklore; Leshi, the wood-spirit, is believed in Russia to appear partly in human shape, and partly with the legs of a goat (Mannhardt, Pauunftbrut, p. 138). The frequent conception of the corn-spirit as an animal, and in particular as a pig, is highly probably due to the incorrect in arguing that Proserpine, Atis, and Adonis were originally conceived as pigs, or, at any rate, that their cult developed from that of a corn-spirit in pig form. Where there is little that can be termed worship or cult in the attitude towards the animal under whose form the corn-spirit is believed to appear; few or no ceremonies are performed, save those whose object is to placate the spirit injured by the reaping of the crop and to ensure the proper growth of the new crops when they are sown in the spring. More definite acts of worship are recorded of the Panies on the Upper Missouri (see ‘Bison’ below), and of some of the tribes in Florida.

(8) Omens are drawn from the cries and actions of birds, mammals, etc., all the world over; but the developments in the cult of the totem in Sarawak are probably rare. If we may assume that the present-day conditions in the tribes referred to represent three stages in the evolution of a god, there is no doubt that from an omen-giving bird has been evolved a specialized anthropomorphic deity, especially associated with warlike operations.

(9) The question of the association of certain animals with certain deities is a very difficult one. On the one hand, it is certainly impossible to prove that all such animals were sacred before they became connected with the god; and equally impossible to show that the god has actually been crystallized out of one or more sacred animals. On the other hand, we cannot point to any clear case of respect for an animal paid to it wholly and solely because it is associated with a certain deity. If the jackal was respected in Egypt because it was associated with Anubis, it may be argued, on the one hand, that this association was due to the fact that the jackal was formerly regarded as a soul-animal; on the other hand, we may with apparently equal justice argue that the jackal was frequently seen about the tombs, and that this led to its being associated with the god of tombs. The question seems to be in most cases insoluble.

(10) It can hardly be said that there is any cult proper of animals used in magic. Among the southern Bantus, however, the crocodile (see below) is important. The explanation of this is not far to seek: the crocodile may be thought of in two ways; to kill a crocodile, therefore, would be to incur the suspicion of being a magician and possibly the penalty of death. It is therefore easy to see how the association of an animal with evil magic can lead to its being respected, and how that magical animals become gods, see Preuss's articles in Globus, vol. lxxxvii. passim.

(11) In a comparatively large number of cases we are unable to trace the origin of a cult of
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animals. First and foremost the facts of serpent-worship—the most widely spread of animal cults—are far from having been explained. The serpent is, in many cases, associated with a cult of ancestors; this is readily comprehensible where the species is a common one; for the very fact of its occurrence would mark it out as different from its fellows; so, too, where the snake inhabits the house or its immediate neighbourhood, we have an adequate cause for its association with the worship of the dead. An explanation for every case of serpent-worship is an idiozoo, but only those which are found in the neighbourhood of the kraal. Some part of serpent-worship may be put down to their association with water; one of the commonest forms of water-monster is the serpent. The water-snake is specially honoured among the Xosa-Kafirs, in order that cases of drowning may not be frequent (Merensky, Erinnerungen, p. 38). But these facts are far from sufficient to explain the widespread distribution of serpent-worship. On the other hand, its cult is much more than the cult of a dangerous animal, as is readily seen by comparing serpent-worship with that of the crocodile, and it seems doubtful if the mysterious nature of the serpent, which is sometimes invoked as an explanation, is sufficiently important to account for the preference given to the reptile. Probably a later anthropomorphization of the myth, the rain-god is Brugga.

The relations of animals and gods in Australian religion are by no means clear. Baime seems in some eastern tribes to occupy the same position which the bell-bird holds in the mythology of the central tribes; his opponent, Madzengag, is conceived under the form of an eagle-hawk, thus reproducing the familiar mythical conflict which in other parts of Australia is narrated of the eagle-hawk and the serpent. Here the serpent, under the name of Mullion, again figures as an evil spirit. The name of the god of some Victorian tribes is Fundjel, and the same name is applied to the eagle-hawk; possibly, however, both receive it simply as a title of respect. However that may be, it seems clear that a certain amount of anthropomorphization has gone on in Australia. What is not clear is the position of the animals from which the anthropomorphization of the shape of which the serpent is made to have been evolved. Both eagle-hawk and crow are phratrie names; but, while the crow (see below) is respected, possibly as a soul-animal, there are few traces of a similar respect for the eagle-hawk. Yet we find that the names of the different gods are anthropomorphized into a deity, and the deities and demons are connected with animals in areas where the phratrie names, at least at the present day, have nothing to do with these animals. On the other hand, the eagle-hawk is a common form of the wizard (Spencer and Gillen, Nativ Tribes of Central Australia, p. 533).

Howitt has maintained that Koin and other spirits which the European observers have regarded as demons are really gods. If this be so, if the god of the Australian is no more than a modified medicine-man, we have a sufficient explanation for the position of the eagle-hawk. Even if Howitt's theory is not generally applicable, the fact that the medicine-man of one tribe may be erected into a god by them, and into a demon by their neighbours who suffer from his machinations, gives a not improbable explanation of the facts. It is, of course, not possible to say that any one medicine-man has been deified; just as the Ikaggen have deified a generalized hawk (see below), the Australians may be said to have generalized the eagle-hawk-medicine-man.

In view of the position of the eagle-hawk as head of one of the phratries, it is of some importance that on the north-west coast of America we find among the Tsinikata two deities, Yehl and Khamkhat, who are styled "deities of the eagle and the serpent." At the same time they are divided into two phratries, which are also named after them. (Lehmann, vi. 183) 114) that Khambhat ever appears in wolf form; Yehl, on the other hand, assumes the bird form in many of his adventures. This does not seem fatal to the theory that the residing animals of the phratries have somehow been developed into demi-gods; for Yehl is little more than a culture hero; at the same time this theory leaves unexplained the spread of the two cults into the opposite phratries. For neither in America nor in Australia is there any trace of uni-parthic deities, as there should be if this is a position that such a creature has ever become a god. It should not be forgotten that in some of the central tribes there are traces of anthropomorphization (E.G.S. Aust. Int. Aust. Br. ii. 80). It is true that animal form is not expressly attributed to them; but, however, we are not to regard this as an explanation of the worship of the eagle; it may therefore be that the delimitation of the eagle-hawk is due, not to its importance in magic nor to its anthropomorphic qualities, but to its general nature, though these facts may have had influence in bringing about its preferred position.

Even were it possible to explain how that phratriy animals have been promoted to godship, it by no means follows that this is equivalent to the erection of a totem into a god. That phratriy animals have ever been totems is a pure hypothesis, and no consistent account has yet been given of the process by which they became more than totems.

Another animal god of unexplained origin, whose importance marks him out for notice, is the Great Harle of the Algonquins (Srazeczky, Historie des Travaille, p. 98; Lang, Myth, ii. 79; Brinton, Myth, p. 193), who, in his human form of Michabon or Manibosho, was the culture-hero of this important family of Algonquins. In the same connexion of the Great Harle with the East, has, on etymological grounds, explained it as the dawn. Meteorological explanations have ceased to be convincing; moreover, according to one form of the myth, which is Brugia, the latter half of Michabon = Manibosho) was not in the east but in the north (Brinton, p. 196). To speak of the cult of the Great Harle as animal-worship, is, according to Brinton, to be done without, meaningless of a totem; but this is to view it from the point of view of Europe in A.D. 1900 rather than in the light of other primitive cults. It may safely be said that no attempt to explain away animal cults on these lines can have succeeded in more than very small measure. Brinton's preference for a dawn myth cannot therefore carry the day against the natural meaning of the Algonquin legends. Moreover, no adequate account has ever been given of the process by which men came, on the score of a simple etymological misunderstanding, to turn a god in human shape into an animal.

Less important is the Bushman god Ikaggen or Cagn (see 'Mantis' below), who, according to the latest account, was believed to manifest himself in the form of the mantis (ikaggen), or the caterpillar (ago). From this duplex form we may perhaps assume that the former produced the latter, and that the direction of anthropomorphization. The problem of how one god comes to manifest himself in several animals is a complicated one, when it is a phenomenon of the religion of savage or barbarous peoples, among whom the syncretic processes, the working of which in Greece or Egypt is fairly obvious, cannot be assumed to have played a large part, if indeed they played any at all. We see the same phenomenon in Samos, where one village-god was believed to be incarnate in two or three kinds of animals. In the latter case it is perhaps to local causes, such as the aggregation of villages under one chief, or the coming together of more than one clan in a single village, that we must look for the explanation. But such an explanation can hardly be applied to the god of the Bushmen, who are on a very low level of civilization. The question is complicated by problems of Bushman origin and history; for if they were once a more settled folk, who suffered dispersal and disorganization when the Bantu stream overthrew them in Africa, it may be due to their disintegration that the hypothesis of syncretism, as an explanation of the cult of Cagn, seems inappropriate. Perhaps material for the solution of the problem may be found in the still unpublished mass of
material relating to the Bushmen collected by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd.

Prominent among animal gods is the Hindu monkey-deity, Hanuman, who figures largely in the Rāmāyana. It has been asserted that his cult is not primitive, but has been borrowed from some wild tribe; and this conclusion is based on the fact that there are no traces of worship of the monkey in the Veda, save so far as Vrashakapi (Rigveda, x. 23. 1) is mentioned. The illustrations of such fet. the conflicting views of Bergaune, Religion védique, ii. 270-272; Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 172-174; Geldner, Votische Studien, ii. 22-42; and Hillebrand, Votische Mythologie, iii. 278). But this line of proof overlooks the fact that the Veda is concerned with official religion, and that Hanuman may have been worshipped unofficially without any record of the fact being available. At the same time it is by no means improbable that the cult is to some extent based on an aboriginal predecessor, for we can hardly suppose that the Aryan-speaking invaders brought it with them; a corpse is carefully smoothed over, a key is less prominent, if not non-existent. Hanuman is distinctly a species god; but we cannot discover the origin of the cult. The resemblance of the monkey to man, which has been suggested as the origin, has not been supported by the fact that it is inadequate to account for a cult, however satisfactory it may be as an explanation of a rich monkey mythology.

6. DELUGE, EARTH-FINDING.—In legends of a deluge, animals figure in two capacities. In the first place, they are simple messengers, like the raven in the Book of Genesis; the crow, hare, dog, pigeon, and other animals go out to see if the waters are slack or how long the new earth is. Sometimes it causes it to increase magically in size by making the circuit of it. In other cases the waters show no signs of abating, and the water birds or animals are made to dive, and bring up mud, sand, or earth; from this the new earth is formed and laid on the waters; it grows to the size of the present world. This form of the terre péchée is especially common in America, where it also occurs in a cosmogonic myth. A prominent, but perhaps inadequate, is the association of the Morivins and in the Altai the incident figures in a creation myth. Among the Yorubas a hen plays a significant part in producing the earth and the waters. See DELUGE, waters.

7. DIVINATION.—For the purpose of divination, the entrails, the liver, and frequently the shoulde-blade of dead animals are used. Animals also serve as omens, indications which are more properly classifiable under ‘divination’ than under ‘omens.’ Ashes were strewn on the floor in Persia, and from the character of the tracks found on them was inferred the kind of animal into which the soul of a dead person had passed. In Mexico stuff was spilt on the altar, and inferences were drawn from the footprints of eagles, etc. (Tschudi, Reisen, p. 337; Bancroft, iii. 438). In Australia the ground near a track is examined, which is more properly classifiable under ‘divination’ than under ‘omens.’ If a track is found on it, they infer from it the totem of the person who caused the death of the man. In other cases a watch is kept, and the movements of an insect or its flight decide the direction in which the malignant magician resides. The American Indians using animals in divination is to make dice or other instruments of their bones; knucke bones are especially used for this purpose.

8. DOMESTICATION.—The problem of the history of the domestication of animals has seldom been attacked, and up to the present no satisfactory solution has been propounded; we are in complete uncertainty as to why or how man in the first instance came to tame them, prevent them in captivity, and induce them to perpetuate their species. In the Pacific the frigate bird is often tamed. The Indians of South America frequently keep tame animals in their luts. But in neither of these cases can we properly speak of domestication. In the New World the first primitive culture before the advent of Europeans were few; the dog is, of course, nearly universal, but with this exception domestic animals were found only in Mexico and Peru, and then only the turkey, llama, alpaca, and perhaps others. The numbers of the llama and alpaca alone were economically important. In the Oold World the main centre of domestication seems to have been Asiatic; but little, however, is known as to the localities in which the domesticated species first came under the dominion of man.

Probably the dog (see below) attached itself to man, but in other cases a process of domestication seems to be a necessary assumption. Totemism may perhaps be the most important factor. The allowance for the additional leverage of the segregation of totem kins. Probably some form of cult (see ‘Cattle’ below) was in many cases the determining factor.

9. EARTH-CARRIER.—The problem of the stability of the earth has been solved, more especially by the people of Southen Asia and the Asiatic Islands, thanks in some degree to Hindu and Muhammadan influence, by the assumption that some great animal supports the world; the myth is also found in other areas, but only sporadically. Among the Iroquois the world-turtle, who received Aztasctegi on his back, before the world was broken, is clearly a mythical animal of this description; the Winnebagoes too, according to Knorr, made the earth rest on four animals and four snakes, which were in the end unequal to their task; but since a Bison has joined his forces with theirs, the safety of the earth is assured. In India we find various myths; one account gives the snake, another the elephant, as the world-nearing beast (Ward, View, 1; Pinkerton, p. 237). R. H. Thomson’s view is that eight elephants bore the world on their backs (Monier-Williams, Indian Wisdom, p. 430), and the Lushai (Sophit, Short Account, p. 59) and Dajphants (Bastian, Völker am Brahnm, p. 16) make the world rest on the same animal. Another Hindu myth makes both turtle and serpent (dragon) rest upon an elephant (Cole, Rev. xi. 467), while a later myth gives the boar as the supporter. In Ceylon the world-bearing giant rests on a serpent, which rests on a turtle; the turtle rests on a frog, and beneath the frog is air (Miss, Herald, xvii. 265). The Indian boar occurs in Celebes (Journ. Ind. Arch. ii. 857; Med. Eth. Ind. vii. 114). Another account gives the buffalo (ib. x. 265), which recurs in the Moluccas (De Chirico, 1500, p. 133). In Arabia and Egypt are found the cow and bull (Andrew, Ethnog. Par. 142; Lane, 1591, p. 11), which are evidently adored as a rock, and that on a fish. Probably a result of Muhammadan influence, the bull or ox is found in Bulgaria (Stara, Bulg. 36); Sumatra (Hawkes, p. 71); and perhaps also as an egg, on this a fish, which is in the sea; and in Java (Coolman, Contes, p. 23). The bull recurs in a Kalmuk account (Bastian, Greg. Bilder, p. 367); the snake in Nias (Tijdschr. T. L. V. xxi. 113; Sumatra (Allg. Miss. ii. 404, etc.), and Java (Tijdschr. Ned. Ind. 125, i. 19); the fish in Sumatra (see below); among the Ainus (Batchelor, p. 276), and in Europe in the Middle Ages (Mon, Antiqu. v. 614). The frog recurs among the Mongol Lamas (Tyler, Pers. Cult. 263). Among the Slavs four whales are said to support the world (Grol, Lehrsamm., 1884, 210), and among the Tribes of West Africa a trace of Muslim influence may be seen in the undescribed animal who bears all on his back (Asland, 1590, 159). In many cases the movements of the earth-carrier are alleged to be the cause of earthquakes (see below).

10. EARTHQUAKES.—Most of the peoples enumerated in the preceding paragraphs accounted for earthquakes by the movements of the animal supporting the earth. In addition we find the snake in the Moluccas (Bastian, Indoneisen. i. 81), inter-changeably with the ox in Bali (De Chirico, 35); the dog (Müller, Reisen, ii. 345); Flores (Jacobsen, Reise, p. 51; Mindanao (Z. E. xxvii. 47), and among the Dayaks of Borneo (Vesal, Ethn. Bes. p. 8). In Flores a dragon myth is also found (loc. cit.). The earthquake in Japan is explained by the influence of spirits under the earth, sometimes in the sea (Natur, 1875, 511; Brauns, Jap. Mächten, p. 154; Chamberlain, Things Jap. p. 129). In Sumatra the crab is found as a very suitable tale to the earthquake, whose horns are perhaps due to Muslim influence
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In 243, 94, 30, the found food also found tiger said the it 328, said the sacrosanct {Ann. Prop. Voi, xii. 490}. The dog plays the part of a protector, as does probably the bird in a Mongol myth (Angeland, 1578, 524), and possibly in the Lules myth (Lonazo, Desc. Corog. p. 91). More commonly it is said that the moon is swallowed or attacked by an animal. In Burna the Karams say that wild goats are devouring the moon, and they make a noise to drive them away, or that frogs are eating it (Miss. Cath. 1877, 455).

In Eastern Asia the dragon myth is common; it is found in China (Grimm, Dent. Myth. ii. 380), Syria (Tiele, Gesch. der Alterth. Gesch. Hist. p. 194), and Tidore (De Clerq, op. cit. p. 73). This form of the myth is not far removed from that which makes a giant or undescribed monster attack the moon.

The dragon myth is found sporadically in Asia Minor (Nau- mann, Von Goldeneren Himm., p. 79). In Cariathia (Zie. d. Myth., iv. 61), and among the southern Slavs (Wilski, Folkty, p. 51), among the latter a bird myth is also found (Ib.). In Sinann (Gibben, ibv. 36), and Celebes (Med. Ant. Zend. x. 216; Gesch. Eth. Berlin, ii. 160), it is the male that produces an eclipse, among the Nagas the tiger (Batian, Vani, p. 36), among the Javanese the dog (Tyler, Prim. Cult. i. 253), who tears the flesh of the moon and reddens her light with the blood which flows. Among the Tupis the jaguar was the animal which was believed to attack the sun (ib. 229), and the Peruvians held it to be some monstrous monster. The jaguar received the name of M-anuar (Martius, Beitr. 1. 565), and the Guarani (Ruiz de Montoya, Conquist., p. 12 E.). The Tagalans tell a myth of a huge crah (Worcester, Philippines Ist. p. 497). The old Norse (Grimm, i. 297; ii. 588, iii. 367) held that a wolf attacked the sun or moon; and the same idea is found in France (ib. ii. 47). In many cases the dogs are bitten or incited to attack the monster which is assailing the heavenly body.

12. FABLES.—Animals figure largely in the folktales, no less than in the myths or sagas of primitive peoples (see Bleek, Reynard the Fox; Dennett, Folklore of the Fjord; MacCulloch, op. cit., etc.). In these they think and act and move like human beings, so that a lawgiver and a Congregation turn on such questions as what the hare said to the elephant, instead of on legal procedure. At a later stage the beast story is complicated with a moral. These Fables. Beast stories are found in most collections of Märchen; for India, see especially the Panchatantra.

13. FAMILIAR.—All the world over the witch or wizard is associated with an animal, termed 'the familiar,' which is said to be present and to have a special relation to him, sometimes as a spirit which stands at the beck and call of the human being. Just as the injury to the nagual, or bush-soul, has fatal results for its possessor, so the familiar's life is bound up with that of the witch; if a witch-animal is wounded, the owner will be found to have suffered an injury at the corresponding part of the body. Sometimes magical powers are attributed to whole classes, such as the Hare, the Hare, and the Hare, is in clay of Abyssinia, who are believed to have the power of turning into leopards or hyenas, instead of simply having the animals or their spirits at their command.

In the Malay Peninsula the alliance between the piaowang (priest) and the tiger is said to be the result of a compact entered into by the sage; the animal, in return, is said to be of service to the priest; the office is hereditary, and the son must perform certain cere-

mences before being initiated to the tricol. In Siberia the ye-kela (witch-animal) is said to be sent out by a shaman to do battle with the ye-kela of a hostile shaman, and the fate of the man depends on the fate of his ye-kela, which refuses the fight if it thinks it cannot beat its adversary.

In curative magic the wizard carries figures of his familiar and imitates them; sometimes his familiar is said to appear before he meets with success.

14. FASCINATION.—The power of fascination actually possessed by the serpent has been attributed to many other animals, among them the hagfish, dog, mermaid (Aelian, Hist. x. 16; cf. Maspero, Études, ii. 415), abris (Schol. ad Theoc. X. xviii.), basilisk (see below), tocan (Smith, Brazil, p. 559), and, naturally, above all the serpent (Melville, iv. 570, p. 18, 41). The power of fascination is attributed to the wer-wolf in the East Indies (Tijddeb. xii. 548 f.). Something similar is believed of the ordinary wolf in Norway (Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, p. 333). See Evil Eye.

15. FOOD TABUS.—The use of animals as food is prohibited for many different reasons. The totem kin usually abstains from eating the totem, the nagual is sacrosanct to the man with whom it is associated, and certain animals, like the cow in India, or in fact in the ancient pastoral tribes, are never or only very seldom eaten. But whereas the totem is absolutely taboo, cattle, on the other hand, supply the pastoral peoples with a large part of their food. Ictun and certain animals which is commonly tabu, at any rate for those who claim kinship with them, are soul-animals (see below).

Sometimes special persons, by virtue of their position or occupation, are forbidden the use of certain meats. In Fernando Po the king may not eat deer and porcupine, which are the ordinary food of the people. Egyptian kings were restricted to a diet of veal and goose. Certain taboo meats are imposed on mourners; in Patagonia the widow may not eat horse flesh, guanaco, or cassowary. Certain foods are tabu to men but not to women; among the South African Bantus men may not eat fish, fowl, or snake, other foods are forbidden to women but not to men; on the island of Nias, in the Dutch East Indies, the former may eat monkey flesh. Especially in Australia there is an extensive system of food tabus in connexion with initiation; as one gets older, these are abrogated one by one; enu flesh is usually reserved for old men. Similarly girls may not eat various meats at puberty; among the Déses their sole non-vegetable food. The English colonial marriage removes some of the tabus. In the Narrum- bidgee, ducks are taboo of married people only. In many cases only certain parts of an animal are tabu to certain persons: a Déné girl may not eat moose nose or reindeer head; among the Ottawas blood is tabu to the unmarried; the heart, liver, etc., are tabu to a Dakota after initiation till he has killed an enemy. The female animal is fre-

quently tabu; in sickness the female animal only might be eaten by some of the New England peoples.

During pregnancy and after the birth of a child many kinds of food are prohibited to one or both parents; in New South Wales the woman does not eat seals or kangaroo; in Martinique both parents abstain from turtle and mantatee. The reason generally given is that the nature of the food influences the offspring. Thus a turtle is dead, and eating a turtle would make the child deaf too; a manatee has small eyes, and the child would have small eyes too if the parents did not abstain from it. Just as animals are eaten to gain their qualities, so their use as food is prohibited in order to avoid incurring them; this is the explanation often given for abstinence from the flesh of deer, the hare, and other timid animals.

Especially in West Africa food tabus are im-
posed upon members of a certain family by a priest, and the tabu is sometimes therfore hereditary. Among the Andamanese some food is prohibited to every individual, generally some kind which, in the opinion of the mother, disagrees with the child; but if it is not selected in this way, each person is free to determine what food is to be tabu for himself. Other food tabus are connected rather with seasons than with anything else. It is not uncommon in south-east Asia to find a prejudice against eating lamb before a certain day.

In connexion with food tabus may be mentioned the prohibition against cooking certain kinds of animals together. In Kamchatka different kinds of meat may not be stewed in the same pot; the Saponas of the Eastern States of America would not cook venison and turkey together, on the ground that they would have ill success in hunting if they did. See Tabu.

16. FUTURE LIFE: (1) CEREBUS.—It is a common belief that the soul has to traverse a river on its journey into the other world. Sometimes the bridge is actually built by the soul (in the animal) while the Ojibwas said that a great serpent served as a bridge, and that he threatened to devour those who were in a trance (Keating, *Expedition*, i. 154). In New Caledonia a serpent serves as a bridge from which the soul may pass to Paradise (Cohn, *Reiseberichte*, xxii. 369). In other cases an animal guards the passage; in North America the belief is that a fierce serpentshoots fish which devour the souls which fall in (Globus, xlvii. 108, among the Dayaks). In other cases the function of the animal is to turn back the souls of those who are alive; the Melanesians held that a person in a trance went as far as the river, but was driven back by a red bull (Cones, *Henry and Thompson*, MS. Jour., i. 321). The Senecas of California also made a bull obstruct the path of the soul; but it was the dead who fell victims to him (Cont. *Am. Ethn.*, iii. 169). In the Dayak mythology figures a bird, who lives aside from the direct road of the soul; if the soul turns aside from the road, he is attacked by tigers, (Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, i. 210). In the Solomon Islands the function of the bird is quite different; the natives of San Cristoval say that the soul becomes a spirit (atare) when it leaves the body; but that it fails to recognize that it is dead; a kingfisher strikes it on the head after two or three days, whereupon it becomes a real spirit (Coddington, *Melanesians*, p. 257).

The soul pursues in the other world the same occupations as it followed in this life. Consequently it is commonly represented as chasing the animals on which the living man depended for his sustenance on earth. The bird is especially common among the American Indians, whose 'happy hunting grounds' are proverbial (Matthews, *Hidatsa*, p. 49; *Rev. Hist. Rel. xxx.*, xliii. 91.).

Sacug, one of the early Jesuit missionaries in Canada, tells us: 'The Indians say that the souls of dogs and other animals follow the road of souls; the souls of the dogs serve the souls of their masters in another life; and, as a witness of hunting with their tools and arms (*Histoire du Canada*, pp. 487, 489).

'To this end the functions of animals and the lot of the soul in the other world is due in great part the custom of burial sacrifice (for the horses see *Teutonia*, i. 148-162). Sometimes the object of the sacrifice is only to bear witness to the importance of the deceased in this life and thus influence his future lot (Abinal and Vaissière, *Vingt ans a Madagascar*, p. 221).

17. FUTURE LIFE: (2) SOUL-ANIMALS.—Few beliefs are more common than that the souls of the dead pass into animals. In South Africa it is the prevailing belief that it is found in Europe. (*Folklore*, xii. 234). America (Tylor, *op. cit.* 6-8), and Asia (ib. p. 91; *Mission Life*, N.S. i. 459; *T'oung Pao*, i. 11, etc.). Especially in the form of the doctrine of transmigration, as a punishment for evil done in this life, the belief prevails not only in India (see, e.g., Mann, *op. cit.* 201, xii. 55-69), but also in Oceania and New Guinea (*Golden Bough*, iii. 432-4) and Australia (*Man*, 1905, No. 28 ; for a collection of references, see *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, xxxvii. 385; see also below, 'Bat', 'Crocodile', 'Lion', 'Lizard', 'Tiger', etc.).

The causes which are supposed to lead to this re-incarnation are various. Among the Mokis it is the form of the tontem animal that a man assumes at death (Frazer, *op. cit.* 36). In South Africa the different clans believe that members pass into the animals which they venerate (*Man*, 1901, No. 111). The Zulu believe that the dead pass into snakes, called *amanhloni* (*Golden Bough*, iii. 411); according to another account, the chiefs inhabit one kind of snake, the common people another, while the old women are re-incarnated in lizards (Cohn, *Reiseberichte*, p. 186). According to the Masai, the souls pass into different kinds of snakes, one of which receives the souls of each clan or family (Hollis, *Masai*, p. 367). In Madagascar the body is thrown into a sacred lake, and the ed that gets the first bite at the body is the abode of the soul (v. Genep, *Tabou*, p. 291).

In China the soul of the drowned man is held to make a rush for the nearest living being; consequently they try to prevent this, by putting in the mouth of the dead a kind of food believed to be the receptacle of the soul (*Mission Life*, loc. cit.). The Barote hold that they can choose into which animal they shall pass (Bertrand, *Au Pays*, p. 390). In the Solomon Islands a man tells his family which animal will be his re-incarnation (*Golden Bough*, ii. 433). In the Argentine Republic it is the animals which are seen about the grave that come in for respect as soul-animals (Bol. Inst. Geog. Arg., xv. 70). In Brazil a kind of hawk is believed to inculcate with the souls of the dead the animals on which it perches to extract maggots from their flesh (Spix and Martins, p. 105). It is a common belief in Solomon Islands that when a cat jumps over a corpse, it becomes a vampire; in other words, the soul of the deceased passes into the cat. The Maecusi believe that souls which are unable to rest come back to earth and pass into the bodies of animals (Waterton, *Wanderings*, p. 177). In Pauwo it was also believed that the wicked found refuge in the bodies of birds, which the priests accounted holy (Arbousset, *Tahiti*, p. 289).

In many cases the lodgment of the soul in an animal is held to end the matter. If the animal is killed, the soul passes into another beast of the same species (*Man*, 1904, No. 118). In Madagascar, however, the death of the animal is held to set free the soul lodged in it (*Miss. Cath. 1850*, p. 551). The chirignanos, on the other hand, hold that the soul enjoys a few years of liberty and then passes into the body of a fox or a jaguar (*Golden Bough*, xlviii. 37).

Some tribes can describe in more or less detail the process of transmigration. The Amandabé, in South Africa, believe that the dead pass into lions, but that the process takes place underground; for which reason the corpse does not remain long unburied. The body is put into a large wooden trough and hidden away in a cavern; some time afterwards it is found to have become a
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The Betsileo are more explicit. The fanany (soul-animal) is in the form of a lizard, which comes to the surface after burial; the family approach it and ask if it is really the relative they have lost; if it moves its head, they make offerings to it. It then returns to the tomb and grows to a large size; it is the tutelary spirit of the family (v. Genep, Tabou, p. 272). According to another account, the corpse is attached to the central pillar of the tomb; and when offerings are made to it, it is said to turn to the right or left, according as large or small lizards develop, which becomes a boa at the end of several months (ib. p. 278).

In several of these accounts the soul seems to become an animal rather than to pass into the body of an animal; this is notably the case with the Ammanda-belé belief; the Betsileo seem to waver between two opinions, if we take all account of the data. In other cases the belief is more explicit. In the Solomon Islands the common people turn into white ants in Marapa, the island of the dead, and in this form serve as food for the spirits of the chiefs, the warriors, and the successful men, who, however, in the common tendency of men to sublimate the uncommon, speak of themselves as man, an island, or a tree, but their hands to find food; and as soon as they touch the entrails they themselves are transformed into the shape of the animal whose entrails they have grasped (Macabiche, 1584, p. 468). On the other hand, among the Magana of Umuampa, P. Le Jeune writes, the transformation of the soul is the result of simple misfortune or carelessness; the souls go to the extremity of the earth, which is flat with a great precipice, and into it as far as their hands can reach, in order to find water; they dance at the edge of the abyss and some fall over; these are forthwith turned into fish (Lett. des Jés. 1637, p. 53).

The soul-animal is usually respected, for which two reasons are assigned. The injuring of the animal is the injuring of a relative or of a friend, for it is believed that the animals into which the souls pass do not injure those with whom they were allied on earth as men. By eating the animal, men may even eat the soul of a relative, and perhaps inflict unmerited hardship on it in its non-human existence. On the other hand, the eating of the animal may be an insult rather than an offering; in many cases, the head of the dead man or of his fellows, and thus recoil upon the living. As a rule, however, the objection to injuring a relative is the prevailing feeling; for we find that, though a man will not injure his own family animal, he will not hesitate to kill the family animal of another man (Golden Bough, ii. 433).

In the same way a man does not injure his own totem, but will kill that of another.

13. FUTURE LIFE. (3) Psychromancy. The duty of conveying souls to the other world is sometimes assigned to animals. The Arancans believe that Tempeleague, an old woman, appears in the form of a whale, and carries off the soul of the dead man (Molina, Historia, p. 70). On the Orinoco huge snakes are said to carry off the souls in their belly to a land where they entertain themselves by devouring angels of Christ (Conversio del Píritu, p. 63). In Brazil the duty is assigned to the humming-bird (Alencar, O Guarany, ii. 321). Among the Saponas, the soul, after an old jag had condensed it, was delivered over to a huge turkey buzzard, which flew away with it to a dark and barren country where it was always winter (Byrd, History of the Dividing Line, p. 96 f.).

Sometimes the animal is not a mythical one. The object of some burial serpulices is to provide the dead man with a conductor. In Mexico the dog (see below), according to one account, fulfilled this office. Among the Yorubas of West Africa the young men who attend a funeral kill a fowl and throw its feathers in the air as they walk, and subsequently cooking it on the flesh. This fowl they call Adje Irana, 'the fowl which procures the road'; its function is to precede the dead man on his road (Miss. Cath. 1834, p. 342).

19. IDEOLS. It is not difficult to trace the main lines of the development of the ideas concerning the sacred animal which interest us here. The case is kept annually, to keep its skin for the ensuing twelve months, just as the various figures made of the new corn are suspended in the house till the next harvest. From the custom of keeping the skin there arises, by a natural transition, the practice of stuffing it in order to give it a more lifelike appearance. Then it was found more convenient to have a wooden or stone image, and the skin is drawn over it, as was the ram's skin over the image of Ammon; and the idol is a fait accompli. There is, however, this tendency towards the good; we find, therefore, that in Egypt, India, and even Siberia, idols compounded of man and animal appear; sometimes the head only is human, as in the case of the Sphinx; sometimes it is the head and body as which we understand, and we have the head and body of Sebek. Sometimes the head and body are human, but some minor portion is animal; the Fauns had goats' feet, and Dagon a fish's tail. With the appearance of the mixed form the course of evolution is completed, so far as the animal is concerned. It ceases to be an idol, and henceforth becomes an attribute of the god; he carries it on his shoulders, leads it, or stands in relation with it. The Egyptian priests were supposed to be descended to him, it ends by being regarded as his enemy.

20. INSPIRATION. One of the methods by which inspiration may be produced is by drinking the blood of the sacrificial victim; possibly the result is in part due to physiological causes. Near Bombay, in the ceremonies of the Konatis, an old man, nearly naked, carried a kid round a car used for hook-swinging, and tore open its throat with his teeth; when he had sucked the blood of the kid, he was regarded by the populace as a god (Miss. Reg. 1818, p. 157). In this case no mention is made of any signs of inspiration; but in some parts of Southern India, when a devil dancer drinks the blood of the victim, the blood of the animal is thrown into the nostrils of the possessed; as if he had acquired new life, he begins to brandish his staff of bells and to dance with a quick but unsteady step. Suddenly the allatitus descends. His eyes gleam, and he leaps in the air and gyrates. Having by these means produced an auto-hypnotic condition, he is in a position to give oracles; he retains the power of utterance and motion, but his ordinary consciousness is in abeyance (Golden Bough, i. 134). The Salemans explained the inspiration thus produced as due to the obsession of the blood-drinker by demons, whose food they held blood to be. They expected to gain the gift of prophecy by entering into communion with the demons (ib. p. 135).

21. LIFE INDEX. It is a wide-spread belief that any injury done to the familiar of a witch will be shown on the corresponding portion of the witch. Similiarly the witch will call the wertman; a disaster to the bush-soul (see ' Nagual ' below) of the West African spells disaster for the man himself. But it is by no means necessary that the relationship between man and the animal should be conditioned by magical rites; it may be acquired from circumstances connected with the birth of a child (Hartland, Legend of P. 1. pass.), or may be selected by the person himself

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495. In the latter case the term ‘magic’ is usually taken to denote a great number of different conceptions, but these need not be distinguished in a brief survey of the part played by animals in magic. (1) Many forms of sacrifice (see below) are magical. (2) As the magus (see below) or familiar, the animal gives man greater force than he would otherwise possess. (3) Just as in dying the dead animal sets free the magical power within it, so in life it may repel evil influences or attract them to itself and neutralize them. (4) By eating animals men acquire their qualities; lion’s flesh gives courage, hare’s meat makes a man a coward. By partaking of long-lived animals a man may overcome the ordinary span of life; by consuming the bird animals he will acquire the gift of prophecy. (5) The external qualities of animals are susceptible of transference in like manner; by rubbing bear’s grease over a horse’s head the horse is assured, for the bear is a hairy animal. This is called the doctrine of signatures. (6) Just as the familiar represents the witch and any injury done to the animal reappears in the witch, so any animal may be selected to represent a given person; a girl who wishes to compel the presence of an absent lover may, in Wales, take a frog’s heart and stick it full of pins. (7) Diseases in the human being may be got rid of by injuring them to an animal. (8) Certain animals, like the frog (see below), are connected with certain departments of nature; by injuring or otherwise constraining them, these animals can be forced to produce the natural phenomena desired by the magician; thus frogs are whipped to produce rain. (9) Magical, too, from some points of view is the torture applied to the favourite animal of a god (Golden Bough, 2, i. 108), to compel the deity to supply man with what he demands. From being used in magic the animal may come to be sacrosanct, as the crocodile (see below) among the Bantus of South Africa. See also: Njari’s; etc. In other cases some animals are in greater request, it is probable there are few that are not in demand for magical purposes of some sort (v. Jühling, Die Tiere in der Volksmedizin; Melasine, viii. 14, 521.). Especially important in European magic are the animals seen in the spring, and the feathers, etc., of birds and animals carried in annual processions (see ‘Wren’ below, and art. Magic).

25. MIMETIC DANCES, MASQUERADES, ETC.—Many primitive peoples are in the habit of imitating the movements and cries of animals, and usually in so doing assume the animal mask or dress; in some cases the object seems to be simple amusement, but this kind of dramatic representation is usually magical or religious in its purpose. (1) The initiation dance is frequently mimetic, and may perhaps have at its root the idea of transforming the man into a member of the kin by imparting to him a share of the nature of the animal. (2) Other dances, also performed at initiation, have for their primary object the conferring of magical power over the animal in the chase. (3) This magical power is also sought by mimetic dances performed immediately before a hunting expedition. (4) Mimetid dances before hunting seem to be sympathetic in their purpose; the animal in human form falls a victim to the hunter, and in the same way the real animal will fall beneath his darts. (5) Sometimes mimetic dances are performed after the animal has been killed; their object seems to be protective (see ‘Leopard’ below), like so many of the other ceremonies after killing animals. (6) It may, however, be intended sometimes as productive magic, for the purpose of increasing the numbers of the animal and perhaps bringing to life again those laid low by the hunter. (7) With the object of provid-
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ing for the due increase of the species, some American Indian tribes mimic the buffalo, the men taking the part of the males, the women of the females.

(8) In many of the Central Australian ceremonies the bird and the wombat are initiated in the ceremonies intended to provide for its due increase.

(9) Conversely, imitation of the movements of animals and birds forms a part of some European marriage ceremonies, and seems to be here, too, a rite of initiation (Frazer, Tot. p. 310) Where animals are sacred to a god, mimery of their movements is equivalent to prayer and adoration, just in the same way as graphic representations of them. (1) The reasons of these prayers is often to produce rain or wind or some other natural phenomenon associated with the animals (see ‘Frog’ below); possibly in its origin the mimetic dance was intended by its magical power to produce these effects without the intervention of a god. (12) The wearing of animal disguises and imitation of animal movements during the chase have probably the purely rational object of deceiving the animal.

26. MYTHS OF ANCESTORS, CHILDREN, HELPFUL ANIMALS, SWAN-MAIDEN STORIES.—Sometimes as a totemic etiological myth (Frazer, Tot. p. 311, but often as a myth of tribal origin Hearne, Northern Ocean., p. 342; D’Orbigny, Voyage dans l’Amérique du Sud, t. iv. p. 115, Zur Volksk. p. 17 ff., etc.), the descent from an animal ancestor is found all over the world. In the same way stories are told of animal births, which sometimes are simply etiological myths of the origin of totem kinds (Frazer, p. 6), and sometimes narratives of facts believed to occur at the present day (see ‘Crocodile’, and cf. Melville, iii. 212, etc.). In another type of myth, animals are said to have been animal–human hybrids, or at least animals’ writings, etc. Sometimes animals figure as guides in tribal migrations, etc. (Wecknergall, Kl. Schriften, iii. 203 ff.). Under this head we may perhaps class the animal nurse (Frazer, Pouz. iii. 254; 255; Farnell, Culti., p. 186). The child born of the animal, or occasionally a child connected with the myth of the animal ancestor is the swan-maiden story (Frazer, Pouz. iv. 106; Hartland, Science of Folklore, pp. 255–333, 337–382; Romania, xxxi. 62; Aust. Ass. Adv. Sci. iv. 731. See also ‘Soal’).

27. MYTHS (ETIOLOGICAL).—A great part of the mythology of savages is simply their idea of the history of the Universe. They account for natural facts, beliefs, customs, and rites by telling what some god or hero once did, by endowing all nature with sensibility and volition, by positing the same conditions in the heavens as exist on the earth, and the other way round. One reason is evident for this existence and peculiarities of animals by telling stories of what happened in the early days of the world. Once men went on all-fours, and pigs walked like men, but something fell on the head of a pig, and since then they have gone on all-fours to see what walked upright.

The Indians of Brazil tell how the daughter of the great serpent married a young man who had three faithful slaves. At that time there was no night upon the earth; the young wife said her father had it, and the slaves were sent for it. They rode upon the stars, which are dead and cold, and when they arrived in the morning they opened their camp. En route they heard a buzzing in the nut; it was the humming of the insects at night. Curiously overcome them; they opened it, and a red and white flower appeared. This flower blossomed in the morning, and they saw it spread through the world. Sometimes everything in the forest changed into animals and birds; everything in the river changed into fishes. A wicked brother became a jaguar, the fisherman in his canoe turned into a duck, the cows forming the feet. When the woman saw the morning star, she said, ‘I am going to feed it which bread and day.’ She set it before it, and said, ‘You shall be the pleasant!’ She coloured it white and red. She rolled another thread and made the partridges, Thenceforward they ate the other food.

For their disobedience the three servants were changed into monkeys (Magalhanes, Coment. indigenas, p. 9). The relations of animals to man, and especially their sacrosanctity, are explained by etiological myths. The Vazimba, in Central Africa, say that the respect paid to the kingfisher by the following story: ‘The Vazimba sent the kingfisher to visit their relatives with a message of good-bye to the father and mother of the kingfisher. They informed the swan-maiden to send owls and sheep; when it had fulfilled its errand it came back, and the Vazimba said that as a reward for its bravery and wisdom they would put a crown on its head and dress it in blue by day and by night. Moreover, young kingfishers should be cared for, and the penalty of death inflicted on any one who sought to kill them’ (v. Genneb, Tabou, p. 295).

More common is the explanation that the animal in some way helped an ancestor of the kia (Gennep, pass.; see also ‘Owl’ below). In N.W. America an adventure with the animal is a prominent motive in the myths. Descent from the totem-animals seems to be the prevailing form of the story (see Folklore, xv., 110; Claus, Vien. Amer. Indianerges., p. 193, etc.). In some other Indian cultures the animal is the custom to undergo some ceremony, usually at the age of puberty, for the purpose of procuring a tutelary deity, which is commonly an animal. This is of course totemism (see, E. A. Hruska, E. 9). Among the Eskimos, in the same way, the nomad (C. America), yunbeau (Chulahayi of Australia), etc. Among the Eskimos the bear (see below) seems to be the usual animal. Among the Thilknets a young man goes out and meets a river otter; he kills it, takes out its tongue and hangs it round his neck, and thenceforth understands the language of all animals (JAM, xxi. 31; Krause, Die Thilkt.-Indianer, p. 284). Among the Eastern Bushmen, Dénés each hunter selects some animal, invariably a carnivorous one (Smiths. Rep. 1866, p. 307), Elsewhere the ininitiati has to dream of his medicine animal, and sometimes kills it in order to procure some portion of its body as a talisman (Frazer, Tot. p. 54). In Ireland, it is customary to cook the tutelary beast; in one case a blood-bond is said to be performed with the animal selected. In Australia also the medicine-man sometimes provides the nomad; sometimes it is acquired by a dream. The animal thus brought into relation with a man is usually sacrosanct for him; if he loses his talisman, he cannot get another medicine animal (parts of America); the death of the nomad entails the death of the man (Nkomis of W. Africa); in Australia the yuwnboi is sacrosanct, though the totem is not.

Closely connected with the nomad is the ‘bash-soul’ of West Africa. It is only by our limited knowledge disguises its identity. A man will not kill his ‘bash-soul animal,’ for that would entail his own death; he cannot see it, but learns what it is from a magician. A ‘bash-soul’ is often chosen hereditarily from father to son, and from mother to daughter; sometimes all take after one or the other parent. In Calabar many are believed to have the power of changing into their ngong. Something of the same sort is known in Europe, for in Iceland each family had attached to it an attar-sgilja; each individual too had his fylga, which took the shape of a dog, raven, fly, etc. (Folklore, xi. 237; Meyer, German. Myth. p. 87). The ngong seems to be closely related on the
one hand, to the 'soul-animal' (see above); on the other, it stands very near to the 'familiar' (see above) of the witch, and the 'werewolf' (see below).

It has been argued that kin totemism arises from the nagual, which becomes hereditary. Up to the present time there was not much noticed of it in the female line, as it has developed from a nagual, which is seldom, if ever, possessed by women or inherited from the maternal uncle.

Closer to the nagual than the kin totem is the sacred animal of secret societies (which see), the initiation ceremonies of which, it should be noted, bear a strong resemblance to those practised by totem tribes. The nagual is the linear ancestor of the 'genius' of the Romans, no less than of the 'guides' of modern spiritualism.

29. NAMES.—Animal names are very commonly used, and not among primitive peoples only, for three per cent. of English surnames are said to be derived from animal names (J. A. Frazer, *Myth. Arch.* p. 65; *Cf. Indogermanic theophoroe* personal names *see Fick, Griechische Personennamen, passim*). (1) Tribes are named after animals; the Naga in the north of India of the Nagas of Ceylon is said to mean 'cockato'; the Wallahuras are the cel people. In America we have the Dog Rib Indians, who trace their descent from the dog. In India the Naga are a serpent tribe. (2) Fairy common is the practice of naming tribal kins after animals; it is one of the tests of totemism. In Australia we have a long list of Arunta and other totems in the works of Spencer and Gillen (for others see *see*). (3) The two sections into which most Australian tribes are divided are, especially in the south, often named after animals, and in particular after the eagle, hawk, and crow. Similarly we have the raven and wolf phratry among the Thlkhinka (*see* also Frazer, *op. cit.*). (4) The intermarrying classes in Australia are also known by animal names; on the Amam River they are called after the eagle, hawk, and crow; at Moreton Bay they are named from the kangaroo, emu, etc. (5) In America the age classes and the closely connected secret or dancing societies are named after animals; in West Africa there are many of these, of which the most well-known, possibly as a relic of totemism, the regiments are named after animals; we find similar names in Welsh history. (7) Both in America and in Australasia sections of tribes are named from their principal food (*Globus*, xxx., 381; *Ixiv. 59*). (8) Local divisions of Australian tribes have animal names. These are not to be confused with local totem groups. (9) Priests and worshippers are named after animals (*see* Priests). (10) Totem kins are in America, and rarely in Australia, name their members after some part of the totem animal. (11) In South Africa the chiefs of animal-named kins bear the name of the animal. (12) Especially in America personal names derived from animals, either for magical purposes or as indications of the characters of their bearers, are very common. In Central America a child is named after some animal with which it is associated with them (*see* Comte, "Fox" , "Moose"). (13) Divisions of the calendar are named after animals in East Asia, and children take their names from them. (14) God and spirits of the zodiac signs, initiation designs, etc., are named after animals. (15) Animal names are sometimes applied in Europe to the bride and groom. (18) The reserp of the last cars, as representative of the corn-spirit, conceived in animal form, is called the cow, etc. At Easter or Whitsuntide, St. Thomas's Day, etc., animal names are applied to the last person to get up, or to an individual accused on the ground believed them to be possessed by the spirit of the *poisson d'Averl*. (19) Varios names are known by animal names, in particular *Blind Man's Bul* (see 'Sacrifice' below). (20) Animal nicknames are common in Europe, even in the colonies; the parts of the world (*Lang, Social Origins, App.*). (21) The last ears of corn, as embodiments of the animal corn-spirit, receive animal names.

30. OATH, OREDE—Just as in modern advanced societies it is the custom to call upon the gods to bear witness to the truth of an assertion or to ensure the fulfilment of a promise, so the savage calls upon his sacred animal (see 'Bear, 'Dog'). In later times this is regarded as an appeal to the gods, but originally the animal itself was believed to punish the perjurer, either by persecuting him as a ghost-animal or by devouring him as a living animal. The procedure varies, sometimes the hand is laid upon the animal or on its skull, sometimes its blood is drunk, sometimes the foot is put upon its skin. The Bantus of South Africa take an oath by their *sibalo*, the Hereros by the colour of their excreta, the Zulus of Ceylon by the bird of the tree taken by the Christmas bower. Corresponding to the oath by animals is a class of ordeals, in which the person to be absolved exposes himself to dangers and beasts by swimming across a river full of crocodiles, or by similar means.

31. OMEMS.—In many cases it is impossible to point out either the causes which determine the animistic character of an animal or those which make the appearance of an animal name favourite or unfavourable. Broadly speaking, omen animals may be classified as—(1) Totem or tutelary animals whose appearance is equivalent to a promise or grant of help to the receiver of the omen; their appearance may, however, be interpreted unfavourably (*Frazer, Tot., p. 23*). (3) The messengers of evil spirits or animal forms of evil spirits, whose appearance is equivalent to the announcement that a magician is seeking to do an injury to some one (see 'Owl'). (3) The animal is divine and has foreknowledge; by the manner of its appearance it shows what the future will be (see 'Hawk'). (4) The animal is a spirit or a god which sends it to instruct man (see 'Hawk'). (5) The animal is possessed of magical influence, which tends either to promote or to retard the enterprise to which the omen is taken to relate; consequently its appearance is favourable or the reverse.

Omen-giving animals are (1) always of evil augury; (2) always of good augury; (3) auspicious or the reverse, (a) according to the manner in which they behave, or (b) according to the number which appear, or (c) according to the actions of the anguor, who may change a bad omen into a good one by magical or other means, e.g. by killing the animal, by turning round three times, by spitting, or by purifying the animal.

32. POSSESSION.—A belief in possession by animals is not uncommon. In New Guinea it is held that the witch is possessed by spirits, which can be expelled by the form of snake or frog, or by any other disease. In the East Indies wer-wolfsim is regarded as a disease of the soul which is communicable by contagion, or perhaps as a kind of poisoning by the evil principle in the form of animals or reptiles. In South Australia the natives believed that they were sometimes possessed by certain animals, and it is no uncommon belief in Africa and Samoa that an offence against a totem or other sacred animal will be followed by its
growth within the body of the offender, which is
equivalent to a kind of possession. Among the
Anius madness is explained as possession by snakes,
etc., and they hold that it is caused especially by
killing some sacred animal. Thus a man who kills
a cat is liable to be possessed by a cat, and he
can prevent this only by eating part of a cat; it
is called cat punishment. There is also bear punish-
ment, dog punishment, and punishment by all the
other animals. In Japan the obsessing animal is
regarded as the physical incarnation of the sins of
the sufferer, and is said to leave him after a while.
In particular, foxes are held to possess people who
have damaged the fields, etc., of their owners; and
certain families are said to own foxes which enter
the bodies of offenders and cause them to blurt out
their crimes. In other parts dogs are the animals
used; they are held to go out in spirit form; the
body may even die in the absence of the vivifying
principle; if so, the spirit enters the body of the
owner of the dog, which is then more powerful than
ever as a magician. Belief in the possession of
wine by an animal is widespread, and is often held
true by all the ancients. In the statement of the Prince of Wied (Reise, ii. 190), that many American Indians believe they have an animal in their bodies, refers to possession by the
magician. The victim, or, more correctly, the
sufferer, is a technical term of a similar belief in Australia with regard to totems.

33. Power over Animals, etc.—Magical
powers over the totem are frequently claimed by
the kin in Australia, and occasionally in other
parts of the world. Mimetic dances (see above)
are held to give the same control. The eating of
the flesh of an animal is believed to give power to
cure diseases, which are often known by the name of
that animal. Wizards and others sometimes claim
to eat the flesh of the owner of the totem, etc.; in
some cases this is said to be the result of inocula-
tion at initiation. See also 'Familiar,' 'Nagual.'

34. Sacrifice.—An account of the origin, func-
tion, and theories, savage and civilized, of sacrifice
will be found in the article on that subject. It
will suffice here to enumerate the various explanations,
real or assumed. (1) The commonest view is
that the animal is a gift or tribute to a god, a mark of
honor or of self-denial. (2) From the fact of
totemism the theory has been developed (Robertson
Smith) that the animal killed is really the god;
the object of the sacrifice, and especially of the
following its totemic qualities, is to strengthen the
tie between the god and his worshippers. (3) It
is in fact found that a savage will kill and eat
the animal god of his enemy (Miss. Roy. 1822,
254); this may be explained on the same prin-
ciple—the bond established by the ritual meal
prevents retaliation, for an alliance has been entered
into, unwillingly but none the less effect-
ively. (4) Starting from the conception of the
slain god (2), it has been surmised (Frazer) that the
killing of the sacred animal, no less than of
the god, has for its object the preservation of the
Divine life, conceived as something apart from the
living animal, from the pains, penalties and old-
age, and from the weakness to which they would
reduce the being on whose strength the preservation
of the people, or the growth of the crops, or some
other important fact, depends. (5) From (2) fol-
loows also the magical totem-sacrifice found as a
totem rite in full activity only in Central Australa,
by which the multiplication of the animal is pro-
moted and the species at the same time desacra-
lized for men other than the tribe that owns it. Desacra-
lization seems to have been also one of the purposes
of the sacrifice of the corn-spirit, although here
the object may have been primarily sacralization of
the participants. (6) One means of the expulsion
of evils is by the eating of the totem animal (4); the
purificatory sacrifice attains the same object by
killing the animal, perhaps by disseminating the
mana of the sacred animal, and thus counteracting
hurtful influences. (7) Corresponding to (6) we
have the magical sacrifice intended to produce
direct benefit to the individual and more generally
when the corn-spirit is killed and its blood sprinkled, or its
bones mixed with the seed as a means of increasing
fertility. (8) The burial sacrifice is intended to
provide them with some degree of existence in the
other world, (b) of guidance to the other world,
(c) of proving his earthly status in the other world,
etc., or to purify the living from the dangers of
mourners. (9) The dedicatorial sacrifice provides
(a) the individual with his nagual or individual
tutelary spirit; (b) a building with a protecting
spirit; (c) a frontier with a guardian spirit, etc.
(10) We have, further, the inspirational sacrifice,
where the blood of a victim is put on the
animal to drink the blood of a victim, in order to
procure obsession by his god.

Various forms of sacrifice are found. The victim
can be slaughtered, burnt, thrown over a precipi-
tice from a height, immured or buried; these modes
may be added the setting free of the bird or animal
(see 'Scapegoat'). The skin of the victim may be put on an idol, used for a sacred
cloak, hung upon a tree, etc. The flesh is fre-
cently eaten; or part may be eaten and part
burnt or buried. Special care is frequently taken
of the bones, which may be buried, burnt, buried
in the skin or mask of the animal to be sacri-
ficed; if the sacrifice is that of the animal-god,
the priest thereby assimilates himself to his god,
and by putting on the Divine character sanctifies
himself for his task. In any case, the donning
of the skin and mask may be regarded as a rite
of sacralization, fitting the human being for contact
with divine things. Not only so, but the priest
is actually changed into the god himself. The
worshippers of Ephesian Artemis were 'king bees',
the priestesses of Demeter, Proserpine, and the
Great Mother, and possibly those of Delphi, were
'bees'; they are probably the antecedent of the
Ephesian festival of Poseidon were 'bulls';
the girls at the Brauronian festival were 'hears' (Frazer, Pausa. iv. 223). In Laconia the priests
of Demeter and Kore were θηλαι (de Visser, Göller, p. 185).

In this connection may be noticed some facts connected
with the game of 'Blind Man's Buff.' All over Europe the game is
known by the names of animals (Pfikler, xii. 303; to the names
there given add cuckoo (Jen. des Trau. Pop. iii. 545), hoopoe
(Masopust y Latoro, Jedie, p. 40), sheep (Rolland, Romna, p. 184).
Wrenseke (Pafet, Folklore, p. 184); the name 'blind fly' is also
found in India). The players in the Middle Ages wore masks,
as may be seen in Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, and we may
surely infer that they wore the mask of the animal by whose
name the game was known! The significance of these facts is
seen when we discover that the procedure in the game of
'Blind Man's Buff' is precisely that of many popular customs,
in which cocks, cats, etc., are killed (Pfikler, xii. 253 F.)
are celebrated, but not by children only that it was played or performed in the Middle
Ages. In this connexion it should not be overlooked that
the Sierra Leone the society dogs bear skins when they
seize a human victim for sacrifice (Kingsley, Travels, p. 207).
In this case, the skin of the human victim is the skin of the
place of a leopard; the leopard hunters of the Gold Coast like-
wise dress like leopards and imitate their actions when they
have killed on a 'Lionday.'

As to the priority of human or animal sacrifices,
no general law can be laid down. On the one
hand, we find in Central Australia the practice of
butchering a certain antecedent human sacrifice. On the

other hand, we find, also in Australia, a ceremony of child sacrifice in connexion with the initiation of the magician, where the priority of animal sacrifice is in the highest degree improbable. In America the ritual killing of the medicine animal (cat or hawk) is one of the most important parts of the puberty rite: the actual killing of the animal cannot, however, be regarded as anything but primitive. But the human sacrifices of Mexico seem to be secondary in their nature, due, possibly, to the influence of the more agriculturally advanced civilization, or to the fact that the agricultural sacrifice of a girl among the Pawnees can be regarded as primitive it is difficult to say; the idea of the animal corn-spirit was certainly known to them, and the influence of cannibalism may have determined a transition from animal to human sacrifice, if indeed it did not at the outset bring about a practice of human sacrifice. Where, as in Africa and the East Indies, the sacrifice is frequently of the character of an offering to a dead man, we have no reason to argue that one form preceded the other. At the same time we cannot affirm that these sacrifices were the original form in those regions. The question is in most cases unsettled.

35. SCAPEGOAT.—Diseases and evil influences are commonly conceived by savage and barbarous peoples as persons, often as spirits; and as a logical consequence of this is the idea that it is the duty of the culprit or the means to expel or otherwise render innoxious all the ills with which they are from time to time afflicted. One method of doing so is to cause them to enter the body of an animal, or sometimes where the personal form of the evil influence is less emphasized, to load them upon the animal, and drive it from the neighbourhood of human habitations.

In India the scape-animal may be a pig (as for Sircilla), the small grass-eating buffalo (as for cholera in Bencar), or a cock (for cholera among the Pataris, and, in light epidemics, in Bencar); and it is noteworthy that the buffalo, goat, or cock must be black (as the vehicle of Yama, the god of death). In many cases, moreover, the scape-animal becomes an actual sacrifice, as among the Hill Bhottiyas, where once a year, in honor of the village god, a dog is intoxicated with bhang and spirit, and then beaten and stoned to death, so that no disease or misfortune may visit the village during the year (Crooke, i. 141 f., 166 f., 169-174). Sometimes also it is held sufficient to make images of animals instead of using living animals; in Old Calabar the exposition of images of goats and devils in public is a custom (Taylor du Moulin, 1554, ii. 348; for similar customs see G.B. III. 102 f.).

36. SKULL, GABLE-HEADS.—Reaching back to classical times, and in the present day extending far beyond European civilization, is the custom of hanging up the skulls of slain animals on the door of their houses. The head is often regarded as the seat of the soul, and in the East Indies this is the reason given for preserving the jawbone; probably the Eskimo custom of preserving the jaw is due to the belief that the soul has a similar idea at its base. More commonly the head is put up in a field or a vineyard as a talisman to keep off evil influences; in the same way, after a head-hunting in which the head of a luecers (see below) is put up as a defence. Amongst the farmers frequently fasten the skulls of horses or cattle to barns and other outhouses, although the object is now merely decorative. Arising out of this use of the skull is the custom (as in the Congo, for instance) of keeping in some regions a complete human skeleton in the house. In Europe, we find the practice of carving horses' and other heads on the gables (Folklone, xi. 332, etc.), but here again their magical significance seems to have been lost. In the Middle Ages the Winds put up a skull when there was a plague among the cattle, but in modern days the practice is rather to bury it; from the stories of the revival of the disease when the skull is dug up, it is clear that the current belief that the cure, if no cure is forth in time uses the skull (as the idea is found in India. The skull is sometimes important in ritual (see 'Bison').

37. TASK.—Respect for totems or other savagery animals may be seen in several parts of the world. The system of prohibitions by which respect is shown negatively is commonly called tabu. It is very generally forbidden to kill the animal (Frazier, Tol. p. 9; Folklone, xi. 239-242; and below, pass.). It may not be eaten, even if killed by another person; or in some cases even touched, save sometimes for the taking of an oath. 'In South Africa it is held to be unlucky to see the siboko (taboon animal), and in many cases there is an objection to using the ordinary name of an animal. Sometimes it is forbidden to imitate the voice of an animal or bird; it is often accounted unlucky to keep it in or near the house. The eggs of birds may not be taken, and there is a strong objection to the use of the feathers of certain birds in making feather beds.

The penalties for violation of these tabus, which are, of course, seldom found exemplified completely in any one case, are usually of the nature of a fine imposed on the offender, usually the breaking of a bone. When the object is to injure him who kills them, he is killing father or mother. Sometimes an injury done to a totem animal is believed to be followed by ill-luck or sickness in the family or among the cattle. In the Congo area it is thought that the women of the kin will miscarry or give birth to animals of the totem species, or die of
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some dreadful disease, if a totem animal is eaten. Leprosy, madness, death by lightning, and various diseases are among other penalties for disrespect to sacred animals. In Samoa the sacred animal was thought to take up its abode in a man's body while he slept in it, and thus kill him; a 'man of the turtle' would not object to helping a friend to eat up a turtle, but would take the precaution of tying a bandage over his mouth, lest an embryonic turtle should slip down his throat and cause his death.

No sharp distinction can be drawn between sacred and unclean animals. The mere fact that an animal is the subject of tabus is indecisive.

Name-tabus. — It by no means follows that all tabus are an indication of respect for the animal whose name is avoided. In the case of dangerous or destructive animals the use of their name may have the result of summoning them, just as the use of the name of a dead man calls him. Various words are forbidden among fishermen; but it may be that it is unlucky for seafaring folk to mention things connected with the land, just as the Eskimos think that the land and deciding between must be kept apart in cooking. Or it may be that the naming of an animal or fish will warn it that it is being pursued. Or the words may be, for some reason, of the form of incantation. 38. TATU, PAINT, KELIOIDS, DEFORMATIONS. — In America and New Guinea totem kins frequently bear their totem tattooed on their bodies (Frazer, Tot., p. 28). In South Africa (ib. p. 2) teeth are knocked out in order that a resemblance to oxen may be produced. In British Columbia the totem is painted upon the face (Globus, lxxxiv. 191). In South America some of the tribes of Brazil tattoo their faces as totem signs (Spitzy and Martinius, Travels, p. 1027), which they respect and mourn for when they die, and into which they believe that they pass at death (von den Steinen, Naturvolker, p. 712). The Californian Indians burn their emblems into their flesh, just as the Indians of Canada tattoo theirs (Frazer, p. 55). In Africa some of the tribal marks, probably in raised pattern, are intended to make the wearer resemble a lion or a panther (Tour du Monde, 1891, i. 65). Some Hindu tatu marks, which are, for the most part, restricted to women, are intended to represent animals, but they are selected merely according to the desire of the person to be tattooed, and, though originally tatu marks are sometimes regarded simply as ornamental (Crooke, ii. 30-33). The totem mark in America and the tribal mark in Africa are sometimes emblazoned on the property of the totem kin of the tribe (Frazer, op. cit. p. 30; Tour du Monde, loc. cit.). In Australia the tribes of the Upper Darling are said to carve totemic emblems on their shields (Frazer, p. 50). The wizard frequently built animals carved on his wand or painted on his dress.

39. TONGUE. — Hunters frequently cut out the tongues of slain animals, and the tongues are eaten as sacred food. In folk-tales the test of the tongues is a test of the worth of two claimants. The tongue of the sacrificial victim is important, and in Bohemia fox's tongue is held to confer the gift of eloquence. In N.W. America the otter's tongue is eaten as a means of acquiring supernatural knowledge. In particular, an otter's tongue is held to confer a knowledge of the language of all inanimates: birds, all beasts, and living creatures (Golden Bough, ii. 421, 422; cf. Krane, Die Tribus der Indianer, p. 284). The shamanistic rattles contain the tongue motif carved on them as a rule in this part of America, and similar figures have been found in the Pacific (Am. Rep. i. 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, pp. 111-112). Tongue marks are recorded in New Zealand (Parkinson, Journal, pp. 98, 123; see also Frobenius, Weltansch. p. 190).

40. TOTEMISM. — Under ordinary circumstances, totemism is a relation between a group of human beings and a particular animal or plant. In the following, therefore, we shall consider only those cases falling under one of the following three main features: (1) the assumption by the totem kin of the name of the animal; (2) the prohibition of the intermarriage of persons of the same totem name; (3) respect paid by every member of the totem kin to the totem animal. Each of these features is liable to deformation; we find totem kins which respect an animal other than their eponymous one; kin exogamy becomes local exogamy or Endogamy; but taboos are still maintained; the totem animal is eaten ritually or otherwise. Other features of totemism are present only occasionally, and their absence in no way invalidates the totemic character of the relation. More especially in America the connexion between the kin and the animal is explained as one of descent, the animal sometimes having united itself to a human being, sometimes having transformed itself into the ancestors of the kin by a gradual process, and so on. But it must not be supposed that totemism exists or has existed wherever we find a myth of descent from an animal (see 'Myths of Ancestors' above). More especially in Australia the totem is held to be the child of the totem or spirit. Conversely, in Central Australia, the kin perform magical rites to promote the increase of the totem species; traces of magical influence over the totem are found elsewhere; but it does not seem legitimate to profess the connexion to ascendants as far back as the animal is recognized as totemic in origin. Sometimes the kin indicate their totem by tatuing or other marks, sometimes by deformations, or by the mode of wearing the head or body.

In determining the totem of a child, kinship is usually reckoned through the mother. On the other hand, the usual course at marriage is for the female to remove to the husband's house or district. The result of this is that the kins in any area are (1) intermingled, and (2) continually changing. Where the parent from whom the child takes its totem continues to reside in his or her own district, the totem is fixed for the totem kins to become localized. The result of this is that certain animals are respected in certain districts; in this way perhaps originated the local cults of Egypt. Tribal respect for the totem of the chief, and ancestor-worship, are the only cases in which totemism is transformed.

Totemistic tabus do not differ markedly in form from those connected with other sacred animals; they may therefore be dealt with together in this article (see 'Tabu' above).

Sex totems. — A peculiar relation exists in Australia between the two sexes and two species of animals which might better be termed 'animal brothers and sisters.' It is found from South Australia as far as Brisbane, and the animals thus related to the men and women are lizards, owls, bats, emu-wrens, superb warblers, and goatsuckers. Although the intercourse between a man or woman is believed to be bound up with the life of one of these animals, and although they are in consequence jealously protected by the sex to which they belong, as a preliminary to marriage and the totem animal attributed to the Kurnias for one of the 'animal relatives' to be killed by the opposite sex (Golden Bough, iii. 414-416).

41. VEGETATION. — In the ancient world a number of minor deities, especially connected with vegetation, were believed to possess animal or semi-animal form. Not only were the bull and goat closely associated with Dionysus, but Pan, the Satyrs, and the Fauns, with the goat's or the goat's (see below). The only explanation hitherto sug-
gested of this connexion is that the goat naturally wanders in the forest and browses off the tender shoots of trees, so that the animal which so bodily appropriates the new spirit can be no other than that spirit in bodily form. Frazer has explained the ceremonies performed at various periods in the spring as intended in part to promote the growth of vegetation by kindling the wild fire and therefore recalling the previous year, replacing him by a more youthful and vigorous representative. Many of these ceremonies are performed during the Carnival or at Mid-Lent; among the animals which appear at that period are the bear (in effigy), the ox, the goat, the wolf, etc. But these ceremonies seem to have had another purpose too,—that of the expulsion of evils,—so that we cannot identify all the animals that so appear with the spirit of vegetation. In the same way various animals (the squirrel, fox, cat, etc.) are thrown into the bonfires at Easter or other periods of the year,—Frazer says as sun-charms at home; or, legitimate to regard these as so many representatives of the spirit of vegetation. In China the spirits are bull-shaped (de Groot, Vel. Syst. iv. 252).

42. Water.—In Greece, Poseidon and river gods generally seem to have been conceived under the form of bulls (JHis xiv. 126, 129). The festival of Poseidon was called Tauroia, and his priests were termed 'bulls' (de Visser, Opper, pp. 41, 43). In the north of Europe, on the other hand, the horse seems to have been considered a more appropriate form for the god of water (see 'Horse'; cf. Rudorfe, v. 110). In South Africa and Australia the form attributed to water-monsters is that of the serpent (see below). In India and Eastern Asia the conception of a dragon replaces that of a serpent; we find traces of the same idea in Europe in the story of Perseus and its many variants. See also 'Dragon.' 'Serpent.'

43. Werewolf.—The belief in werewolves is connected, on the one hand, with the pathological condition known as lycanthropy, in which the sufferer believes himself turned into an animal; on the other, with the belief in magus (see above), familiar and tutelary spirits which serve the human beings who can secure their services. Corresponding to these two sources of the belief there are two different forms of it. In the first place, the man is conceived to put off his own form and assume that of the animal—in Europe most commonly a wolf, as the last days of the festival of the dead were remembered— so that he is said to become a wolf, to be exterminated or to survive in the west and south. This transformation may be temporary or permanent, may be due to eating human flesh, to the sins of the transformers, or to some magical procedure such as the drawing of a wolf's skin, or to contagion, such as eating food left by another werewolf. In the second place, it may be simply the spirit of the wer-man which undergoes the change, his body being left behind. It is the same idea as that of the Jewish witch, who must not only put off the skin of the dead person, but which the Jews were commanded to put on again; or, according to another form of the belief, the wer-animal is simply his servant, and the man himself goes on with his ordinary occupations while it is in his power; his life, however, depends on its security.

In Europe the werewolf is supposed to fall upon his victim like ordinary wolves. In the East European countries the manceuvre of the werewolf is more complicated. He attacks solitary individuals, who are, as it were, swallowed up. Thence the wer-man assumes his own form, eats up his victim, ents the river, and puts the body together again. There are, it appears, various ways of preventing the change, which can be recognised, and orders are prescribed for discovering it. The werewolf is, as a rule, in the form of a living man; but sometimes the dead are believed to return in animal form (see 'Soul-animal' above) and practise the same arts as werewolves proper. A method of burial is prescribed in Celibes for preventing the revival of the dead; it is the same as that of the wolf. The werewolf as form of the dead is closely connected, if not identical, with the vampire in some of its forms. See also 'Nagual,' 'Totemism' above. See Lycanthrope.

44. Particular Animals.—Ant.—We learn from Greek writers that ants were worshipped in Thebes; the Myrmidons revered them and claimed descent from them (de Visser, Opper, p. 127; Lang, Myth. ii. 127). In Denmark and Portugal and Novo, ants are regarded as the messengers of the serpent-god Danbe (Miss. Curt. 1884, 232). In Jabuin, New Guinea, it is believed that a second death after the first is possible, in which case the soul becomes an ant (Nudor, K. Wilhelmstal., 1897, 92). We find in Cornwall the belief that ants are the souls of unbaptised children (PLJ. v. 182). In France it is held that it brings ill-luck to destroy an ant's nest (cf. above). The ant is fed by Hindus and Jews on certain days, and is regarded as associated with the souls of the dead (Crooke, ii. 256).

In South America and California one mode of initiation was to allow the boy or girl to be stung by ants (Golden Bough, iii. 215); it is said to make them briskest and impart strength. The Piojos submit to it in order to acquire skill with the blow-tube (Jahi, 171). The Athapescan Dog-Ris believes that the gift of prophecy was acquired by secretly putting an ant under the skin of the hand (Franklin, Second Expedition, p. 291). On the other hand, the Aruntas hold that a medicine man must not go near the nest of the bull-ant; for if he were bitten, he would lose his power for ever (Spencer and Gillen, Not. Tr. p. 325). In Bulgaria and Switzerland, ants are regarded as of bad omen (Stracze, Bulgar., p. 288; Schce. Arch. ii. 216). The Estonians regard them as of good omen (Gel. Eust. Ges. Schriften, No. 2, p. 28); and for the Huculs red ants are lucky, black unlucky (Raimel, p. 105).

Not only the ant but also the ant-hill is the object of superstitious observances. The Juangs take an oath on an ant-hill, and the Kharris use it as an altar (Miss. Curt. 1897, 383, 380). At Poona a dance round an ant-hill is part of a religious ceremony (Bombay Gaz. XVIII. ii. 293). In West Africa, ants' nests are regarded by the Susus as the residence of demons (Winterbottom, Sierra E. 1. 297). The animal is associated either with the souls of dead chiefs (Bastian, Bilder, p. 181) in South Africa the bodies of children are buried in ant-hills that have been excavated by plant-centers (Account of Cape of Good Hope, 143). In the Sudan it is believed that a hyena-man assumes his animal form at an ant's nest (Globus, xii, 157). For myths and folk-tales of the ant see de Crotamata, Good Myth. iii. 44 ff.

Ass.—The Junians assume the ass (cf. Ann. v. iii. 4; Diodor. iv. 148; cf. Reinach, Cultes, i. 342; Krauss, in JE ii. 222-224). In Greece at the present day the pagan ass is held to have a malevolent power and people believe them to be Jews who worshipped the ass (Ponqueville, Voyage, i. 415; cf. Taunus, E. A. E. 1857, p. 169, pl. x). At Frickhansen in Wurttemberg the peasants are said to keep a wooden ass with a head as large as the village (Mannhardt, Germ. Mythen, p. 411). In explanation of the poverty of Silesian vineyards, it is said that the ancient Sileans ate the ass on which Silenus rode (Smith, Glossegraphia, i. 342, 3). Typhon was represented with an ass's head, and the inhabitants of Copoto threw an ass down a precipice as his representative (Plut.
de Is. et Os. 30). The Armenians sacrifice an ass at the grave of the ancestors of a person against whom they have a claim, in the belief that if their claim is correct the ass will pass into an ass (Haxthausen, Transcausia, ii. 21). In parts of Germany, children are said to come from the ass's pond (Mannhardt, Germ. Arch. p. 413). In Egypt the soul of a dead man is said to be sold earthenware images in the shape of donkeys at an annual fair (ib. p. 414). In Moldavia, Calabria, and Portugal, an ass's head is a means of averting evil or the influence of the evil eye. From the fields or orchards (Rolland, Franc. iv. 191; Trele, Heidenthum, p. 210; Melusine, viii. 14). Near Meiningen the last stroke of the reaper was said to kill the oats, barley, or lentil ass, just as in other parts other animals are regarded as incarnations of the corn-spirit (Haupt's Zeitschr. f. d. Altertum, iii. 360 ff.).

Prominent among medieval festivals was the fête des ânes (la fête assinariens (Chambers, Medieval Festivals, p. 226). This was also a popular festival of the same nature as the 'white horse' (Rev. Hist. Rel. xxxvii. 334) and other customs, the existence of which far back in the Middle Ages is well attested by ecclesiastical fulminations. In the present case the association of the ass with Palm Sunday made it possible for the Church to throw a veneer of religion over the pagan rite. In Augsburg in the 16th century a wooden ass was drawn through the streets. After palms were thrown down below it; a priest prostrated himself and was beaten by another priest; and the first palm to be caught up was used in magical ceremonies (Germania, xvii. 81). Many of these celebrations are kept up unofficially at the present day at various times in the spring — Mid-Lent, Palm Sunday, Easter, Whitsantide (Tradition, vi. 197, 226; Bouverit, ii. i. 163; Reimsberg-Düringsfeld, Festl. Jahrh., pass. s. Zts., f. Volksk. iii. 307, iv. 33). The ass also appears in connexion with St. Nicholas on Dec. 6th, and in Zug children on this day carry round a wooden ass's head (Schwe. Archiv, i. 94). In Grisons the ass of St. Nicholas is said to carry off the children and throw them down a precipice (ib. ii. 167). On the Thursday before Christmas the Posterijtag is held at Entlebuch; people from other villages arrive, and one of the watchmen Poste has been sometimes in the shape of an ass. The image is left in a corner of the village (Studer, Schweiz. Idiotikon, i. 298). For myths of the ass, its supposed phallic meaning, and folk-tales relating to it, see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth., ii. 359-369.

The story of Midas is also discussed by Czeszovski, Bajka o Midaseowych wszizach.

Basilisk.—Accounts of the basilisk (Basiliscos), a king of the serpents, have come down from Pliny (XXIX. xix.) and Heliodorus (Ethiopica, iii. 8.) It was believed to be a small serpent with a cock's head; its look was fatal. In medieval and modern Europe the basilisk or cockatrice is supposed to be hatched from the egg of a seven-year-old cock or from the hundredth egg of a hen (Mutiluse, v. 18-22). On the other hand, the first egg of a black hen is held in Bohemia to be the dangerous one; the hen is not killed. In the old Germanic wording, birds, to which it produces the todok, or demon of good luck (Grohmann, Aeg. Z. 77, 543, 544).

Bat.—Among the Cukchiquends the chief god, Bacanrot, took the form of a bat (Panceroff, i. 451). A similar belief at the same time dangerous, in which the first man and woman were told not to approach it, but the woman disobeyed and the bat flew away; after that death came into the world; the form of the myth, however, suggests Christian influence (Hallon, Under the Southern Cross, p. 141). Among the Dongoni of East Africa the bat is called by the name 'the ancestor of bats and spirits—bitobok (Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, i. 144). In West Africa an island on the Ivory Coast is peopled with huge bats, which are regarded as having once been the abode of the dead (Hässler, Sudseebilder, p. 318). No native in Victoria will kill or eat them for this reason (Golden Bough, ii. 431). The Bantus of Natal will not touch a bat (Fleming, Southern Africa, p. 263). In Tonga, bats are sacred, prohibited to be killed, and sometimes sacrificed for that reason (Golden Bough, ii. 431).
mountain (Mitt. d. Ges. N. V. Ostasiens, xlix. p. 431). Among the Tatars the earth spirits take the form of a bear, and on this account they are accorded increased respect (Castrén, Vorlesungen, p. 230), but there is nothing to show that they receive actual worship. One authority says that the Ostiks worship the image of a bear (Trans. p. 29); and in India the bear is believed to scraw away disease, so that ailing children are made to ride on the backs of tame animals of this species (Crooke, i. 292).

There are also set the women of the host's kin; they bring with them their sons-in-law, whose duty it is to kill the bear. The guests are called narch, and they are entertained by the 'lord of the bear.' Women are excluded from the ceremony. The killing of the bear is preceded by a trial of skill with the bow, in which the narch take part as well as the kin of the 'lord of the bear'; it is a point of honour for the latter to shoot badly. The narch then settle among themselves who is to give the fatal wound.

When the guests have gone, the nearest kinsmen of the dead man proceed to cut up the bear, which is placed in a majestic pose after being killed, its head to the west. The flesh of the bear is consumed by all persons of the kind of the dead man. On the following day the head of the bear is taken to its last resting-place, and then its soul goes to the 'Lord of the Mountain' (AEGH viii. 299-322).

If the precise meaning of these ceremonies is not apparent, it is at least clear that the cult of dead kinsmen is one of the elements at the present day; it may be noted that the 'kin gods' of the Gilyaks are human beings who have met with a violent death, but whether it is only in honour of such that the festival is held does not appear (ib. p. 259).

A second element is possibly that of purification (ib. p. 278).

On the whole, we must regard the Gilyak ceremony as analogous to the Ziuni turtle-killing—a means of communication with the dead of the tribe.

The Ostiks, on the other hand, appear to pay equal honour to every bear which they kill; they cut off its head, hang it on a tree, and, surrounding it, pay respect to it; then they run towards the body and laugh at it, and any person who is nearest to it they bat the Russians who have killed it (Austerm. Voyage, ii. 92). As a mark of respect, Samoyeds allow no woman to eat of its flesh (Ersran. Rebis, i. 638). If the Ostiks show respect to the bear, they also give evidence of very different feelings; its skin is stuffed with hay and spat upon to the accompaniment of songs of triumph (ib. p. 359), but they subsequently set up the figure in a corner of the cortyard and treat it as a time as a tutelary deity (ib.). (For songs in honour of the bear see Beitrag zur Kenntniss, xxv. 79.)

We find a similar custom among the Pothawatomees. The head of the bear is set up adorned with various colours, and all participants in the feast sing songs in its honour (Baumgarten, Alg. Ges. Am. ii. 542). Although no special ceremonies are observed by the Knutschatkins, the killer of a bear is obliged to invite all his friends to partake of the flesh (Kracheninikow, i. 107). Among the Lapps the bear hunt is the occasion of various ceremonies. When the animal is dead, they beat it with rods and then transport it on a sledge to a hut constructed on purpose; they then go to a hut where their wives await them; the latter chew bark to colour their saliva red, and spit in the faces of the men (probably as a purificatory ceremony).
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Continuous is observed for three days, and then the flesh is prepared and eaten by men and women separately, for it was said that they were to eat it in the order in which they placed themselves at the table where the bear is cooked or partake of flesh from the rump (Voyages et Av. des Emigrés français, ii. 150). The Montagnais prohibit a bear's flesh to women and negroes (Histoire, 1799); the Ojibwas will not allow dogs to touch a dead bear (JAI iii. 111). The Taconics eat bear's flesh at the feast of the dead (Harmon, Journ. 289). The Mohawks offered bear's flesh to Agreskoni when they had their annual success in war (Megapolensis, Beschrijving, p. 48).

In East Asia an oath by a bear is not uncommon. In some cases the skin or a piece of flesh is brought (Sohrenck, i. 408); or an offering of a skin is made (Ides, p. 19), and in case of perjury the animal comes to life; we may take this to mean that they believe the bear will devour the perjurer, for the Samoyeds make a man bite a bear's head, and hold it while they may not let him go, with him in procession (Mannhardt, Ant. W. u. Felderleute, 183f.; cf. Zts. Ver. Volks, vi. 420). The custom is especially prevalent in the Laositz, a Wendish area (MS notes). In Poland the 'bear' is thrown into the water (Kolberg, Povianische, i. 134, 136, 139, ii. 350).

The Central Eskimos believe that they can acquire a bear spirit as tutelary deity, or totem. The would-be organizer must travel to the edge of the great ice-foe and summon the bears. When they appear, he falls down at once; and if he falls upon his face, a bear steps forward and asks his will. The man recovers and goes back with the bear (Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth. 1884-1885, p. 581).

The bear is especially associated with Berne, the name of which means 'bear,' and the town has kept bears for centuries. The explanation given is that Duke Berthold delivered them from a gigantic bear, but this is simply etiological and probably late; for it is certain that the bear was associated with the town centuries before Berthold. In 1832 a statue of a goddess, Artio, was discovered in the neighbourhood, which dated from Roman times. Now Artio is certainly connected with Irish art, Lat. urus, Gr. ἀρώς, and means the goddess of the bear or something of that sort. A bear has also been revered among the other statuettes, but was not until being brought into connexion with the goddess, before whom it was standing in the original form of the group (Rev. Celt. xxi. 280).


In Greek cult, bears were burnt in honour of Artemis Ἀλέα at Patrae (Paus. VII. xvii. 8), and 'bear Artemis' was one of the names by which she was known. There is a good deal of evidence to connect bear-animals with a cult if the walls are of that (Parnell, Cults, ii. 433). Calliste, in an Arcadian myth, is changed into a bear, and she seems to be only another form of Artemis (Müller, Proleg. pp. 75-76), who is also called Κάλλιστα. Moreover, at Brauron, Athens, and Mynychia, Artemis Boreas was worshipped (cf. Lung, Myth, ii. 212-219) in ceremonies which were perhaps a survival of initiation customs. Young maidens danced in a saffron robe, and, like the priestesses, were called 'horses,' and the dance was called ἀρέσεια, and the participants were of ages from five to ten; the celebrations were quinquennial, and no girl might marry before undergoing the rites. There is a trace of a bear sacrifice at Brauron (Farnell, Feste, ii. 169), and it was customarily offered the goat or hind. For folk-tales of the bear see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 109-119. For myths see Bachofen, Der Bar.

Bee.—The Tchuwashes of East Russia have a beegod, and celebrate a bee festival at which they drink beer sweetened with honey (Globus, xxxix. 217). The priests of Ephesian Artemis were called 'king bees'; the priestesses of Demeter, Prosperina, and the Great Mother were known as 'bees.' From the fact that the goddesses, when (Globus, xxxix. 217) thy, and the Demeter were called 'horses,' we may infer that the goddesses in question were bee-goddesses, or that their cult had included a local cult of the bee (Frazer, Paus. iv. 225). As a means of attacking or defending the bees figure in Quiche and European sagas (Liebrecht, Zur Volks, p. 75). In North Guinea beehives are actually hung at the entrance to a village, but the intention is probably magical (Wilson, Western Africa, p. 188). For myths of bees proceeding from the bodies of animals, as in the story of Samson (Judg 14), see Globus, xxxix. 212. The soul is believed in parts of Europe to take the form of a bee (ib. II. 516; Jecklin, Falstanthiische, i. 59).

In European folklore the bee is everywhere sacrosanct (Folklore, xii. 239), but as often happens, the first bee may be killed for use in magic (ib. p. 254). As ominous as the wolves, became the bumblebee and was feared by them, in some parts of Wales a swarm entering a house is a bad omen; elsewhere the reverse is the case (Rev. Hist. Rel. xxxvi. 208). If they leave their hive it is a death omen (Brand, Pop. Ant. ii. 175, 219; Rothholz, i. 148). A swarm on a heath means fire (Globus, xxvii. 96); Rothholz, loc. cit.). The European peasant attributes special intelligence to bees; they suffer no uneasiness of any sort near them; they should not be sold; the death of a member of the family must be announced to them, and mourning put on their hives (Globus, xxxix. 211 f.). At certain times in the year honey should be eaten (ib.). For myths and folk-tales of the bee see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 212-219. For the symbolism of bees see Pauly-Wissowa (1894), p. 446 f. For myths, p. 448 ff. See ARVANTS.

Beech.—The cult of the scarab was general in Egypt (Budge, Gods, p. 379). At the present day it is feared by the hottentots, of whom Kolbe says that they sacrifice sheep and oxen to a beetle (Walckenaer, Hist. Gen. xv. 372). The beetle is tabul in various parts of Europe (Folklore, xii. 238, 242). Killing it is believed to cause rain (Rolland, Fauve, iii. 324; Napier, Folklore, p. 116; MS notes). In East Prussia it is held to be lucky to set a beetle on its feet when it has got cast (MS note; cf. Azelius, Sagenbinder, ii. 29). In Schleswig-Holstein, people used to sweep a house with Thor (Schiller, Thier . . . buuch, p. 8). It is sometimes kept in a cage for luck (Napier, Folklore, p. 116; Bohn, Kinder Spiel, p. 424). In Scotland the stag beetle is killed because it is the devil's lap; the black beetle is killed whenever it is found, and a story is told to explain the custom (Gent. Mag. 1576, ii. 510; cf. Rolland, Fauve, iii. 327). In Lautenthal, boys put a stag beetle in the ground and strike blindfold at its horns; the one who hits it is the winner and takes the beetle home (Kuhn, Nord. Sagen, p. 377). In the Graitsch Mark the horns are used for divination (Wiste, p. 56).

The ladybird has ten tabul (Grobmann, Abel. No. 1668; Strackenberg, Abel. p. 45). It is said to bring the children (Mannhardt, Germ. Mythen, p. 272). It is regarded as of good omen. The cockchafer is also ten legged (ib. xi. 240). It is greeted in the spring (Ibarovius, iv. iii. 237) carried in procession (La Fontaine, p. 62), and sold in the spring (Germany. viii. 433; FLK. iii. 188; cf. Rolland, Fauve, iii. 340). It is considered of good omen for a boy (Ibarovius, iv. 240). Children often repeat verses to the ladybird (Ludovic, Monographie, p. 40; Rolland, Fauve, iii. 351-355). In Picardy it is the custom
to kill the ladybird (Liedien, loc. cit.). A beetle is carried for luck (Spies, Abergaubden, p. 417), and used in magic (Heyl, Volkssagen, p. 787; Wuttke, Der Abergaubden, passim). In the mythology of the Sie the beetle was entrusted with a bag of stars; getting out of it to bring luck, they flew out and covered the heavens (Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. 1889-1890, p. 35). For the folklore of the beetle see de Geburicators, Zool. Myth. ii. 299 ff.

Bison.—One of the Omaha clans traced its descent from a bison, which is said to have been originally under the surface of the water; they believed that they returned to the buffaloes at death (Frazer, Tot. pp. 4, 36). Both Iowa and Omaha males dress their hair in imitation of the bison when it is its totem (ib. p. 27). A southern tribe, probably the Kwaap, propitiated the dead bison; they adorned it with its head with a swan and bustard down dyed red, and put tobacco in its nostrils and in the cleft of its hooves. When they had flayed it, they cut out its tongue and replaced it by a piece of tobacco. Two wooden forks were then stuck into the ground and a crosiepiece had upon it a deer and a bear, made as a cheerful offering (Hist. Coll. Louisiana, i. 181).

Another account states that the Louisiana Indians bewailed the bison before they set out for the chase (Hennequin, Desc. p. 86). Possibly the Blackfoot people used their power to drive away a buffalo as part of a similar propitiation (Miss. Cath. 1889, 359).

Many tribes performed mimetic dances in order to increase the supply of bison (Frazer, Tot. p. 41; Petley, A Quaker, p. 372). The Sioux used to dance the bison by imitating the bark of the coyote (Tour du Monde, 1864, i. 54). The Pawnees used to 'dance the bison' for their neighbours; they dressed in war costume and covered themselves in the scalp of the bison and in their tails. They uttered sounds in imitation of the animal, they danced in a circle, their bodies in a half bent position, their weight being supported on two sticks which represented the forelegs of the animal (Stanley, Portraits, p. 10). The bison is supposed to be killed in the following way: the Indian and a Pawnee (Dorsey, Traditions of Skidi Pawnees, pp. 85, 344). For their corn dance preparations are made by killing a bison; this is done by a woman; the corn is dried and filled with various kinds of corn. For the dance itself the floor must be as clean as possible; sacred bundles of corn and bison flesh are prepared, and a bison skull and two hoes of bison bone are placed before them; the women dance, holding their hoes, and every one searches for buffalo hairs; if they see any they say, 'Now we are going to be successful in our hunt and in our corn' (Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories, p. 372). They give the name of 'mother' to the skull of a bison cow painted red, which they place at the bottom of the hut on a sort of altar; they think that it has the power of attracting bison. At the time of the corn dance is brought to the hunt, and the corn is spread on the ground. It is important to dance all day to obtain a good harvest. Offerings of first-fruits are also made (Du Lac, Voyages, p. 276). Probably the same ideas prevailed among other tribes; for we find that the Eastern Iroquois believe to this day that the corn is the product of a magic cow; that cow is represented by a bison, and the myth that corn was given them by four bison bulls (Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. viii. 379; cf. Matthews, Ethn. of Hokaido Indians, p. 12).

Bu-cceros (rhinoceros-bird).—This bird is important in the East Indian area. In Borneo the gables of some of the houses have a buceros in wood; and with this may be connected the fact that when they have taken a head on a hunting-expedition, a wooden buceros is set up with its beak pointing towards the fire; on the gable it is said that the bison is brought to bring luck, and the head of a buceros on a magic staff, and it is also believed to attract purchasers to shops on which it is placed. Under the central post of the house it is believed to avert evil from the dwelling. The head-hunter sometimes wears a buceros head on his own, probably for the same reason that one is set up; in Borneo it has become general to wear feathers and carved bills, but the right to do so is restricted to those who have taken a head with their own hands. It figures in the death dance of the Battas; a mimetic dance in Borneo seems to have in the present day no other object than amusement. At a ceremony of propitiating the river the brahms suspend from a wooden buceros a great number of cigarettes, which are taken down and smoked ceremonially by all the men present (Ethn. iv. 312 ff.; J. xxi. 180, 198; Tydebuch. T. F. xxvii. 517, xxxiv. 169 ff.).

Buffalo.—Like many other pastoral peoples, the Todas show their domestic animal, the buffalo, a degree of respect which does not fall far short of adoration. As often happens, the flesh of the female is never eaten; once a year, on the feast of the dead, a buffalo is killed and eaten by the adult males of the village in the recesses of the wood. It is killed with a club made of a sacred wood; the fire is made of certain kinds of wood; produced by rubbing sticks together (Marshall, Todas, p. 129 f.; see also Rivers, Todas, p. 274 ff.). In other parts of India the animal serves as a scapegoat in case of cholera (Golden Bough, ii. 101). The Mahs of Bombay sacrifice a buffalo at the festival of the sun; they lead it before the temple of Bhaiwani, and the chief strikes it on the neck with a sword; thereafter it is hunted and struck with the hand or with a weapon; in this way it is laden with the sins of those who succeed in touching it. After being driven round the walls, its head is struck off at the gate; a single stroke must suffice if the sacrifice is to be efficacious. Then they fall upon the victim and tear it in pieces; they then lead it in procession and offer it in sacrifice. It is held that the souls of the dead pass into the Cape buffalo (Fritsch, Einige borene, p. 139). The Ewe tribes hunter observes tabus when he kills a buffalo (Mitt. d. Schutzg. v. 156). Among the Ewe tribes, when a buffalo bull has been killed, it is cut up and sold before the hut of the hunter. With an old woman as president, he and his companions partake of a meal in a hut, and the entrails of the buffalo are wound round old men bringing in the meat and singing all day to obtain a good harvest. Offerings of first-fruits are also made (Du Lac, Voyages, p. 276). Probably the same ideas prevailed among other tribes; for we find that the Ewe do not eat the flesh of wild-bombed animals only, and may eat no pepper, though salt is permitted. This period of taboo is concluded by a general festival, at which a mimetic representation of a hunting scene is given. At the close the
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hunter who killed the buffalo is carried home (Zts. Gen. Ges. Thier, ix. 19).

Butterfly, moth.—In a Pima myth, the Creator, Chiwotomatke, takes the form of a butterfly, and flies until he finds a place fit for man (Bancroft, ii. 78). Many of the Malagasy trace their descent from a sort of moth, and believe that it was a man who was changed into a moth at death. The Si난akas believe that the soul has to suffer after death till the body is only a skeleton; if it cannot endure this it becomes butterfly; the Aturimerays call the soul by the same name as the butterfly (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 292). In Samoa the butterfly was one of the family gods (Frazer, Tot. p. 15). Butterflies are taboo in Europe (Folklore, xi. 399; Napier, Folk. p. 115). In Bakuovia they should not be taken in the hand (Zts. Oest. Volksk. i. 322).

In the Voges, France (Sauvé, Folklore, p. 317; Noel du Fail, ed. Assevrat, i. 112), they should be caught. In Oldenburg the first butterfly should be caught and allowed to fly through the coat sleeve (Strackerjan, Aberg. p. 105). In Suffolk, butterflies are “tenderly entreated,” and white butterflies are shown the west of Scotland (Sauvé, Folklore, p. 9; Napier, Folklore, p. 115), while at Llandiloos (Montgom. Coll. x. 260) the coloured ones are killed; in Scotland it is unlucky to kill or to keep them. Moths are killed in Somerset and in parts of Scotland. Butterflies and butterflies in the North of England (Denhm. Tr. ii. 325), the small tortoiseshell in Pitsligo (F.L.T. vii. 43), the first butterfly in Devonshire (P. T.t. b. p. 329); while in Essex the directions are to catch the first white butterfly, bite off its head, and let it fly away (MS note). The Magyars say that it brings great luck to catch the first butterfly (Jones and Kropl, Folktales, xix.). In Yglau it is put in the hand (Zts. Oest. Volksk. ii. 275). In Silesia, Friesland, and Bosnia, moths are regarded as witches (Gregor, Folklore, p. 147; Wiss. Mitt. vii. 315; Globus, xxvi. 158). In Germany the butterfly is sometimes said to bring the children (Floss, Kind, i. 12).

There is a curious diversity in the omens given by butterflies. In North Hants three butterflies are a bad omen (NO, 8th ser. iv. 165). In Brunswick a white butterfly seen first means death, a yellow butterfly brings ill luck, and a black one brings good (Andre, Braunschweig, Volk. p. 289). Elsewhere a white butterfly means a rainy summer, a dark one thunderstorms, and a yellow one sunshine (Abt Erdobrunnen, iv. 16). The Ruthenians hold that a red butterfly in spring means health, and a white one sickness (Globus, Lxxxiii. 245); while for the Bulgarians the dark butterfly announces sickness (Stauss, Bulgaren, p. 286).

Cat.—The cat was generally respected in Egypt, and mumified at Thebes; but this is not enough to establish cat-worship proper. In many parts of Europe it is considered unlucky to kill a cat (Folklore, xi. 293), and the same belief is found in Africa; the Wazamas respect the cat, and believe that if one is killed, some one in the family falls ill; a sheep is led four times round the sick person, and then slaughtered; its head is buried, a living cat is extinguished, but if the cat only is covered with honey and fat, is given to eat; if it will not eat it, the illness is put down to another cause; finally, the cat has a dark neck-hand put on its head (Izard, Mitt. d. Schutzges. in. 315, 325; Zts. Geogr. xx. 295). In India the cat has been stated, but incorrectly, that in Egypt a cat is regarded as holy, and that if one is killed, vengeance will sooner or later fall on the person who committed the deed (PEPSI, 1901, 261). On the Gold Coast a cat which had been of good omen received offerings; it was also held that the souls of the dead passed into cats (Bosman, Reise, p. 444; Müller, Fetus, p. 97). At Aix, in Provence, on Corpus Christi the finest tom-cat in the country, wrapped like a mummy, was publicly exhibited in a magnificent shrine (Muller, History of Crusades, quoted in Gent's Mag., 1882, i. 605).

The cat is one of the animals sacrificed in Europe at various times (Folklore, xi. 293; Leiden. Denmark og Norges Historie, vii. 160, etc.), in some cases by being thrown from a tower (Coremans, L'Année, p. 53; Mitt. des Ver. Für. der Deutschen in Bochum, x. 247, etc.). In other cases the cat is burnt (Rolland, Favnne, iv. 114; Golden Boogh, p. 234; Chesnel, Dict. Hist.). The explanation of these customs seems to be that they are survivals of a custom of expelling evils; this interpretation is borne out by the fact that at Wembeck the custom took the form of throwing the cat out of the village on a day known as ‘Kat-nit.’ In Bohemia they kill it and bury it in the fields and plough it over; the evil spirit may not injure the crops (Volkskunde, vi. 155; Grohmann, Aberglaube, No. 367). Sometimes the cat is associated with marriage ceremonies. In the Effel district the ‘Katzenschlag’ follows the marriage by day, and the cat is to be killed at the church and afterwards killed by people with it; it is then cooked and given to the newly married couple (Schmidt, Sitten, p. 47; Rolland, Favnne, vi. 102). In Poland, if the man is a widower, a pane is broken in the windows and a cat thrown in; the bride follows through the same opening (Tradition, p. 346). In Transylvania the farm hands bring a cat in a trough the morning after the wedding (Zts. Oest. Volksk. 241). In some old customs in Egypt, a dead cat is used in the marriage ceremony (Golden Boogh, ii. 102; Tischiers. vii. 83). There is a curious conflict of opinion as to whether the cat is drawn from the omen as that of a cat (Golden Boogh, ii. 270). At the Carnival in Hildesheim a cat is fastened in a basket at the top of a fir tree; influence over the fruit harvest is attributed to it (Kehrlein, Volksp. p. 142). In Samland the cat is used in a charm (Golden Boogh, i. 102; Tischiers. vii. 83). There is a curious conflict of opinion as to whether the cat is drawn from the omen as that of a cat (Golden Boogh, ii. 270). At the Carnival in Hildesheim a cat is fastened in a basket at the top of a fir tree; influence over the fruit harvest is attributed to it (Kehrlein, Volksp. p. 142). In Samland the cat is used in a charm (Golden Boogh, i. 102; Tischiers. vii. 83).
and Brabo, poss.), we cannot base any argument on the attitude of the cattle-keeping tribes of the present day. If, on the other hand, no sanctity attached to cattle when they came to them, and the respect and even horror these people feel for their flocks is important as a factor in the evolution of the more definitely religious attitude.

Pastoral peoples, of whom in pre-European days there were many representatives in Africa, commonwealth South Africa, may have scoffed at the idea (De la Beche, p. 37; Fleming, S. Africa, p. 260). The Danagares cannot comprehend how any one can live upon meat from such a source; when they have any special feast, the killing of the cows is almost a sacrificial function, and falls to the lot of the chiefs. In the same way bulls in ancient Egypt were killed only as a piaucium (Herod. ii. 41); and cows, as among the Phoenicians (Porphyry, de Abstait. ii. 11), were never eaten on any pretense.

In these cases there is no positive cult, though the cow is recorded to have been sacred to Hathor, Isis. With the male animal it was different. Conspicuous among Egypt with Osiris was that of the bull, and the worship of Apis (Iap) goes back to the earliest times. According to Herodotus (iii. 25), it was the 'calf of a cow incapable of conceiving another offspring; and the Egyptians say that Apis is the cow from heaven'; on the latter point another story was that the god descended on the cow as a ray of moonlight (Wiedemann, Religion, p. 182; Pliny, de Is. et Os. xiii. ii. Sympt. viii. 1). Various accounts are given of the marks by which it was recognized; Herodotus (loc. cit.) says 'it is black, and has a square spot of white on its forehead; on its back a figure of an eagle; in its tail double hair; and on its tongue between its teeth a red spot'. The bull was brought with it and confined in a second sanctuary at Memphis (Wiedemann, loc. cit.; Strabo, xvii. 31). Once a year a cow was presented to Apis and then killed (Pliny, viii. 180); others were kept alive in the 'theater of Apis' (Amm. Mar. xxii. 14. 7; Sohm, Polyb. c. 32). Its food consisted of cakes made of flour and honey; a special well was provided for its use. Its birthday was celebrated once a year; when it appeared in public, a crowd of boys attended it. Women were forbidden to approach it save during its four months' education at Necopolis, when they exposed themselves before it (Didorus, i. 65).

Osiris were obtained (1) by the behaviour of the bull, (2) by dreams which came to sleepers in the temple, and (3) by the voices of children praying before the temple. Both the living and the dead was celebrated on its arrival in the Ani soul with Osiris a dual god Assar-Itapi (Serapis). The dead bull was carefully mummified and buried in a rock tomb. The cult of Apis was national. Less wide-spread was the cult of Mans, also consecrated to Osiris (see Bunsen, p. 151 ff.).

At the present day similar observances have been noted on the Upper Nile. The Neba (=Shilluk and Bonjock) venerate a bull, according to Petherick (serpent), a custom which leads to the cannibalism of the cattle; its aid is invoked to avert evil. At its death it is mourned with great ceremony; at its master's death it is killed, and its horns fixed on his head. A piece of this matter suggests the idea it may have been regarded as the abode of its master's soul, or possibly of the soul of the previous head of the family. Another account says that it is venerated under the name of Madjok (the Great God), and worshipped with music and dancing (Hassan, Vida, i. 58). Among the Nuer the bull is likewise honored; it is regarded as the tutelary deity of the family, and receives the name Nyel-cdit, which is also applied to thunder and perhaps to their Supreme Being (Marno, Reisen, pp. 343, 347; Mitt. Ver. Erkde., Leipzig, 1873, p. 6).

Among the Ambaansi the spirit of a dead chief was located in a bull, which was then set apart and considered sacred. Offerings were made through it to the indwelling spirit; if it died, another was put in its place. This cult ceased as soon as the next chief died (Folklore, xiv. 310).

The Sakalavas of Madagascar have a black bull in a sacred enclosure in the island of Nosybe, which is guarded by two hundred priests. When it dies, another takes its place. In January the queen visits the island and a bull is sacrificed, whose blood is held to drive away evil spirits from the neighbourhood of the sacred enclosure (v. Gennep, Totem, p. 248). The sacrifice was eaten, and custom prescribed the persons to whom particular parts of the animal should fall (ib. p. 243). A child born on an unlucky day was usually put to death, but its life might be saved if the ordeal by cattle so determined was successful. (ib. p. 245). Among the most honourable terms of address were 'bull' and 'cow' (ib. p. 247).

The origin of the Hindu respect for the cow is an unsolved problem. Unlike Egypt, it is clear that India developed a respect for the animal in historic times. Of actual worship there is little to record; but the paicha-gawya, or five products of the cow, are important factors in exorcism and magic; as a means of annihilating an unlucky horoscope, rebirth from a cow is simulated; the priests touch the tail of a cow at the moment of dissolution, and believes that it will carry him through the river of death; for purifications before the assumption of the human form, the cow receives the spirit and brings it across the river Vaitaranj, which bounds the lower world. Cattle festivals are celebrated in Nepal and Central India, but their object seems to be mainly magical. The nomadic Banjara, however, devote a bullock to their god Balaji, and call upon it to cure them in sickness (Crooke, Pop. Rel. ii. 235-236). In Iranian mythology the moon is closely associated with the bull, and is regarded as containing the seed of the primeval bull (Bundehishen, iv. x), whence one of the standing epithets of the moon in the Avesta is gaoctira, 'having the seed of the bull.' Here the underlying idea is evidently a fertility-concept (Gray, 'Maonha Gaeotira' in Spiegel Memorial Volume). In Zoroastrianism, moreover, as in Brahmanism, the urine of the bull is one of the chief objects of religious purification (Mietton, ix. 105-112). For the bull and cow in the Veda, see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. i. 1-41; in later India, p. 41; in Persia (Perry, 300 ff); in Central Asia, Tenants and Celts, p. 221; Greeks and Romans, p. 261 ff. For other cases of respect for cattle, see Hahn, Demeter, p. 60. For the bull as form of water god, see 'Water' above; see also de Gubernatis, i. 265.

In Greek cult the bull was associated with
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Artemis Tauruslios and Taurus, which Farnell interprets as referring to the agricultural functions of the goddess; in the worship of Tauruslios the bull and cow were rarely, the calf never, sacrificed; the goddess is represented with horns on her shoulders, which are usually supposed to refer to the moon; the horns certainly appear in the representations of Selene, but the bull figures in the cult or representations of many non-human divinities, such as Themis, Dionysus, Demeter, Hestia, Apollo, Medusa, etc. (Farnell, Cults, ii. 441, 464, 466, 529). The bull was one of the chief sacrificial animals in the cult of Zeus (for βοῦς-βοῦνa see below); and a cow was, in one form of the myth, his nurse (ib. i. 37, 35). Hera is termed βοῦς-βοῦνa by Homer, but there is no monument showing her as cow-headed, and her eyes are often unlike those of the cow (ib. i. 220, 228); at Mycenae, Schliemann found cow ἀνθρώπινα; but this is of no value as evidence (ib. i. 181). White oxen drew the priestess in the ἱερός γάμος (ib. i. 188). The bull was prominent among victims offered to Athens (ib. i. 290); an Athenic Boumá (‘ox-yoker’) was worshipped in Bohemia. The term ‘cow’ has been mingled—that of a Semitic goddess whose animal was the goat and whose lover was the bull, and that of Zeus-Dionysus and Europa; the bull may originally have belonged to the latter, but it was connected with respect of Zeus-Dionysus and Europa to some extent with Zeus (ib. i. 682, 645). The bull was important in the ritual of Astarte (ib. i. 766). In the cult of the Syrian goddess worshippers sometimes cast their children from the Propylaea of her temple, ‘calling them oxen’ (ib. i. 92). For the bull in Celtic religion, see CELTIC RELIGION, § x. 8.

**Bovonida.**—The sacrifice of an ox at the altar of the Acroneon (Thuc. ii. 29) was to be noticed at Athens. The myth of origin is as follows: A certain Sophras, a stranger, was offering cereals, when one of his oxen devoured some of his corn; Sophras slew it; he was then seized with remorse and buried it; after which he fled to Crete; a dearth fell upon the land, and to remove the curse the sacrifice of the βοῦς-βοῦνa was instituted. The oracle directed that the murderer should be punished and the dead raised; all were to take the flesh of the dead animal, and refrain not. The ritual was as follows: At the festival of the Dipoleia oxen were driven round the altar, and then the priest sacrificed the animal to the chosen victim. The axe with which the deed was done, was sharpened with water brought by maidens and handed to the sacrificer; another cut the throat of the victim, and all partook of its flesh. The hide was stuffed with grass and sewn together, and the counterfeit ox was yoked to the plough. The participants in the sacrifice were charged with ox murder (βοῦς-βοῦνa), and each laid the blame on the other; finally, the axe was condemned and thrown into the sea (Farnell, Cults, i. 56-58). This sacrifice has been interpreted by Robertson Smith as totemistic, but no totem sacrifice of this kind is known elsewhere. On the other hand, Mannhardt and, following him, Frazer have regarded it as connected with agriculture; but, as Farnell points out, the sacrifice of the corn-spirit is not attended elsewhere with a sense of guilt. The adoration of Sophras was understood as a reference to his sacrificial meal lends little or no support to the totemistic hypothesis, although there was an ox-clan (Boutade) at Athens.

In modern European folklore the corn-spirit is frequently associated with the form of a bull or cow (Golden Bough, ii. 279 ff.). Perhaps we may look to this conception for an explanation of the custom of leading round, about Christmas, a man clad in a cowkin (ib. i. 447; Evans, *Teur in S. Wales*, p. 44; Panzer, *Beiträg*, ii. 117; FLJ iv. 119; Schweiz. Archiv, ii. 228, cf. 178; Rolland, *France*, vi. 91; *NQ*, 9th ser. vii. 247, etc.). The same explanation probably holds good of the Athenian sacrifice of the Bosphonía (see above), after which an ox was laid on a mock tripod, and in which the instruments of sacrifice were condemned to be cast into the sea. Possibly we may apply the same explanation to the spring ox of the Chinese (Zool. Garten, 1900, p. 57). The emperor offers a hecatomb annually to heaven and to the animals must be black or red-brown (ib. p. 31).

In Egypt and India the bull or cow played the part of a scapegoat (Golden Bough*, ii. 119). Among the Abchasians a white ox, called Ogginn, was sacrificed annually, perhaps as a pastoral sacrifice (see above).

The Ova-Hereros have some practices which have been interpreted as totemistic. They are divided into *canuda* and *oruzo*; membership of the *canuda* is inherited through the mother, and is inalienable; the *oruzo*, on the other hand, descends, like the chieftainship and priesthood, in the male line. The _omungula_ is the bull. The *omungula* is the rock rabbit, rain, etc.; the *oruzo*, after the chameleon, etc.; they are distinguished (1) by the practice of keeping or not keeping cattle with certain marks, and (2) by practising certain abstinences or taboos. In the oruzo, or _oruzo-omungula_, for example, do not keep grey oxen or injure the chameleon. It seems clear that the _omungula_ comes nearer the totem-kin, though no totemistic practices are assigned to its members (Zts. Vgl. Rechtsw., xvii. Mitt. Or. Sem., pt. iii. v. 109; *Australand_, 1882, p. 534). It has been recorded that certain plants are sacred to each ‘caste,’ but whether *canuda* or *oruzo* means is not clear (Anderson). They are accustomed to break their upper teeth at puberty to make themselves like cattle; but here, too, there is no connexion with totemism (Livingstone, *Miss. Trav., p. 562*), for it is not confined to any special clan.

Among the Bechuanas a cow or bull that beats the ground with its tail is regarded as bewitched (Mackenzie, Ten Years, p. 392). In the Hebrides, oracles were given by a man wrapped in a fresh bull’s hide and left all night at the bottom of a precipice near a cataract (Sannussi, *New Voyages*, Lond. 1819, vol. viii. 92). The Kalmuks take an oath by the cow; the accused stands on the skin of a black cow, moistened with blood, and jumps over the back of the murderer (Jaffé, *ibid.*, p. 439).

In opposition to the practice of the African pastoral peoples of the Hindus, and probably of ancient Europe (Hahn, *Demeter*, pp. 60-61), the East Asiatic culture area abstains from the use of milk, regarding it as a pathological product (ib. p. 21). These peoples employ their cattle for draught purposes only, over a considerable area (ib. p. 60; Zool. Garten, 1900, p. 54), without using them as an article of food; they explain their abstinence on the ground that it is improper to eat an animal which labours to provide them with food. There is nothing to show that the Hindu and Chinese explanation of the sacrificial ox, or within their areas is incorrect; and possibly the African tabus are explicable on similar grounds. It seems clear, however, that the Chinese learned to know cattle as draught animals, possibly steers, and to reject fats in the economic situation. *Prima facie* this leads us to suppose that cattle were domesticated for a long period before the use of milk was introduced, for otherwise the practice of abstinence in China is hard to explain. On the other hand, it seems probable that a certain sanctity attached to cattle at their introduction into the East Asiatic culture area; for there does not seem to be any difficulty in the
way of breeding cattle for food and at the same
time making use of their labour in agricultural
operations.

Hahn has argued (Die Hunstiere, Leipzig, 1895; "Demeter und Themis, Libeck, 1896) that we must
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from the village, in other cases a man bitten by a crocodile (Merenisky, Beiträge, p. 92; ZE i. 43); the dead crocodile is handed over to the doctors to make medicine of; if one is killed, the children cough, and a piaacul sacrifıce of a black sheep may be offered (Merenisky, text p. 94). In many places the crocodile is attacked only if it has already shown its hostility to man. The Antimerinas trace their descent from the crocodile, which formerly waged war on them after which a treaty was made. If this is violated, notice is given in the district, and complaint is made of the offence on the shores of the lake; the crocodile tribe is called upon to hand over the offender, and to make matters more certain a baited hook is thrown into the water. On the following day the capture is hauled up, condemned to death, and executed on the spot. Thereupon the persons present begin a lamentation; and the body is wrapped up in silk and buried with the ceremonies usual at the internment of a man. On its grave a tumulus is raised (v. Gemep, Tabon, p. 281 ff.). The same precautions are taken and the chief is reburied, or, if not buried, to and Sunatr (Golden Bough, ii. 390 ff.). In the Philippines, offerings were made even when the islanders had no intention of attacking the animals (Marsden, Scient. Res. (1842), 95). In North Africa the crocodile, of ya', or 'taba', is strictly performed when any one belonging to a village has been killed by an alligator (JAI ii. 210). This is perhaps explained by the belief of the Philippine Tagalogs that any one so killed becomes a deity, and is carried up by the rainbow (Marsden, Sunatra, p. 301). Connected possibly with the belief that the crocodile is a magician or his servant, is the Basuto belief that a crocodile is born up, and draws him into the water; it is believed to suck the blood of the men and animals thus captured, but not to injure them otherwise—a point which still further brings it into relation with the magician (Aréouset, p. 13). Among the Javanese and the Celebes it is believed that women sometimes give birth to crocodiles or to twins one of which is a crocodile (Hagen, Unter den Papuas, p. 225; Hawkesworth, iii. 750). In Celebes, families which tell of such a birth constantly put food into the river for their relatives; more especially the human twin goes constantly at stated times to fulfil this duty, neglect of which is said to cause sickness or death. In Africa the Basutos draw the figure of a crocodile on the ground at the girls' initiation ceremony (ZE xxviii. 35). In the west of Ceram boys are admitted to the Kabian association at puberty; in some parts the boys are passed through a crocodile's jaw of wood, and it is then said that the devil has swallowed them, and taken them to the other world to regenerate and transform them (Golden Bough, ii. 442). Amours between crocodiles (or caimans) and human beings are recorded in Senegambian, Malagasy, Basuto, and Dayak folklore (MacCulloch, 290, 297).

Crow, raven.—The most important area for the well known "type" of the crow, or raven, for the prominence of the crow in the pantheon, is the north-west coast of America. Among the Thilknets the chief deity, sometimes identified with the raven (but cf. JAF xxvii. 144), is Yehl. In the Creation myth he plays a part similar to that attributed to the thunder-bird in the Chippewyan myth, and produces dry land by the heating of his wings; probably Chethl, the name of the thunder-bird, and Yehl, the Creator, are variants of the same word, which is also written Jesil (Bancroft, i. 100 ff.). The neighbouring Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands make the raven their ancestor (Frazer, Tot, p. 5; Mission Life, xxii. 32; Macle, Vancouver, i. p. 452; but see Boss, Indische Sagen, p. 306 f., where the chief incident is a contest between Yehl and his uncle). The crow figures as Creator in the Eskimo and Chukchi mythology (Seemann, Voyage of Herald, ii. 30, 67, 72; Zts. Geog. Ges. Thür., vi. 120). It also figures in a Javanese myth of origin (Gibb, JAI ii. 436). In the Gros Ventres it played an important part in the creation of the world (Cones, Henry and Thompson, MS Journals, i. 351). The crow figures prominently in the ancient Chaldean story of the world (cf. Ezech. i. 20). In the corybantic mysteries the crow was represented on the left of the Altar of Vicintus (JAI, p. 166; Ann. Rev. viii. 397; Ann. Prop. Foi, xiv. 52, etc.), and the early date of the first notice seems to establish the native character of the myth; in some cases the crow is said to have been originally white, but to have suffered a change as a punishment (Ann. P. F.; Ann. Rev., loc. cit., Boas, p. 273), or for some other reason (Leland, Algonquin Legends, p. 27); a similar myth is found in Europe (Wiedemann, Ethan, p. 404; Zts. deutsches Altertum, N.S. x. 15). In the north-west of America the crow is a culture hero, who brings the light, after tricking the power in whose possession it is, or gives fire to mankind (Bancroft, loc. cit.), and is associated with rattlesnakes (Barker, Aborigines, p. 24; but cf. Dawson, Aust. Abor. p. 54, where the crows are represented as keeping the fire to themselves). Among the Algonquins the raven is supposed to be the taker of corn and beans (Williams, Key into the Language of America in Mass. Hist. Soc. iii. 219). A Spanish expedition in California in 1602 reported that the Indians of Santa Catalina Island venerated two great black crows; but it seems probable that they were in reality buzzards (Bancroft, i. 134), which are known to have been respected and worshipped in California (Golden Bough, ii. 367). As a parallel, the Fraser Indians confounded the Fraser-lay with the raven and brought them at Nimiguean at public expense (Hone, Everyday Book, i. 44). The Aimus also keep crows, and reverence them (Frazer, Tof. i. 14). For Indian crow myths, etc., see Crooke, i. 166, ii. 243-245.

The belief the crow is sometimes tells (Hollomai, Ostl. p. 41; cf. Wiedemann, Ethan, p. 492, for another form of respect). It is not killed in Victoria (Morgan, Life of Buckley, p. 58; Parker, Aust. Abor. i. 23), New England (Williams, in Mass. Hist. Soc. iii. 219), among the Gilyaks (v. Schrenck, Reisen, iii. 457), parts of Europe (Folkl. xi. 240; New Voy., London, 1819, iv. 60), and North America (Fennan, Arctic Zoology, p. 246), the explanation being given by Dr. Gilly (v. Schrenck, Reisen, iii. 167). Among the Algonquins of the Adirondacks, New York (Morgan, Parker; cf. Crooke, ii. 243), connected possibly with the idea of the crow as a soul-animal, is the belief that it brings the children (Germans, xlii. 349; Floss, Kindt, p. 12; Zts. d. Altertum, N.S. x. 11; cf. Aelian, de Anim. nat. iii. 9; Hesychius, Lexicon, s. v. kapp(hayen), etc.). The crow is one of the birds which figure in the annual processions so commonly found in Europe (Schütte, Holst. Hist. iii. 165; J. des v. F. Medd. Gei. i. 125). Either a living crow or the nest was carried round. Frazer's suggestion (Golden Bough, ii. 446 n.) that the crow song of the ancient Greeks (Athenaeus, viii. pp. 235 B; Pausanias, vi. p. 20), was used in connection with a similar ceremony may be regarded as certain. In some cases the crow is killed (Niedersachsen, v. 129). The ceremony is probably connected with the idea of the expulsion of evils. Offerings are made to crows at festivals in India (Home and For. Miss. Rec. 1853, p. 309).

As a bird of omen, the crow, raven, or rook is inanimate (Dorman, Prim. Supp. p. 224; Purchas, Hist. i. 1785; Billings, i. 231; Zts. deutsches Altertum, iii. 134; Wolf, Beiträge, i. 232; Henderson, Folktale, N. C. p. 29, etc.; the Talmud tractate Shabbath, 67b). Occasionally it is the reverse (Autob. of King-ge-ga-loch, p. 48), especially at a funeral (Crooke, ii. 243). The crow is specially associated
with sorcerors in Australia (J.A.I. xxi. 90), America (Schouboe, Ind. Tr. iv. 491; Adair, Hist, pp. 173, 184), and Europe (Clouston, Folklore of London, p. 29). The Tawanas hold that when a person is very sick the spirit of some evil animal, sent by a sorcerer, enters into him; it is eating away his life (Eells, Ten Years, p. 43). Ancient diviners sought to imbue themselves with the spirit of prophecy by eating the hearts of crows (Golden Bough, ii. 255). If a crow is eaten in this way it is held to confer the powers of a wizard on the person who eats it (Clouston, loc. cit.). The crow is largely used in magical recipes (Folklore, xi. 255). A stone found in its nest is believed to confer invisibility (F.L. vii. 96; Alpenberg, Alpenmythen, p. 385). Both in India and Greece, the brains of crows were regarded as specific against old age (Crooke, ii. 245; Golden Bough, ii. 255). For folk-tales of the crow see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth, ii. 220-230, and Panly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Aberglasne,' p. 76.

Cuckoo.—In various parts of Europe are performed ceremonies named after the cuckoo. At Pollen, near Theux, was held, on August 21st, a cuckoo court; husbands whose wives deceived them had to appear, and at the end of the proceedings the last married man in the village was thrown out of the window (Beatty, Ancient Brit., ii. 115). In other parts the ceremony was in the middle of April (Rolland, France, ii. 91). At Steubert a man called the cuckoo was placed on a waggon with the last married man of the village by his side; they were dragged through the village and the cuckoo was thrown into the water (Haron, Contrib. ix. ii.). With these customs we may perhaps associate the habit of placing a cuckoo into the bride-chamber, probably for a fertility charm (Frehse, Harzbilder, p. 87), and the cuckoo dance at North Friesland marriages (Australand, iv. 519). In S. E. Russia at Whitstandt, a pole is put up with a cuckoo upon it; round this a dance is performed (ib. lxi. 235). A cuckoo dance was also known in Lithuania, for which the third day after Easter was the proper season (Wurzelch, i. 216). Among the Rajputn of India the girls paint a cuckoo on a tree or board at the Diwserah festival, and lay flowers and rice on it; they then call till a cuckoo comes (Bombyx. Gz. ix. 173). The cuckoo is also used as a charm (ib. p. 380). A cuckoo tabu is very common in E. S. pean folklore (Folklore, xi. 240), and in Madagascar (v. Gheyn, Tabou, p. 264). Many other tribes, it should be stressed, in the spring by leaping or running (Traditions pop. iii. 245). It is said to lay Easter eggs (Schr. Arch. i. 115), and 'coen-mallard' is one of the names given to 'Blind Man's-Hill' (Trad. pop., loc. cit.). The cuckoo is a bird of bad omen (Rother-Kreatzweil, Ehaten, p. 149; Russwurm, Ethnologie, see. 358; Melvill, i. 454). It is connected with rain (Panzer, Beiträge, ii. 172; de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth, iii. 235). It is commonly believed that it is not a migrant, but turns into a hawk (cf. de Gubernatis, ii. 231). For cuckoo myths, beliefs, etc., see EM. iii. 298-303, and de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth, ii. 226-233.

Dog.—Tame deer were kept in Guatamala, which were held sacred by the Indians, on the ground that their greatest god had visited them in that form (Bancroft, iii. 132). The natives of Nicaragua had a god whose name was that of the dog, but the animal was regarded as good; they explained it by saying that this god had to be invoked by those who hunted the deer (ib.). Deer were taboo in Sarawak, and both there and in California the pod were held to be the souls of deceased ancestors (J.A.I. xxxi. 187, 193; Bancroft, iii. 131). In West Africa an antelope is sacrificed annually (Ellis, Tahiti-speaking Peoples, p. 224). Especially in America, deer, moose, and elk were treated with great respect by hunters; their bones might not be given to the dogs, nor might their fat be dropped upon the fire, because the souls of the dead animals had to know that their work was being properly treated and told the others. In Bougainville the Indians preserved the bones till their houses were quite encumbered, for they believed that otherwise they would not be able to take other deer. If a dead deer was left unburied, the medicine-man would explain it by saying that he had thrown deer flesh away, and the soul of the deer had entered him and was killing him. The Teztaleas and Kelchis offered copal to a dead deer before they ventured to skin it. Cherokee hunters ask pardon of the deer they kill, otherwise Little Deer, the chief of the deer tribe, who can never die or be wounded, would track the hunter by the blood drops and put the spirit of rheumatism into him. The Apache medicine-men resorted to certain caves, where they propllicted the animal gods whose progeny in domesticated form provided a mean of support. Among the Indians of British Columbia killed a deer, they thought the survivors were pleased if it was butchered cleanly and nicely; if a hunter had to leave some of the meat behind, he hung it on a tree, especially the heart (Dirringer, O. Eskimos, ii. 90). The Eskimos of Hudson Bay believe that a white bear rules over the reindeer. They pray to him to send the deer, and assure them that they have been careful to treat the deer well (ib. p. 408). Deer and sea-animals may not come in contact with one another (2d Ann. Rep. Bar. Ethn. p. 565). The deer is eaten by more than one tribe in connection with the feast of new corn. Among the Delaware, venison and corn were provided, and divided into twelve parts, according to the number of the old men who took part in the ceremony; after they were eaten, the new corn was free to all; in the evening, venison was again eaten and the remainder burnt, for it might not remain till the sun rose, nor might a bone be broken. A deer head-coal-semen-manufactured with much ceremony once a year (Beatty, Journal, p. 84; cf. Beatty, Memoirs of Becks, p. 23, quoting a letter of W. Penn). The Houstanawaks also had a deer feast, but it is not brought into connexion with agriculture (Hopkins, Hist. Memoirs, p. 10). The dog was accorded a form of the corn-spirit; for in Florida it was the custom to take as large a deer hide as could be procured, leave the horns on it, and at the end of February fill it with all manner of herbs and sew it together. They then proceeded to an open space and hung the skin upon a tree, turning the head to the east. A prayer was then offered to the sun, asking that these same fruits might be given. The hide was left up till the following year (J.A.I. xxxi. 155; cf. the account quoted on p. 156 from Dracorinos). Probably a Papago rain dance performed beneath a deer's head stuck up in the air in the month of July may be similarly interpreted (ib.). A small deer figure largely in Malay and other folk-tales (Skret, Folklor).
theory seems less probable than the view that the dog made himself the companion of man, rather than that he was brought into subjection by the acts of man (cf. Much, *Heimat der Indogermanen*, 182-185). The dog is used as an article of food by a large number of peoples of low grades of culture, and sometimes by higher grades, e.g. the Chinese. It was used by neolithic man in Europe for the pursuit of game, and is employed in a similar way all the world over at the present day. In some cases the breed has become in no way specialized thereby; but among the Batnas (*Int. Arch. ix. 111), puppies of the African forests, a great advance in this respect is found. Among the Ainus the dog is used for capturing fish (Howard, *Life*, p. 51). Mainly in Arctic and sub-Arctic regions it is used as a draught animal; occasionally as a beast of burden. It was used by the Cimbri in war; the same usage prevailed in Uganda and Usakuma. (For the uses to which the products of the dog are put, see *Int. Arch. i. 140 f*.)

Dog's *is* found as a term of abuse among Semitic and most Muhammadan peoples; among the Romans the contempt thus expressed was less than in modern Europe.

A myth of dog ancestry is not uncommon; it is found in India, Madagascar, pp. 196-197), among the Dog-Ribs (Petitot, 311 ff*), the Ojibwas (Frazer, *Tot.*, p. 4), in Madagascar (v. Gennep, p. 231), Indo-China (*La. Q. Rev. 3rd ser. i. 140*), Kirghiz (*Petermann*, 1884, p. 153), New Guinea (*Chalmers*, p. 151), among the Kalangas of Java (Raffles, i. 328), and even in Europe (*Liebrecht*, p. 19; see also in general MacCulloch, 263 f*). In the Pomotu islands the first race of men are held to have been made into dogs (*Miss. Coth. 1874, 343*).

Especially in N. America the dog (coyote) figures in Creation myths (*Bancroft, pass.*), and occasionally in Deluge myths (see *Deluge*). The Pottawatomies believe that in the moon is an old woman making a basket; the earth will be destroyed when it is finished; but a great dog reduces her work at intervals and then results an eclipse (*Ann. Prop. Foi*, xi. 490). Among the Mongols, Mbochas (*Int. Arch. Lc*. 147), Chiquitos (Tylor, i. 329), Chinese (*Ann. Prop. Foi*, xxii. 355), etc., a similar association of the dog with eclipses is found. In Kalmuckia the dogs attended to Toulka, the dog, Kozei (*Kraeheninnikow*, i. 94). Classical mythology tells us of Cerberus (q.v.), who guards the entrance of the Infernal Regions (see *Bloomfield, Cerberus, the Dog of Hades*).

In N. Borneo a fiery dog is held to wait at the gate of Paradise, and to lay claim to all virgins (Forster, i. 239); the Massaenetts also believe that a dog watches the gate (*Wood*, p. 104); so, too, the Eskimos (*ZE*, 1872, 238); and the Iroquois (the bridge by which souls had to pass (*Bel. des Jés. 1636, 164*).

Yana was held to have two dogs, whom he sent out to bring in wandering souls (*Rig Veda* x. xiv. 10-12; *Atharva Veda*, viii. 1, 9); and these dogs, described as four-eyed (i.e. with two spots each of the eyes), recur in the Avestan dogs that guard the Chinvat Bridge, which leads from this world to the future life (*Vendidid*, xiii. 9; *Sad Dar*, xxvii. 186). *Meditationen zur Geschichte der indischen Visionstexte*, pp. 127-130, and the references there given.

The Aztecs sacrificed a red dog to carry the soul of the king across a deep stream (*Bancroft, ii. 605*), or to carry him away to heaven (golden dogs of *Golden Book of Kehilan*, cf. *Ober*). Other authorities vary the details (*Ontario Arch. Rep. 1889, 91*; *Sanborn, Legends*, p. 7; *Miss. Her. xxiv. 91*, etc.). Other dog-sacrifices are found among the Sáis and Foxes (*Chambers & *A. F. *1859, xxi. 80*; the Karaka, *Moeurs*, xix. 19), the Mayas at New Year (*Bancroft, ii.*).
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fall(s) (Doolittle, Social Life, ii. 264, i. 275). The great dragon lives in the sky, and the emperor is the earthly dragon (Gould, Mythical Monsters, p. 215; see pp. 215-217, 377-404). In Japan the dragon is associated not only with water but also with other things. The dragon produces nine young at a birth, each with different qualities; hence dragons are carved on bells, musical instruments, drinking vessels, weapons, books, chairs, and tables, according to the particular tastes of the different kinds of dragon.

One kind loves dangerous places; consequently it is put upon the gables of houses (Natur, 1878, p. 549). India, too, had its dragons; one used to lie in wait for boats or ships, hiding itself on a neighbouring mountain; a criminal obtained his life on condition of ridding the country of the pest; he had human figures made, and the bodies filled with books, etc., the dragon devoured them, and perished (Lettres édit. xviii. 409; cf. Crooke, i. 120-131).

In the same way in the last century a dragon on the borders of Wales was said to have been induced to meet his fate by putting red flannel round a pest spire which, spite of all, continued to raise its head. Tiamat is the cosmic dragon of Babylonia (see BAB.-ASSYR. RELIGION).

Eagle.—The eagle is frequently respected, but, except in Australia, the notion that it has wings to have risen to an actual cult. In many parts of Australia the eagle-hawk is one of the names of the phratries into which many tribes are divided; in Victoria, Punjab seems to be a deified eagle-hawk (Brough Smith, i. 259); elsewhere it is the evil spirit, so-called, which is the eagle-hawk. Mullion is the name of the former, Malian of the latter, and their identity is established by the belief and practice of the inhabitants of the Wellington district, where the eagle of the eagle-hawk was formed on the ground, at initiation, in memory of his contest with an anthropomorphic god, Baione (MacDonald, 1905, 28).

The Apaches think there are spirits of Divine origin in the eagle and other birds (Bancroft, iii. 356). The Ostiaks regard a tree as holy on which an eagle has nested (Latham, Russian Empire, p. 110). In the island of Tauro, off New Guinea, a certain kind of eagle is taboo, but there are no totemic ideas connected with it (Zts. vgl. Rechtswiss. xix. 325); the osprey is holy ('sacred') in New Georgia (JAI xxvi. 386). The Oesges would turn back from an expedition if a hawk or eagle were killed (Nuttall, Travels, p. 57). The Samoyeds account it a crime to kill an eagle, and if one is caught in a snare and drowned, they bury it in silence (Schrenck, Reisen, i. 168).

The Bosmans regard it as unlucky to kill an eagle (Witz, Mind. iv. 442). Some of the aboriginal Peruvians asserted their descent from eagles (Frazier, Tot. p. 5). The Buriats hold that the good spirits sent an eagle as shaman, to counteract the evil deeds of the local spirits; the first human shaman was the son of the eagle and a Buriat woman (JAI xxiv. 64). The Zuñiás, Dskotas, and others keep eagles for the sake of their feathers. The Mokis fasten an eagle to the roof in spring, and kill it at the summer solstice in order to get its feathers for ritual purposes; the body is buried in a cemetery, and it is believed that the soul of the eagle goes to the other eagles and returns again as an eagle (Globus, xi. 190). The hunter purifies himself before going after eagles, and makes an offering; one bird has a prayer-stick tied to its foot and is set free (Am. Anth., new ser., iii. 701). The Blackfoot hunter sacrifices the dragon's well; rain will follow within three days, for the animals fight, and when the dragon moves, rain

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influence on bananas is attributed to the eagle, and no one plants them when an osprey is in sight (Zts. Geog. Ges. Thür. xii. 95). Among the Ojibwasis, the sitting of an eagle to and fro was a good omen (Autob. of Kehgogebonbouh, p. 49; for the east arrow, see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth., ii. 185-197). The eagle is likewise important in Indo-Iranian mythology. In the Rigveda (especially iv. 27) the eagle brings the sacred soma (which see) to the gods in the form of the Asatrush, Hrivetra, and the references there given); while in the Avesta an eagle dwells on the 'tree hight All-Healing' (Yasth., xii. 17) in the midst of Lake Yourn-kasha (the Caspian), aided by his fellow (Dinâr Moinâd-i Khvart, lix. 37-41). From the Avesta the eagle passes into Persian literature as the simârûg, whence is developed the roc of the Arabian Nights. The feathers of the simârûg, which dwells on Mount Kaf or Mount Albar, form talismans for the heroes Tahmurf and Zal (Casartelli, in Compte rendu du congrès scientifique international des Catholiques, 1891, sec. vi. 79-87).

In classical mythology the eagle occupied an important position, and was a favorite of the Roman gods. The vultures and Roman legionaries took up their winter quarters where there was an eagle's nest. The eagle is associated with Zeus and the lightning; its right wing was worshipped in fields and its excretion against hail. The eagle stone (arrêtra) and parts of the eagle's flesh were used in magic (Pausan. Wissowa. s.v. 'Adler'). It was believed that the eagle was never struck by lightning. Its appearance was auspicious (ib. v. s.v. 'Aigle'). The eagle is the constant attribute of Zeus in the monumental funerary monuments (Farnell. Cults, i. 129), as also of Jupiter (Preller. Röm. Myth., ii. 327).

In Chinese mythology of the Malagasy the cel is a forbidden food, and various astrological myths are told to explain the fact (v. Gennep. Tabou, p. 290). By the Inerinas it is regarded as a soul-animal; the Beisileus believe that the lower classes pass into eels; when the body is thrown into the sacred lake, the first eel that takes a bite becomes the dominic of the soul (ib.). The cel is also a soul-animal among the Igorrotes (Wilken. Het Animisme, p. 73) as well as in China (ib.), and receives a daily portion of food. In China the Pootan Arapeshere the cel seems to have been held sacred; when one was captured, prayers were offered at a shrine apparently devoted to a cult of female ancestors or relatives; these are divined by the community between the sexes and women; and the latter might not look on them (Miss. Cott. 1874, 366). In N. Siam, Muang Naang was covered with water because its inhabitants ate white eels and thus enraged Yeyga, the ruler of the world (Zts. Geog. Ges. Thür. iv. 149). In N. Queensland a connexion between eels and a flood seems to exist (Lumholtz. Among Cannibals, p. 295); although the passage may also be interpreted to mean that those who eat eels have the gift of prophecy. This belief is founded in Europe (Wolf. Beiträge, i. 232, No. 594). Sacred eels were also known to the Greeks (Pausan. Wissowa., s.v. 'Aid'); and the cult of the eel is a total one (Tylor. Mythology, i. 11 f.). Neither they nor the Nossaries eat eels (Dussaud. Histoire et religion des Nossaries, p. 93).

**Elephant.**—In Siam it is believed that a white elephant may contain the soul of a dead person, perhaps a Buddha; when one is taken, the capturer is rewarded, and the animal brought to the king to be kept ever afterwards, for it cannot be bought or sold. It is baptismalized, and when it dies it is mourned for like a human being (Young. Kingdom of the Yellow Robe, p. 390 ff.). In Cambodia a white elephant is held to bring luck to the kingdom, and its capture is attended with numerous ceremonies (Morant, Cambodge, p. 101). In some parts of Indo-China the reason given for the respect paid to it is that it has a soul, and may do injury after its death; the whole village therefore feeds it (Mouhot, Travels, i. 292; see also Bock, Temples and Elephants, p. 19 f.). The cult of the white elephant is found also in Somon and Abyssinia; but in view of the frequent respect accorded to white animals it is unnecessary to see in this any proof of Indo-Chinese influence. They were in all probability regarded as the protectors of mankind, and the one who killed a white or light-coloured elephant would pay the penalty with his life (Int. Arch. xvii. 103). Among the Wambuiwes the elephant is believed to be the abode of the souls of their ancestors (ib.). The elephant is regarded as a tutelary spirit in Sunnatra (Tijdskhr. T.L.V. xxvi. 456). The name is sometimes tabu (Golden Bough, i. 457).

The hunting of the elephant is attended with numerous ceremonial observances. The Wakanis of East Africa prepare for the chase by passing a night with their wives on a kind of ant-hill, of which they believe that the female elephant makes use to cause the male to mount the female. When the hunt a dance is held, and they make certain marks on their forearms. The hunter buries the trunk and cuts off the end of the tail; the latter he rolls into the sand, and as he does so the next goes to the chase this bag must remain in his wife's care; she also has a right to purchase something with the proceeds of the sale of the ivory; if the hunter quarrelled with her, his next hunt would not be until the following year (ib. 174, 44). The Amazons offer a sacrifice after killing an elephant (Shaw. Story of my Mission, p. 452); the hair on the end of the tail is hung at the entrance to the cattle-fold; the end of the ear and the trunk are cut off and buried in the sacrificial place; at the end of the day these parts are made use of (Kay. Travels, p. 138). According to another authority, excuses are made and the elephant is appealed to during the chase not to crush his pares (ib. 138, 44). The Amazons also make a sacrifice to the mother of the elephant (Zts. Geog. Ges. Thür. vi. 42). The Wendyamozek seeks to propitiate the dead elephant by burying its legs, and the Amazons inter with the end of the trunk a few of the animal's hair. The huntsmen put in his head until the ivory (Golden Bough, ii. 400). In India the elephant is the representative of Ganeis, who is also figured with the head of this animal; and in later Hindustan the earth is supported by eight elephants. Some elephants can fly through the air, and all have in their frontal lobes magic jewels. Touching an elephant is a chastity-test, and the hairs of its tail serve as amulets (Crooke, i. 229-241). According to one account, the world rests upon an elephant (Tylor, i. 365). In West Africa, elephants which destroy plantations are regarded as wizards, and feared (Wilson. West Africa, p. 164). On the Congo the extermination of an elephant is certified that (Int. Arch. xvii. 103). According to the Talmud ('Brâhâth, 579), it is a bad omen to dream of an elephant. For elephant myths see de Gubernatis. Zool. Myth. ii. 91-94, ch. 77. See also 'fish-carriage of the god' (Wood. Fish. —Although sacred fish are not uncommon, a fish-god seems to be a somewhat rare phenomenon. Dagon is often regarded as a fish-god (ib. v. 351, 355), e.g. as one who had a human head and hands; possibly his body was scaly, or he had the tail of a fish; for he was a fish-god seems certain from the fact that his worshippers wore fish skins (ib. iv. 104, 97. Memant. Gypt. Or. ii. 65). A figure probably
intended for, at any rate regarded as, Artemis Eurynome was depicted with a fish's tail (de Visser, Gotter, p. 187; cf. Farnell, Cults, i. 522), and there were sacred fish in the temples of Apollo and Aphrodite at Myra and Hierapolis, which according to Pliny (iv. 49), had a totem of a fish (de Visser, pp. 177-178; cp. p. 163). Atragatis is said to have had sacred fish in a pool at Askelon, which were fed daily and never eaten; according to another account, they were kept alive in a temple pond full of leprous fish (Ambel. i. 49) we learn that the fish of Chasia were regarded as gods; and Hyginus tells us that the Syrtians looked on fish as holy, and abstained from eating them (Euth. s.r. 'Fish'; for fish tabus see W. R. Smith, p. 292 ff.). In modern days fish are sometimes sacred in India, where they also play a considerable part in folklore, often serving as life-indexes. They likewise form the favourite food of ghosts (ghosts). Varuna rides on a fish, and Vishnu had a fish-avatār (Crooke, i. 243, ii. 156, 253 f.). The 'Small People' of Cornwall hate the smell of fish (Hunt, Popular Romances of the West, i. 109). According to the Talunid an eaten in the month of Nisan are conducive to leprous (Peshamin, 1126). Iranian mythology likewise has the hārā fish which guards the white Hēm (Yasht, iv. 29, xvi. 7); Bāndīlahšin, xviii. 3-6, xiv. 13), as well as the white fish in the pool, of which somebody makes 'all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast their young' (Bāndīlahšin, xix. 7). Fish are kept in parts of Wales to give oracles. Most of the South African Bantu tribes will neither eat nor touch fish, giving as their reason that fish are snakes (Fritsch, Drei Jahre, p. 335). Other fish tabus are found in various parts of Africa (Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie, xvii. 125). Among the Yezidis only the lowest classes are said to eat fish (Badger, The Nortomans and their Ritual, p. 117). In North Aracen fish may not be eaten at harvest time (JAT ii. 240), and pregnant women are forbidden them in Serbia (Globus, xxxiii. 349), thus reversing the teaching of the Talunid, which especially recommends them to women in this condition (Kethibhin, 911). The economic importance of fish makes it natural that fishermen often propitiate them. In Peru sardines are said to have been worshipped in one month, and stones, dogfish in another, and so on, according to the special fish tabus (Golden Bough, ii. 410). Many tribes do not burn the bones of fish, because if they did the fish could not rise from the dead (ib.). The Thnikets pay special respect to the fish, which they regard as living, and many other tabus are observed (ib. p. 411 f.; for treatment of the first fish see also Schöttl, Folklore der Fischer, pp. 131, 254, 256). In the Egeen, sacrifices are still made to the melanmars (Walpole, Memoirs, p. 286; cf. Pliny, XXXIV, ii.). In other cases magical ceremonies are resorted to in order to secure a good catch. In the Queen Charlotte Islands the fish are strung on a rope with feathers as charms, and put on the top of a pole stuck in the bed of the river. One of the tribe is banished to the mountains during the fishing season, and may not have a fire or communicate with the tribe, or the fish will not be abundant. (Mission Life, v. 105). In Jabin, New Guinea, the fishermen may not be mentioned, no noise may be made in the village, and women and children must remain at home. (Folklore, xvi. 345). In New Caledonia for one kind of fish appeal is directed to ancestral spirits in the sacred wood; offerings are made there, and when a fish enters the river, the women extinguish all fires but one; then there is a performance, a dance, and silence follows. For the sardine a stone wrapped in dried twigs is taken to the cemetery and put at the foot of a post and two sorcerers perform ceremonies (Miss. Cath., 1830, 239). In some countries a fish is sacrificed for success in fishing (Sibbiliot, op. cit. p. 116; Krassof, Peri l'art de Pêcher, p. 190). The Ottowas held that the souls of the dead passed into fish (Del. des Jés. 1667, p. 12; cf. 'soul-animals,' p. 483). In Japan the earthquake is explained as the result of the movements of a great fish in the sea or under the land (Notier, 1878, p. 551). In the Middle Ages the same explanation was given in Europe (Mone, Anzieger, viii. 614). Fish are found as totems in South Africa (Fritsch, Kindeiicorenken, p. 153), Alaska (Trimmer, Yebon Terr. p. 190), and among the American Indians (Frazé, Tod. p. 4, etc.). Myths of fish descent are also found (ib. p. 6). For fish myths see de Gubernatis, Food, Myth, ii. 331-333; for the crab, ib. pp. 354-355.

Fly.—In Greek mythology both Zeus and Apollo had names connecting them with flies, but it is doubtful whether either of them can properly be termed a fly as a rod and carried it round on the head that he would keep flies from interfering with a sacrifice (Farnell, Cults, i. 45). It is equally uncertain whether Beelzebub, whose name is commonly transliterated 'Lord of Flies,' in connexion with them. In Africa, however, there seems to be a real fly-god. Flies are kept in a temple (Beelsham, Achantire, p. 177). The Kalimkats regard the fly as a soul-animal and never kill it (JAT i. 61). In North Germany it is held to be unlucky to kill the last flies, and any one who keeps one alive through the winter will receive a sum of money (Hartsch, Siegen, ii. 186).

In Greece the 'bronze fly' was one of the names of 'Blind Man's Buff' (Pollux, Onomastikon, ix. 123); it is known as the 'Blind Fly' in Italy (Folklore, x. 261) and North India (Panjãb, NQ, iv. 199). In the latter country it is a lucky omen for a fly to fall into the ink-well (Crooke, iv. 257). According to the Avesta (Vendidad, vii. 2, viii. 71), the demon of death assumes the shape of a fly. For Jewish legends concerning flies, see Krauss, JE x. 421 f.

Fowl.—The cock is one of the most important sacrificial victims (for Africa see Int. Arch., xvi. 145-148), and has probably replaced larger and more valuable animals in many cases. In some of the Bantu tribes the men abstain from eating domestic fowls (JAT iv. 257); and it is believed that the domestic fowl, because they regard it as a transformed man (Bol. Inst. Geog. Argent. xx. 740). Fowls are also taboo in East Africa and Abyssinia (Globus, xxxiv. 352). A refusal to eat eggs is more widely known, but does not necessarily point to a tabu of the fowl; albinism from milk in the same way does not imply a tabu of cattle.

The cock figures in spring ceremonies in Europe: in Schiermonnikoog a green branch is fastened at the top of the May-pole, and on it is hung a basket containing a live cock (NQ, 5th ser. x. 194). In the same way at Defynog boys put the figure of a cock at the top of a red and carried it round on the eve of the first day of May (Montgomery. Coll. xvi. 268). The cock is one of the forms in which the corn-spirit is supposed to appear (Golden Bough, ii. 266). The cock is sometimes used in the expulsion of evils (ib. ii. 103). Modern Jews sacrifice a white cock on the eve of the Day of Atonement (ib. p. 109; cp. p. 25). We may probably interpret in the same sense the name of the god (Tristram, Geog. Geel, Thur. xii. 95). In New Caledonia for one kind of fish appeal is directed to ancestral spirits in the sacred wood; offerings are made there, and when a fish enters the river, the women extinguish all fires but one; then there is a performance, a dance, and silence follows. For the sardine a stone wrapped in dried twigs is taken to the
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iii. 552; Bavaria, i. 390; Russische Revue, xii. 260, etc.) may be a fertility charm; and in like manner a cock and hen were carried before a bridal couple on their wedding day among the Jews of the Talmudic period (Gitin, 57a, for other Jewish references.) Among the Australian Aborigines the cock ... the 'king of the earth'; it on its back was a turtle, then a serpent, then a giant; and he upholds the world (Miss. Her. xviii. 383). In South America the Chibchas gave the frog a place among their divinities, and had an annual ceremony in connexion with the calendar, in which the frog figured (Bollaert, Recherches, p. 49; Dorman, Prim. Sup. p. 256). Among the Araucanians of Chile the 'land toad' was called the lord of the waters (ib.). In the mythology of the Iroquois it is told how all the water was originally collected in the body of a huge frog, by piercing which Isseka formed rivers and lakes (Ré. des Æs. 1636, p. 102). A similar story is told by the Micmacs (Leland, p. 516); and the Australian blacks have Dehinge legends in which the Flood is caused by the bursting of a water-swallowing frog (Brough Smyth, i. 429, 477). Among the New Guineans the frog is considered the birthplace of newborn children; with this may be compared the Sea Dayak belief that the goddess Salampandai takes the form of a frog; if a frog comes into a house, sacrifice is offered to it and it is released; if Salampandai is held to make the children, and a frog is seen near a house when a child is born (J.R.A.S. S.B. vii. 146; Schultengrub, Wend. Volkstum, 1. 94).

Frog. — In Benin, children are believed to hop about in the meadows in the form of frogs (Ploss, Kindi, i. 12); with this may be connected the Brandenburg belief that a woman who digs up a toad will soon bear a child (Zts. Ver. Volck. i. 189). A Sian tribe, the Tacullies, believes itself to be descended from tadpoles (Asiatic Q. Rev., 3rd ser. i. 140). The Bahmans of Indo-China respect the frog, holding that one of their ancestors took that form (Miss. Cath. 1890, 140, 145). In this shape he is believed to guard their fields. The Karens of Burma explain eclipses by saying that a frog is devouring the moon (ib. 1577, 455).

We have seen that the frog is associated with water. Among the Araucanians, the Orinoco Indians held the frog to be the lord of the waters, and feared to kill it even when ordered to do so; they kept it under a pot and beat it in time of drought (Golden Bough, i. 105; Blanck, Conversion del Pueblo, p. 63). The Newars of Nepal worship the frog, which is associated with the demi-god Nagas in the control of rain. A sacrifice of rice, ghri, and other objects is made to it in October (Golden Bough, i. 104; cf. Latham, i. 89, who says August). Water is also poured over a frog in India, or a frog is hung with open mouth on a bamboo, to bring rain (Crooke, i. 73, ii. 256).

In Queensland, British Columbia, and Europe, frogs are also associated with the procuring of rain (GBt, loc. cit.), and among the Bhils (Bombay Gaz. IX. i. 355), etc.; in the Malay Peninsula the swinging of a frog is said to have caused heavy rain and the destruction of a kampung (J.R.A.S. S.B. iii. 88). The toad is sometimes regarded as a tutelary deity in Europe (de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 380). The Faculties of British Columbia are said to have no gods, but say: 'The toad holds me' (Maclean, Twenty-five Years, p. 265). The Caribs are recorded to have had idols in the form of toads (Sprengel, Auswah, i. 43). In some parts of Germany the toad is regarded as a household genius (Zts. Ver. Volck. i. 189; MS notes).
this compare the belief of the Romani that
killing a frog or toad is an omen that the killer will murder his mother (Zts. Ver. Volksk. i. 189; Culli, i. 230). In a Burgundian
tradition (Galton, The Book of Fables. vii. 4; Mullenhoff, Sagen, i. 212; Holzmacher, Osnabrueck, p. 37). Accordingly they are often killed (Zts. Ver. Volksk. i. 182; Culli, Faune pop. iii. 461; c. 11, the fable of Genuilema which these purgatories were killed at certain times of the year (Wattke, Der Abergl. p. 95; Culli, op. cit. iii. 54). In some of the rest of the world the gods and toads are evil animals, and are to be killed (Vendisid, xiv. 5; and in Armenia the frog causes wars (a belief found also in the United States) and makes the teeth fall out (Abeggian. Armerischer Volksbilde, 30 f.). To cure these wars, meat must be stolen, rubbed on the excesseuses, and buried; as the meat decays, the wart will disappear.

In a Mexican festival one of the ceremonies consisted in a dance round the images of the Taboles placed in a frog's skin; and, of which each dancer had to eat during the dance. More definite was the belief of the Choctaws, who assigned to the king of the frogs and other aquatic animals the function of initiating the rain-makers (Miss. Reg. 1890, 468). We may put down to the same idea the belief of the Guaranis that if a frog enters a boat one of the occupants will die (Ruiz de Montoya, Conquista, § 12). The southern Slavs attribute a magical virtue to the name of the frog, which may not be mentioned before a small child (Krauss, Sitte, 549). The precious jewel in the head of the toad is mentioned by Shakespeare (As You Like It, ii. 15 f.); a similar belief is found in Germany (Germania, vii. 433). For myths and folk-tales of the frog and toad, see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 371-379, 379-384.

Gorath.—In Greek mythology the goat was associated at Argos with the cult of Hera; youths threw spears at a shear-goat, and he who struck her got her as a prize (Farnell, Cults, i. 189), exactly as in modern Europe many animals are shot at, struck at blindfold, or otherwise gained for (Folklore, xi. 25). The custom was explained by a myth that Hera had once fled to the woods and the animal revealed her hiding-place. The goat was usually a prohibited animal in the cult of Athene, but was once slain in the course of the year (Farnell, Cults, i. 290); it has been suggested that the agnis (which see) was simply the skin of the victim. Αιγουδας is found among the titles of Zeus, and there is a myth in which the animal figures as the work of Zeus; he is called αιγουδας, just as Dionysus is termed μελανδας ('wearer of the black goat-skin'); in spite of the connexion of αιγε, etc., with the wind, the original epithet was probably connected with the goat (ib. p. 100). In the worship of Brauronian Artemis, a worshipper sacrificed a goat, 'calling it his own daughter' (ib. ii. 436)—possibly a trace of human sacrifice. In Sparta a goat was sacrificed to Artemis before charging the enemy; at Eginas torches are kindled to the horns of goats, on account of sacred invaders (cf. Liebrecht, Zur Volksk. p. 201), and in Africa 500 she-goats were a thank-offering for Marathon (Farnell, ii. 449 f.). Aphrodite is the 'rider on the goat' (ib. 684), probably because it was her sacred animal. At Delphi the goat was sacrificed at the Lupercalia, and youths clad themselves in the skins of the victims. After feasting they ran round the base of the Palatine, striking with thongs of goatskin the women whom they encountered, or who offered themselves to their blows (Fowler, Rom. Fest. p. 311). The Flamen Diaulis was forbidden to touch a goat, and it was excluded from the cult of Jupiter (ib. p. 245). For the Flamen Diaulis see also Paus. Wissowa, Α 'Abergeld, p. 2.

Dionysus was believed to assume the form of a goat (Golden Bough, ii. 165), probably as a divinity of vegetation, and as a minor divinity, Silenus, the Satyrs, Fauns, etc., either are in goat form or have some part of their body taken from the goat, and they are all more or less woodland deities. In similar fashion, the devil is commonly believed, in Europe, to have the lower part of a goat's hoof; and throughout mediaval demonology the goat is associated with Satan and with witches; while at the Sabbat the Evil One frequently was believed to assume the form of a goat. In Northern Europe, the wood-spirits Lesh[i are believed to have the horns, ears, and legs of goats, and the goat is a form in which the casquespirit is supposed to appear (Golden Bough, ii. 271, 291). In the 17th cent. the goat is seen on the Lamb's day, a date on which the lamb is also offered in some parts. After proving the victim to be worthy, they drew its skin over its ears and hanged it up as a token that the gods had consumed it, and blessed it; the goat is a sacred animal on the Massa River the goat is kept as a tuletry. It is sometimes regarded as the resting-place of the souls of the dead (Int. Arch. xvii. 104). The goat of San Salvador was believed to have deposited its soul in a goat during its lifetime (Golden Bough, iii. 407; Bastian, Felsich, p. 12), and possibly this belief explains the position of the 'goat of the mouth' of the Bushmen seen near Old Calabar (Ans. West-Africa, i. 106).

The name of the goat is tabu in the Sunda Islands (Golden Bough, i. 462). The animal itself is similarly secluded round in South Africa (Galton, Travels, p. 84), Madagascar (v. Ganne, Tabou, p. 238), and in West Africa (Int. Arch., loc. cit.). The goat is tabu to some of the Bechuanas (Mackenzie, Daylausen, p. 65 n.1) ('Bushmen' in the text should be corrected to 'Bechuanas'), who believe that to look upon it would render them impure, as well as cause them undefined uneasiness; it does not, however, appear to be a totem. If a goat climbs on the roof of a house, it is spared at once, because it would bring death. It is also held in abhorrence and persecuted to death (Mackenzie, Ten Years, p. 392). The antipathy, therefore, depends on its association with wizards. The goat is an important sacrificial animal, especially in Africa (Int. Arch., xxv. 126). In Athens it was excluded from the Acropolis, but once a year it was driven in for a sacrifice (Golden Bough, ii. 314). Frazer conjectures that the goat was originally a representative of Athene.

From the Jewish custom of sending a offered a goat into the wilderness laden with the sins of the people (see 'Scapegoat,' above, and art. AZazel), has been derived the name for the whole class of animal beings so employed in the expiation of evil (Golden Bough, iii. 101 f.). The goat itself is the animal employed by the Lahos (Vial, Les Lohos, p. 12) in West Africa (Bardro, Njsar, p. 182) and in Uganda (Ashe, Two Kings, p. 320). In Tibet a human scapegoat is dressed in a goat's skin; he is kicked and cuffed, and sent away after the people have confessed their sins (South Am. Miss. Mag. xiv. 112).

The Karens of Burma attribute eclipses to the fact that wild goats are eating the luminary; they make a noise to drive them away (Miss. Cath. 1877, 453).

In Europe the goat appears in processions and
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other functions at Christmas, the Carnival, etc. (Mannhardt, Antike Wahl- u. Volksk., 1814 f., 187), as Braheus thought from the church in September (Mannhardt, Myth. Forsch. 163 n.), but this apparent association with the harvest may be late; for in Wendish parts the date was July 25th (Kosche, Character, iv. 44). A goat dance is performed at weddings, probably as a fertility charm (Mannhardt, Myth. Forsch. 198). For the same reason, perhaps, the goat is given to the parents of the bride in Bulgaria, where, as in the Magyars, it forms a recognized dish at the wedding (Anthrop. ii. 587; Schönwarter, Aus der Oberger- pfalz, i. 98; cf. 342). Among the Matabele of South Africa the husband gives the bridesmaids a goat to eat (JAF xxii. 84). In the Voges the younger sister who marries first must give her elder sister a white goat (Médusine, i. 454).

The 'goat' is one of the names by which the 'blind man' in Blind Man's Buff is known (Folktale, xii. 261). For myths and folk-tales of the goose see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. i. 401-428.

Goose.—The goose was one of the animals which were tabu to the Britons (Cesar, de Bello Gall. v. xii.). The Norsemen also refused to eat it (Life of Life of Bede, p. 238). It was in Great Britain regarded as tabu (Arch. Reviii. iii. 233). But on the other hand, it is not infrequently eaten with more or less ceremony. The Michauens goos is certainly a very old custom. The bird is hunted or killed in various parts of Europe (Folktale, xi. 253; for ceremonial eating see p. 259). In China two red geese are given to the newly married; the explanation offered is that they are faithful to each other, as human beings should be (Zool. Gr. Russ. 1906, p. 76). The goose is also a gift to the newly married at Moscow (Anthrop. iv. 324); it has perhaps in some cases taken the place of the swan (see below). The Mandans and Minnetarees made their goose medicine; the dance was to remind the wild goose, which then prepared to migrate, that they had had plenty of good food all the summer, and to entreat them to return in the spring (Boller, Indiana, p. 145). There were sacred geese in the Capitoll and in Greek temples (de Visser, Götter, p. 175). In mediaval times, the goose, like the goat (see above), was associated with witches who frequently used these birds as vehicles to carry them to the Sabbath. For myths and folk-tales of the goose, swan, and duck, see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 307-319.

Hare.—Although the hare is one of the most interesting in the belief and practice of the uncultured, it cannot be said that it is anywhere regarded as divine, unless it be among the Kal- nuks, who call it Slikyaminu (the Buddha), and say that on earth the hare allowed himself to be eaten by a starving man, and was in reward raised to the moon, where they profess to see him (Crooke, ii. 50). The connexion of the hare with the moon is also found in Mexico (Sahagun, vii. 2) and South America, where the Hottentots tell the story of how death came into the world, and explain it by a mistake made by the hare in taking a message from the moon (Merensky, Betracht., p. 86; Bleek, Legenden, p. 60). In North America all the Algonquin tribes had as their chief deity a Great Hare (see 'Cult' above) to whom they went at death; he lived in the east, or, according to some accounts, in the north. In his anthropo- morphic form he appears to the Nanabojon, Michabou or Messon (Brinton, Myths, p. 193). In one aspect he is a culture hero, who teaches to the Indians the medicine dance and the art of healing. In a more immaterial aspect he is the negative spirit, in the face of which man must be cautious, for he tries his magic art on various animals and fails ludicrously. In a New England Flood legend the survivors took a hare with them to the mountain on which they found refuge, and learnt of the assuaging of the waters by its non-return (Josselyn, Account, p. 134).

The name of the hare is frequently tabu (Russe- wurm, Ebisowolk., § 358; Holzmaier, Ostitkana, p. 105; FJ v. 190; Brit. Ass. Ethnogr. Survey Rep. [Tyrone], p. 56; Transylvania, FJ, Myth. cxxvii; GB 3.457). It is unlucky to kill the hare (Folktale, xii. 240) or eat its flesh (Lyde, Asian Mystery, p. 191; Dussaud, Hist. des Nosavirs, p. 93; Globus, xxxiii. 349; Austrian, liv. 58, etc.). There is a wide-congression belief that the hare is caused if a pregnant woman puts her foot in a hare's form.

Like many other animals, the hare is hunted annually at many places (Folktale, iii. 442, xii. 290; Mem. Soc. Ant. France, iv. 109; Médusine, i. 145; Oes Volksalven, viii. 42), and sometimes eaten ritually (Folktale, xi. 259). Sometimes the hare is offered to the parish priest (Ann. Soc. Ethn. Franc., 5th ser. i. 428; Folktale, xii. 442). The hare is more especially associated with Easter (Folktale, iii. 442), and is said on the Continent to lay Easter eggs (Das Kloster, vii. 928; Schweiz. Arch. Volksk. i. 115). It is one of the animals whose name is still at Christmas (Barcha- sagen, ii. 277; Kolbe, Hessische Volksk. p. 7; Curtze, Volksk. p. 441). Among the Slavs hare- catching is a similar game to Blind Man's Buff (Tetzner, p. 86). In Swabia it is said that children come from the hare's nest (Mannhardt, Germ. Mythen, p. 410). The hare is said to change its sex every year (Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, p. 362).

The hare is almost universally regarded as an unlucky animal; when a Kaluuk sees one, he utters a cry and strikes a blow in the air (JAI i. 401). The Hottentots kill it, though they do not eat it (Zts. Geog. Ges. Thür. vii. 42). Its appearance in a village is thought to betoken fire, both in England and Germany (MS notes; Grohmann, Abergl. 375; Am Urvuln., ii. 107; Zts. Ver. f. Volksk. x. 290). In Oseol it is sometimes of good omen (Holzmaier, p. 43). Probably the association of hares with witches is in part responsible for the hare's evil angry. In Gotland the so-called milk-hare is a bundle of rags and chips of wood; it is believed to cause cows to give bloody milk (Globus, xxiii. 47). On the other hand, hares' heads are found on the gables in the Tyrol, probably as a protection against witchcraft (Heyl, p. 156); a hare's foot is a counter charm against witchcraft (Hone, Tablebook, i. 674). Among the negroes, a most lucky charm is the left hind foot of a rabbit caught jumping over a grave in the dark of the moon by a red-haired, cross-eyed negro. It is also to be noted that the rabbit is one of the chief figures in the folk-tales of the negroes of the southern United States, where he outwits 'Brr Wolf' and all other animals (Harris, Uncle Remus, his Songs and his Sayings, Negro wit, Uncle Remus, etc.). The hare is one of the forms believed to be assumed by the corn-spirit (Golden Bough), ii. 269). For myths and folk-tales of the hare see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 76-82.

Hawk.—According to the Gallinolones of Cali- fornia, the hawk flew in the coyote's face in the primeval darkness; apologies ensued, and the pair together made the sun, put it in its place, and set it on fire (Bancroft, iii. 85). According to the Ycunts, the red fox and the hawk were alone in the world, which was covered with water; the two former created the mountains from the mud brought up by the latter (ib. p. 124).

The most important animals, or the cult of the hawk seems to be North Borneo (JAI xxxii. 173 f.). The Kenyahs will neither kill nor eat it. They address it, as they do anything regarded in its spiritual
aspect, by prefixing 'Balli' to its name; they always observe the movements with keen interest, and formally consult it before leaving home for distant parts. The rites are very elaborate, and, if successful, secure that the hawks which gave the omens serve as tutelary deities over the participants. After a war expedition, pieces of the flesh of slain enemies are set out as a thank-offering to Balli Flaki for his guidance and protection. The hawk's aid is sought before agricultural operations are commenced, and impalings of a hawk with its wings extended is put up before a new horse. During the formal consultation of the hawk, women may not be present; but they keep in their sleeping-places wooden images with a few hawk's feathers in them, which serve magical purposes during illness. In this tribe the hawk seems to be regarded as a messenger of the Supreme God, Balli Penyalong; but the thanks seem to be offered to the birds exclusively. The Kayans have gone some distance in anthropomorphizing the hawk, though they still retain the idea that it is the servant of the Supreme God; they appear to regard the hawk as a god representatively, and they transfer their prayer to Laki Tenangan. The hawk-god, Laki Necho, is described as living in a house at the top of a tree; but the individual hawk is still regarded as the Sacred Hawk. The Dayaks, who are the hawk-god, Singalang Barong, has become completely anthropomorphized. He is the god of war, but they say that he never leaves his house; consequently, though they take other bird omens, they do not regard the hawk as the messenger. He is the god of omens, clearly developed from a divine hawk species, and, as such, is the ruler of the other birds; a trace of his human nature is found in the belief that, though he put on the form of an Iian to attend a feast, he flew away in hawk form at the end of it, when he took off his coat. It is instructive to note that in the opinion of the Iians there are only thirty-three of each kind of omnious bird, though all are respected because of the impossibility of distinguishing ominous from non-omious individuals of the same species.

In Madagascar (v. Gennep, Toben, p. 261) various species of hawk are ominous. Some Sakalava families regard one species as sacred and bury it. In Nimeria prayers are addressed to it, and portions of the flesh of birds caught are consumed. One tribe is called by the name of a species of hawk, and the hawk is its emblem. The omens given by hawks are good or bad, according to the species.

In America the Kaititas held that when a man died his soul was carried to spirit-land by a little bird; if he had been a wickel man, the burden of his sins enabled a hawk to overtake the bird and devour it (Panzer, iii. 524).

In Europe the hawk is regarded as lucky; in Baden one kind is kept or allowed to nest on the house; its presence is thought to avert a flash of lightning; in Bohemia a kind of hawk is regarded as a luck-bringing bird (Mone, Anzeiger, viii. 430; Gröhnemann, Aberglaube, No. 459). Like the owl and the bat, it is sometimes nailed on the doors of old houses (Wagner, ii. 21). We find myths see de Geburatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 92-94.

Horse. In Greek court there was at Colonus a common altar to Poseidon Hippius and Athene Hippia (Farnell, Cults, i. 272). Artemis was also associated with the horse, too, as Aphrodite (ib. ii. 641), perhaps in her marine character. Cronus is said to have taken the form of a horse, and the Ilyrians sacrificed a horse to him (ib. i. 286). But case (two) the case does the connexion of the animal with the deity justify the supposition that we have to do with a horse-cult which has undergone development, except perhaps in the case of Poseidon. There are, however, other deities intimately associated with the horse, in a manner which makes it legitimate to suppose that they have undergone anthropomorphization or taken up earlier connexion with the horse. Phigalia, Demeter, according to popular tradition, was represented with the head and mane of a horse, probably as a legacy from an older theriomorphic non-specialized corn-spirit (Golden Bough, i. 368). In Avesta her devotees were called 

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At Whitsun-tide it was the custom to hold a horse race (Mannhardt, Antike Wald- und Feldsiture, pass.), to which we find a Roman parallel in the October race; they may probably be brought into connexion with the cult of vegetation.

The hyena is a fascinating animal (Teutonia, ii. 115), and in modern folk lore omens are drawn in particular from the white horse. It is frequently regarded as being ill omen (RHR xxxvii. 298; Grohmann, Aberg. Nos. 336-337) or a portent of death by some, but at the same time in Bohemia the white horse brings good fortune to the house where it is stabled (ib.); and in northern India it is a lucky omen for a horse and his rider to encounter a field of sugar-cane while they are being served (Crooke, ii. 297). The horse, like the bull, is a fertility animal (ib.). If a boy is put on a horse immediately after his birth, Meecklenburgers think that he will the power of curing various maladies from which horses suffer (Plass, Kind2, i. 74). Some part of the magical importance of the horse-shoe is perhaps derived from the horse itself. In Wales and Ireland are found stories of the Midas type (G. Dows, t. 294).

Hyena.—One of the chief centres of the hyena-cult is the Wanika tribe of East Africa. One of the highest ranks of their secret society is that of the Fisi or hyenas, so called from the power of the hyena to impart a supernatural power to the oaths he places on the hyena, which, before the practice of burial was introduced, devoured the bodies of the dead. It is held that a false oath by the hyena will cause the death of the perjuror. The Fisi also protect the kill from thieves by consecrating it to the hyena, which they do by making certain marks near the boundaries (Report on E. African Protectorate, 1897, p. 10 f.). The Wanikas look upon the hyena as one of their ancestors, or as in some way connected with their origin and destiny. The death of one is an occasion of universal mourning, and a wake is held over it by the whole people, not by one clan only. It is a great crime to kill one, and even imitative of its voice entails punishment of a fine (New, Life Wanderings, p. 188). Hyenas are taboo in Acrea (Int. Arch, p. 101), and the Ewe tribes hold that they are inhabited by a god or spirit. The Mandingo expose their dead to be eaten by hyenas; and if a corpse has to wait more than a day for burial, it is a token of ill-luck, to be counteracted by the sacrifice of cattle (Baumann, Massaibben, p. 163). South African Bantus likewise expose their dead to be eaten by hyenas (Curtis of Cape Colony, p. 149), who never kill them. The hyena is a common form of the wizard (Int. Arch., loc. cit.), and there are various stories told of the tudus in Abyssinia and others having transformed themselves in the sight of other people (Taylor, Prim. Culture4, i. 310); gold rings are said to be found in the ears of dead hyenas similar to those worn by the budos, who are workers in clay and iron. Among the Matabele, wizards are said to go to fresh graves and dig up corpses, to which they give medicine and transform them into hyenas (Thomas, Eleven Years, p. 293), which they then employ as their messengers, or upon which they sometimes rest themselves. When the voice of the hyena is heard, the hearer must remain perfectly still. If a hyena is wounded at night and escapes to another kraal, the place is thought to be the residence of a wizard. These are the thoughts of the night; and if a man discovers a dead one, he runs away and remains perfectly silent about it. A wizard or diviner, when his training is over, has to put on the skin of a hyena, as a sign that the Amasimba have endowed him with the necessary powers (ib.). In ancient Arabia it was believed that, if a hyena trod on a man's shadow, it deprived him of the power of speech and motion; and that, if a dog, standing on a roof in the moonlight, cast a shadow on the ground and a hyena trod on it, the dog would be dragged from the roof as if a rope had been made fast to it (Golden Bough3, i. 287). In Talmudic belief (Bab. Zammam, 16a), the male hyena goes through the stagy of a 'spirit', or nyx, and is later devoured by the hyena itself, in fire and earth.

Leopard.—The cult of the leopard is widely distributed in West Africa. In Dahomey it is especially sacred to the royal family; it is also an Ewe totem. The leopard is liable to be put to death; but usually he pays a fine and performs propitiatory ceremonies. No leopard skin may be exposed to view, but studded leopards are objects of worship. Some of the king's wives in Dahomey were known as kpo-i ('leopard-wives'). A man wounded by a leopard was regarded as specially fortunate (Ellis, Ewe-speaking Peoples, p. 74; Labarthe, Beis, p. 153).

The Bakwiris regard the leopard as possessed by evil spirits (Beitr. zur Kolonialpol., iii. 194). On the Gold Coast it is regarded as the abode of the spirits of the dead (Müller, Festu, p. 97), or of evil spirits (Mitt. Geog. Ges. Thür. 19, 18), which may endanger the lives of the hunter and cause him to be struck by a man in mistake for an animal. The hunter, when successful, announces his triumph to those who have killed a leopard previously; then a blade of grass is laid on the head, and it is said that he may not speak; his comrades tell the leopard why it was killed—because it had killed sheep; a drum gives the signal for an assembly; and the leopard is fastened to a post, its face to the sky, and carried round the town, its slayer behind it on the shoulders of another man; on their return the leopard is fastened to a tree, and the hunter is besmeared with coloured earth, so as to look like a devil. The witch doctor imitates a leopard's movements and voice; for nine days after the death of the leopard they have the right to kill all the hens they can catch. In the afternoon the body is cut up, and portions are sent to the chief of the village and others; the hunter retains the teeth, head, and claws (ib.). In Agome the hunter observes the same ritual interdictions as at the death of his wife (Mitt. d. Schutzg., v. 156). Among the Fijords the king has a right to the body of the leopard; people loot each other's towns when one is killed; and the killer has the right to appropriate any article outside a house when he is on his way to take a leopard to the king (Dennett, Seven Years in the Congo, p. 19). In Dahomey it was held to be unlucky to see the body of a leopard; those who kill a leopard, which is regarded as a prince, is tried, and must excuse himself by saying the leopard was a stranger; a prince's cap is put on the leopard's head, and a sacrifice is held in its honour. In olden times the capture of a leopard was one of the few occasions on which the king could leave his cibilia (Bastian, Lommo-Kiiste, p. 245 f.; Int. Arch. xvii. 98). When a leopard is killed in Okuyan, its body is treated with great respect and brought to the hunter's village. Representatives of neighbouring villages attend, and the gall-bladder is burnt coram populo; each person takes a piece of the leopard's skin with a sherd of its tusks (Kingsley, Travels, p. 543). In Jebel Nuba a hunter, on killing his first leopard, may not wash himself for several weeks; the skin belongs to the chief; the hunter's taun is broken when he cuts off his own tusks. The cave of a leopard is sacred to him alone and it is taboo to wear a piece of meat and receive from him his shoes and the animal's skin (Miss. Cath. 1882, 461). In South Africa a man who has killed a leopard remains in his hut for several days; he practises continence and is fed to satiety (Kolbe, Pres. State, i. 222).

The leopard society is common in West Africa. Members wear leopard skins when they seize their victims for sacrifice (Kingsley, Travels, p. 537).
Among the Yaos, leopards are among the animals whose figures are drawn on the ground at the initiation of girls (Macdonald, *Africana*, i. 131.).

The leopard is one of the forms assumed by wizards in West Africa (Wilson, *West Africa*, p. 308), among the Mpong and the Dahomey (Elmslie, *Mit Fortn. Pachten*, p. 80), and the Bari (Int. Arch. xvii. 99). The Nubas believe that the spirit of a panther passes into the kudjuf (‘priest’) when he gives an oracle; he sits upon a stool covered with skins and beats his heart a great deal, in order that they might become strong and courageous (Golden Bough*, ii. 354). The gall of a leopard is regarded as a poison, and in West Africa it is said that the magicians (Kingsley, *op. cit.* p. 549).

**Lion.** — In Egyptian mythology the tunnel through which the sun passed was supposed to have a lion at each end; statues of lions were placed at the doors of palaces and tombs to ward off evil spirits. There was a lion-god at Bubastis, and songs were sung when it devoured a calf. It was associated with Ra and Horus, and possibly the Sphinx with its human head and the lion’s body was intended as an abode for Ra (Budge, *Gods, i. 399; Damascius, *Vit. Isid. p. 233*). There was a lion-headed goddess Sekhmet, and the Arabs had a lion-god Yaghuth (*Elly* iii. 2804). In modern Africa we find a lion-ideal among the Bushmen: it is made of grass covered with clay, and resembles a crocodile more than anything else; it is placed in the forest, and, in cases of sickness, prayers are offered and drums beaten before it (Livingstone, *South Africa*, pp. 282, 304).

In comparison with its traditional position as king of the beasts, the lion occupies, however, an unduly secondary place in the savage belief and custom. It is regarded as the abode of the souls of the dead on the Congo and the Zambezi, as well as among the Wambugu, Kikuyu, and Masai (Bastian, *Longo-Kuste*, ii. 244; Livingstone, *Zambesi*, p. 159; Baumann, *Masai*, p. 187; Brown, *On the S. African Frontier*, p. 217; cf. Speke, *Journ.*, pp. 221, 222). As a rule, it is the chief who is thus transformed; but among the Angous there is a universal desire to be transformed into a lion after death (*ZE* xxxii. 190). The name-tube is not by any means uncommon; the Arabs call the lion *Abu-l-Abba*. The negroes of Angola call it *ngamal* (‘sir’); both Bushmen and Bechuanas avoid using its proper name (Golden Bough*, ii. 456*); the Hottentots avoid using it on a hunting expedition, and call it *geb gab* (‘great brother’). In South Africa the same ceremonies are gone through by the slayers of a zebra as of a leopard or a monkey (see below). Another account says that the hunter is secluded for four days, purified, brought back, and feasted (Lichtenstein, *Ver. der lste*. p. 291). It is told in the *Filahi* that the body of a lioness is made prisoner, and women come out to meet the party; the lioness is carried on a bier covered with white cloth. The hunter must be released by the chiefs of the village when he pleads, in reply to the charge that he has killed a sovereign, that it was an enemy (Gray and Dochard, *Travels*, p. 143). The lion is one of the animals whose shape is said to be assumed by the Zulus during the initiation ceremony (Leppla, *Petermanns Mit.* 1874, 188) and on the Zambezi (Livingstone, *Zambesi*, p. 159), where a certain drink is said to have the power of transforming them; among the *Tunu*, however, nothing is done. Some women wander about shrouded with white clay, and are held to have the power of assuming the shape of lions (*Elmslie, Among the Wild Nyong*, p. 74); the Bushmen say that the lion can change itself into a man (Lloyd, *Short Account*, p. 29). In Greek cult a lioness was led in a procession at Syraccse in honour of Artemis (Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 432). The lion is used in magic to give courage (Golden Bough*, ii. 354, 356; *JAI* xix. 282). It figures in Masai fables, where it is outwitted by the mongoose (*Hollis, Masai*, p. 198), and among the Bushmen (*Lloyd, loc. cit.*). In Hottentot stories it is outwitted by the jackal (*Bleek, Reymard*, p. 281, p. 20). In New Zealand, Nia is stronger than its own mother, and is killed by a man (ib. p. 67). In like manner, in an Indian story, first found in the *Paiichanta* (i. s.; cf. Bentley, *Pandanti*, p. 415, i. 176). The lizard is said to have magical properties (*Kingsley, op. cit.* p. 548).

**Lizard.** — Often provided with the magical attributes and power to expel evil spirits. A native keeps a dried iguana on the back of a woman as a protection to her health. Another lizard is kept by a man who has lost his memory. The iguana he wears on his back to remember what he is doing. The trader is called to gather the leaves of a certain plant, and to take the lizard. He is allowed to take the leaves, but not the lizard. If the lizard is lost, the trader must make another trip at once, and procure another lizard for the man. If the trader is late, he is punished. The belief is that if the lizard is not brought in time, the man will be unable to bear the fear of his neighbors. If the lizard is not brought in time, the man will die. It is said that a green lizard is put on women's heads to cure them of certain diseases. Rhinoceros lizards are said to be able to fly. The lizard is used in magic to give courage (Golden Bough*, ii. 288, 304; *JAI* xix. 282). It figures in Masai fables, where it is outwitted by the mongoose (*Hollis, Masai*, p. 198), and among the Bushmen (*Lloyd, loc. cit.*). In Hottentot stories it is outwitted by the jackal (*Bleek, Reymard*, p. 281, p. 20). In New Zealand, Nia is stronger than its own mother, and is killed by a man (ib. p. 67). In like manner, in an Indian story, first found in the *Paiichanta* (i. s.; cf. Bentley, *Pandanti*, p. 415, i. 176). The lizard is said to have magical properties (*Kingsley, op. cit.* p. 548).
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is said to have abolished the worship of the lizard-god (Globus, x. 285, xii. 296). An old writer describes a custom of bringing food to a lizard-god; it seems to have been the sacred animal of a secret society (Pruneau de Pommegorge in Cuhn's Samm-
tungen xli. 101). In the Philippines, the tribal god of the Shillukus is said to appear in the form of a lizard (Ratzel, ii. 43). In Polynesia respect for the lizard was wide-spread. In New Zealand, according to one account (but cf. Shortland, p. 80), it is regarded as an unlucky omen, though the green lizard, or the heaven-god; a green lizard was more especially associated with him, perhaps from its habit of coming out and basking in the sun (Dielchenbach, Travels, ii. 116; Wilken, loc. cit.); so too, in Samoa (Globus, lxxiv. 256 ff.). In the Hervey Islands, Tongauti or Mataran (the night-heaven) was likewise identified with a spotted lizard, which comes out at night (Gill, Myths, p. 10). In Samoa not only family gods but general deities assumed lizard form, among them Le Sa, Fil, and Samaui (Turner, Samoa, pp. 44, 46, 72). An idol in lizard form, or rather a house-god, is reported from Easter Island. In the Moluccas (Folklore, 1904, No. 46), Moko, the king of the lizards, is recognized all over Polynesia (Gill, Myths, p. 229). In Micronesia lizard-worship was found in the shape of a cult of the dead. Lizards were kept in special enclosures, and offerings for the living or the dead were held to pass into their keepers or priests, to whom offerings were made from all parts of the island (Herschel, Südseeerin. p. 22). In New Caledonia, a Melan-
esean area with Polynesian immigrants, the Emard was one of the animals respected and termed 'father,' probably as the abode of the soul of a dead man. Lizards were also worshipped or re-
spected in Sumatra, Borneo, the Mentawai Islands, Balinese (see Wilken, loc. cit.). The lizard is commonly respected in Europe (Folklore, xi. 240). In Central Celebes it is killed to prevent ill-luck (Bijd. T. L. V. i. 88), probably as the familiar of a wizard; but this attitude is uncommon, although the Zorostrian con-
nection may prove to be real (see below). One lizard species surviving in Armenia (Abeghian, Armenischer Volksglaube, p. 31) We find the lizard in S.E. Australia as the familiar of a wizard (JAF xvi. 84); and the Maoris, though some lizards were respected, are recorded to have killed them as 'witch-animals' (Aust. Ass. Adv. Sci. Reports, vii. 774), or as the cause of sickness (Taylor, Te Ike i Meiti, pp. 400 ff., etc. cf. JAF xix. 129). As a messenger of the gods, or of the dead (Gill, Myths, p. 229; Deutsche Geogr. Bl. x. 280), the lizard is ominous, also as the familiar of the wizard. The lizard is especially ominous in India (Pandian, Indian Village Bel., p. 190; Sinu, Journals, 1824, 421 ff.). The Musuhers sacrifice a lizard (Culcutta Rev. Ixxviii. 290). The lizard is fre-
quently employed in magic, sometimes as a love-
hag (Sax, 1917 'romantic Marm' (Jones and Kropf, Folktales, xlix.), or for luck (Rolland, Faune, ii. 12). A lizard buried alive under a threshold is a protection against sorcerers (Mel-
sine, vii. 22; Müllenhof, Sagen, i. 212), but else-
where it is used to promote the transformation of the (Roeholz, Deutscher Glaube, ii. 167). In Madag-
scar the lizard is buried to cure fever (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 271). In Tripoli the sight of a lizard is held to cause women to bear speckled children (Globus, xxxiv. 27). Connected doubtless with its magical qualities is the wide-spread use of the lizard as an art motif (Publ. Kgl. Mus. Dresden, xiv. 14; Bastian Festschrift, p. 167). In classical antiquity the lizard was used in medicine (Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. 'Abderabs', and the eggs or young round the village (Lloyd, Peasant Life, p. 237). A magpie's nest betokens ill-luck (Jahrbiicher f. Schleswig-H. viii. 92), but the omens drawn from it usually vary according to the number of birds (Napier, Folklore, p. 113; Gregor, ib. p. 137). In Norse belief the form of the mag-
pie is assumed by witches (Meyer, Germ. Myth. p. 112). For magpie omens see Liebricht, Zur Volkst., p. 327; Jahrb. f. Broman. Lit. N.S. i. 292; Socin, Die neuerw. Dial. p. 175; Wigstrom, Sagar, p. 114; Rolland, Faune, ii. 137, etc. The magpie is supposed to show the presence of foxes or wolves, and sometimes even to fasten a bunch of heath and laurel to the top of a high tree in honour of the magpie (Mem. Soc. Antiq. viii. 451). For myths and folk-tales of the magpie see de Gubernatis, ii. 258-260.

Mantises. In Indian and Egyptian bushman myth-
ology is Ikkenan or Cagn (Bleck, Brief Account, p. 6; Cape Monthly Mag. 1874, July, pp. 1-18; Lloyd, Short Account, p. 5, etc.). Some doubt was thrown by Fritsch (Ethnologen, p. 349) on the worship of the mantis by the Bushmen, and no very satisfactory evidence could be quoted with regard to them (Int. Arch. xvii. 131) until the publication of Mr. Stow's collection (Native Races of South Africa, i. 191). As in some cases clearly abundantly that Cagn was sometimes con-
ceived under the form of the mantis, sometimes under the form of the caterpillar, nga (see 'Cult' above). It seems clear that the Hottentots re-
verted to the insect as suspicious (Memreisen, Bel-
vrige, p. 50), and worshipped it on that account; the whites called it the 'Hottentots' god;' they abate from injuring it (Schinz, Deutsch S.W. Afrika, p. 101). Among the Tambukas, certain insects, among which is the mantis, are supposed to give residence to ancestral souls (Elmslie, Wild Sgones, p. 71). In the Bismarck Archipelago there are two exogamous phratries, one of which is named after the mantis. The slight belief surviving in Africa and South America that monkeys can talk, but do not so do for fear of being made to work. Another group of stories tells how the great apes carry off women to the woods; while the belief in tailed men has been held by Europeans as well as savages (cf. MacCulloch, p. 277).

The chief home of the cult of monkeys is India, with its monkey-god, Hanuman. A lot of village	villages has the monkey as the key of life from harm, and its magic influence is implored against the whirlwind, while it is also invoked to avert sterility. The bones of a monkey are held to pollute the ground (cf. Cohn and Gourde). More recently, a monkey brings starvation for the rest of the day, but it is regarded as lucky to keep one in the stable (ib. ii. 49). As at the famous monkey-temple at Benares, monkeys are said to be worshipped in...
Togo, Africa, where the inhabitants of a village daily put meals for their benefit. The Kanamans and Baceans of Nigeria (see Haidas, B. J., vii. 122, 1893.) At Porto Novo, where twins are not killed, they are believed to have as tutelary spirits a kind which animate small monkeys; such children may not eat monkey meat (Miss. Cath. 1894, 249). Among the Hottentots the name of the monkey is talon to the hunter (Zeis. Geog. Ges. Thir. vi. 41). The Nkomia do not eat gorilla meat, and give three reasons: first, that their fathers did not; second, that the Nkomia do not drink the blood of the dead (Miss. Cath. 1894, 691). There is an ape tabu among the Batuts (Tijdschr. T. L. v. xxxi. 299). Among the Maxuramas a young mother may not eat ape meat (Spix, iii. 118). This tabu is extended to all women on the island of Nins (Tijdschr. xxxvi. 282). In many cases the respect for the monkey is based on the belief that it is the abode of a human soul (Int. Arch. cxxii. 93; Home and For. Miss. Rec. 1890, 302; v. Geune, Tabou, p. 221); sometimes it is believed that a man who kills a monkey is turned into one after death (Hutchinson, Impressions, p. 163); the sacerdotium iscurrentColored with eating the flesh of monkeys (Bastian, Bilder, pp. 145, 160). In Madagascar the babakoto is bought out of captivity, and in some parts the natives will not kill it or trap it (v. Geune, Tabou, p. 214); the Betsimisaraka bury dead monkeys, and call the babakoto their grandfather, holding it to be the abode of the souls of the dead (ib. p. 216). In some cases an etiological myth is told to account for the respect shown by the Madagascan to the babakoto. Among the Batsaks the monkey is a toten (Casalis, The Batsutu, p. 21; Arbonsset and Dannahs, p. 92; Folklore, xvi. 112). Among the Hottentots the killer of a baboon has to sit on a sheep or goat and hang the lowest vertebra round his neck, or he will suffer from hunger (Zeis. Geog. Ges. Thir. vi. 42). The Tucunas of Brazil wear a monkey mask in some of their ceremonies (Spix and Martinis, iii. 1188). In China a monkey is regarded as lucky in a stable—to keep away sickness (Zool. Garten, 1898, 23). In Java a magical ceremony which includes an offering to the king of the monkeys is performed to cure sterility (Verh. Bot. Gen. xxxix, 48). For myths, etc., of the monkey see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 97-110.

Mouse.—The mouse was especially associated with Apollo-Smintheus; in his temple at Hamaxitus near Pergamum, and at other places, mice were actually kept in the temple (de Visser, Götter, pp. 158, 178, 181). Various stories were told to account for this association of the animal with the god, none of which is necessarily true. It does not seem necessary to regard Apollo as an anthropomorphized mouse, any more than Dionysus as a transformed fox, because he was known as Bassetines. (For a discussion of the question, and of myths of mice gnawing bowstrings, etc., see CI. vi. 413, etc.; Grohmann, Apollo Smintheus). The Dakota explanation of the manner in which the mouse is eaten by the Chipewyans is that the mouse attributed a flood to the mouse having taken some of the bag in which the heat was stored, in order to mend his shoes, thus causing the snow to melt (Petitot, Traditions, p. 370). According to a Hucal myth, the mouse gnawed a hole in Noah's ark, and is unclean (Kaindl, ix. 95). According to the Bantu, when a mole or mouse is caught, a man; in every one's stomach are numbers of mice, the souls of his deceased relatives (JAF. xxii. 21). In Germanic belief, in like fashion, the soul assumes the shape of a mouse, and once the soul may come forth from a sleeper's mouth (Meyer, German. Myth. p. 64). In Celebes the tawuana soul is believed to turn into a mouse and eat the rice; the soul of a suicide is especially dangerous; if he were to eat the rice they do not drink (Ned. Zend. iii. 221, 243). The name of the mouse is tabu in parts of Europe (Golden Bough, i. 455). The Hucals hold that it is unlucky for a girl to kill a mouse (Kaindl, p. 73); and in India it is a sin to kill rats, which, if troublesome, must be induced to cease molestations by promise of sweetmeats (Campbell, Spirit Base of Belief and Custom, p. 267). In Bohemia a white mouse should not be killed (Kochholz, di. ii. 424); sometimes the same result is aimed at by catching a mouse and burning it (Med. Ned. Zend. xxvi. 249). Elsewhere one or two mice are caught and worshipped, while the others are burnt; or four pairs of mice are married and set adrift, in the idea that this will cause the other mice to go away (Golden Bough, ii. 425). In England, shrews must be thrust alive into a tree trunk, to prevent a harvest of them from partaking of the keep or ravaging the lands (Hone, Tablebook, i. 465). The belief that a shrew dies when it reaches a path is found among the Eskimos (17th Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. p. 275), and in Greece (Pauly-Wissowa, s. e. 'Abergaiba,') (p. 80). The 'blind mouse' is a common name for 'Blind Man's Buff.' A mouse mask is used in an Austrian ceremony (Folklore, xi. 261, 263). Mice are an omen of death; they leave the house at the death of the master (Aichholz, D. Glaube, i. 173, i. 157). Near Flensburg a white mouse is a death omen; in Wenden districts it is a good omen (MS notes). (For a discussion of the Mouse Tower of Bingen and similar stories, see Liebrecht, Zur Volksbrude, p. 11.) Mice figure largely in the mythology of the Kamtchats, and are represented as playing many tricks on the stupid deity Kutka (Steller, Kamtech. p. 255). The mouse is an evil animal in Zululand, and among the Tungus; the rat is kept clean and the mouse is equal in merit to slaying four lions (Soul dur, xii. 9; cf. Milarch, de Tweedie et Odice). In Jewish folk-belief eating anything gnawed by a mouse causes loss of memory; where cats, which eat mice, do not remember their masters (Horowitz, 130). For mouse myths and folk-tales see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 55-72.

Owl.—Although the owl is a common in many parts of the world, it does not seem to figure largely in mythology. The Kalmaras have a saga as to the owl's having saved the life of Jingis Khan, resembling the story of Bruce's escape. From that time they are said to wear a piece of cheese on their heads, and reverence the white owl. Whenever they celebrate any great festival, according to another account, they wear coloured owls' feathers. The Wogoli are said to have had a wooden owl to which they fastened the legs of a central one (Strahlenberg, Hist. Geog. Desc. p. 431). The owl was respected in Lithuania (Globus, lxiii. 66) and Mecklenburg (Folklore, xi. 124), and is not killed by the Maoris of the British Gaians, as being the familiar of the evil spirit (Waterton, Wanderings, p. 223). Some of the S.E. Bantu does not even touch it, probably on account of its association with sorcerers (Fleming, Southern Africa, p. 260).
Among the Bechaamas it is regarded as a great calamity if an owl rests on a house, and the witch-doctor is sent for at once; he scrambles up to the place to drive away the peacock (Jal) and calls him by his charms (Mackenzie, Ten Years, p. 392). In the same way the appearance of an owl in the Capitol demanded that the place should be purified with water and sulphur (Hopf, Orawattke, p. 101). According to the Talmud, it is unlucky to dream of an owl (JE ix. 452); while in Germanic folk-tales witches and cruel stepmothers appear in the form of this bird (Meyer, German. Myth. p. 112). The owl is particularly venerated in the island of Aimaas; its cry may not be imitated, because it can bewitch (Batchelor, p. 409); the eagle-owl is regarded as a mediator, and is worshiped on the chase; its head and beak are worn at feasts (ib. p. 413); these owls are kept in cages, like the bear, and killed (ib. p. 414); they are regarded as unlucky, and the barn-owl may not be eaten (ib. pp. 424, 428). Many American tribes associated the owl with the dead; the bridge over which the dead had to pass in the Ojibwa belief was known as the 'owl bridge' (Dorman, Prim. Sup. p. 262). In Australia, the owl is a so-called sex-totem (Golden Bough, ii. 415). The Chinese offer owl's flesh roasted in oil with garlic; they believe that the owl's properties are believed to be those of the mandrake; the object of the offering is to appease the soul of the plant (Young Poo, vi. 342). The Burats keep an owl, or hang up the skin of one, to protect children against evil spirits (Globus, ii. 222). It is one of the animals hunted in Europe (Folklore, xi. 250). Owls are frequently associated with magicians; the Zulus believe that they and send out the evil spirit of the dead man; in Yorubas the owl is the messenger of sorcerers, who gather at the foot of a tree and send owls out to kill people; if one gets into a house, the inmates try to catch it and break its claws and wings, believing that this injures the sorcerer (Miss. Cath. 1884, 349). The Ojibwas believe that within three days after the burial of a man the evil spirit comes in the form of an owl, shooting out fire from his beak, and takes out the heart of the dead man; they endeavour to drive it away before it effects its purpose (Manitoulin, p. 49). Among the Pawnees, on the other hand, the owl is the chief of the night, which possesses the power of seeking protection (24 R.E.W. ii. 21, 40). The Greek priest who was present at the crucifixion was called the owl, because he was supposed to watch for the moment of the crucifixion (Cassius Dio, 42). In India the owl is the emblem of evil (Aberglaube, 'Aberglaube, p. 76). In India owl's flesh is an aphrodisiac, and at the same time causes loss of memory. On the other hand, it is considered good luck to see an owl at night, and being in the dark, while an owl is fed with meat all night by a naked man, the latter acquires magic powers. Nevertheless the owl is a bird of ill-omen in India (Crooke, i. 579, ii. 56). For the mythology of the owl see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 244-250.

Peacock.—Peacock-worship has often been attributed to the Zendiz. The latest account is that given by J. W. Crowfoot (Man, 190, No. 129), who got his information from an Armenian. It appears that the Malik T'aas ('King Peacock') is shaped like a bird; it has a hole in the middle of its back with a lid to it. It is brought by the head of the village, wrapped in linen, and filled with water. The priest kisses the image and sips water through the beak, the others following his example. Five bronze images are sent round continually, and every Zendiz is expected to visit one of these each year. An equation, T'aas=Tammuz, has been proposed, which explains the rites as a survival of Tammuz worship, the peacock coming in through a folk etymology, though the Zendiz themselves hold that 'Malik Taas revealed himself in the form of a handsome youth with a peacock's tail when he appeared in a vision before Sheikh Audi, the prophet of the faith.' (Jackson, Peran, Post and Present.) Among the Ainus of Japan, the peacock is regarded as the embodiment of evil (Man, loc. cit.; JAI xx. 270). According to a Javanese (Muhammadan) myth, the peacock was guardian at the gate of Paradise and ate the devil, thus conveying him within the gate (Med. Med. Zend. xxxxi. 237 ff.). On the other hand, in Kutch the peacock may neither be caught nor annoyed (Zts. Geog. Ge. Thor. xv. 59). In Europe, peacocks' feathers are considered unlucky; the theory is that bad omen. In Greek religion the bird was associated with Hera and was kept in her temple (de Visser, Götter, p. 175). In India the peacock is the totem of the Jats and Khaniaks, and in the Parsee match-bites are headed by smudged owls and peacocks flying in a pipe. The feathers of the bird are also waved over the sick to scare disease-demons, and are tied on the ankles to cure wounds (Crooke, ii. 45, 150, 253, 256). For the mythology of the peacock see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 322-329.

Pig.—The pig is the most important sacrifice animal of Oceania, and is also a frequent victim in African (Int. Arch. xvii. 145). Its flesh is eaten by Muhammadans and Jews generally, to the males of S. African Bantu (JAI xix. 279), etc. It is a frequent form of the corn-spirit in Europe (Golden Bough, ii. 286; HHR, xxxviii. 330). There are good grounds for supposing that the cult of Demeter was in part developed from that of a porcelain corn-spirit (GF3, p. 299). It is possible to explain features of the myths and cult of Attis in a similar way (ib. p. 404), and the custom of maintaining the sound of Osiris (ib. p. 310). Pigs were tabu in Egypt, and swine-herds might not enter a temple; but once a year pigs were sacrificed to Osiris (ib. p. 306). The Harranians sacrificed thirty piglets from under it (Wolf, Beiträge, i. 232). Sometimes, in spite of its character as a bird of ill omen, it is regarded as bringing good fortune. If it flies into a dovecote, it brings good luck; its cry frees from fever, and its feathers bring peacefull slumber (Globus, iii. 271). Its appearance near a house where a pregnant woman is forecasts an easy delivery, among the Wends (Haupt, Volkslieder, ii. 258); or the birth of a boy, or other good fortune, in Dalmatia (Curtius, Travels, vi. 593). In Athens, as the bird of Athene, it was supposed to be as auspicious (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Aberglaube,' p. 76). In India owl's flesh is an aphrodisiac, and at the same time causes loss of memory. On the other hand, it is considered good luck to see an owl at night, and being in the dark, while an owl is fed with meat all night by a naked man, the latter acquires magic powers. Nevertheless the owl is a bird of ill-omen in India (Crooke, i. 579, ii. 56).
The pig figures as a bugbear for children, and is believed to appear at Allhallows (EHH, loc. cit.). Both in Madagascar and Polynesia the pig is tabu (v. Gennep, p. 224); Turner, Samou, pass.; Codrington, p. 149, etc. In European folklore we find the pig hunted at certain times (Folklore, xi. 252), there is a story of a pig ancestor in Wales (ib. 254), and the grunting of pigs is imitated during an eclipse of the moon (Panzer. Beitr. ii. 163). The pig is regarded as lucky in the towns of Germany, but its original augury was insipuous. In Oesel, on the other hand, it is regarded as of good omen (Holznauer, Oekkena, p. 45). In Germanic mythology the pig is associated especially with storms, and, as a fertility animal, with the harvest-time (Meyer, Germ. Myth. pp. 102 f., 250 f.). In Celebes the pig supports the earth, and causes an earthquake when he rests against a tree (Journ. Ind. Arch. ii. 337). The pig is sacrificed in India to propitiate the cholera-goddess and other disease-demons, as well as to certain sainted dead, and to ghosts to prevent them from molesting the living (ib. p. 146, etc.). The souls of the blessed dead are sometimes kept in houses for magical purposes (Lütolf, Sagen, p. 357), but are elsewhere considered unlucky (Rev. des Trad. pop. v. 601; Wiss. Mitt. aus Bonn, vii. 349). In Albania a spring is said to be blessed annually by the sight of two doves (Holthouse. Journey, p. 390). At Florence a pigeon of combustible materials is run along a line in the Cathedral at Easter (Folklore, xvi. 182; cf. Trede, Heidenthum, iii. 211; de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. p. 571; Düringsfeld, Cat. Belge, p. 531). In Swabia it is carried in procession (Panzer, Beitrag, ii. 90). In Hohenzollern-Hochingen a nest with a living pigeon in it is put on a post at Carnival; a mock contest takes place, and the bird is finally carried off amid the lamentations of the people that the ‘summer bird’ is stolen; the thief is caught and thrown into the water, and the bird is solemnly set at liberty (Mannhardt, Myth. Forsch. p. 134). Among the Crettans of Crete doves are brought to the bride and bridegroom on the second or third day after the wedding; they oil them and smooth their feathers (Bombay Gaz. ix. i. 62). Pigeons are also given or eaten in European marriage customs (Bammgarten, Die komischen Mythen, p. 312; Anthropologie, ii. 429, n. 1; Schönw. Werth. der Oberrheinf. i. 123; Vangoeis, Hist. de l'Asie, p. 583, n. 110). The pigeon is of good omen in Korsika (Am Urquell, i. 129), and in Russia (Ernan, Archiv, p. 628), but forebodes fire in Styria (Zentral. Volksk. iii. 12), and very frequently a death (Kehr, Volksgr. p. 269; Gregor, Folklore, p. 355). The doves of the blessed dead are sometimes held to take the form of doves (Meyer, Germ. Myth. p. 63; cf. the use of the dove in modern funeral-pieces).

In Greece the dove was associated with the cult of Aphrodite, and doves were kept in her temples (de Visscr. p. 173). Similarly pigeons are attached to the shrines of Sakti Sarwar in the Panjâb (Crooke, i. 209) and of Shakir Padshah in Khotan (Stein, G-land-baren des Erines von Khotan, pp. 170-189). For the mythology of the dove and pigeon see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 297-306. There is no proof that the priestesses of Zeus at Dodona were ever called ‘doves’ in this historic period; nor were dove-orkles-oracles known. Possibly Sophocles refers to some vague tradition when he speaks of the two doves through which the oak spoke to Heracles (Farnell, Cults, i. 38 n., 39 n.).

Quail.—The quail is one of the birds in Germany which is unlucky to kill (Wuttke, D. Abergl. p. 168; Schröder, p. 259). In Italy the dovecote is held to protect the house against lightning (ib.). It is also tabu in Madagascar (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 267). In Hungary it is an accursed bird (Jones and St John, Panzer. Beitr. ii. 163). The form assigned to the corn-spirit in Silesia (Peter, Volkstum. ii. 268), and is eaten by a newly married couple in Lithuania (Russ. Rev. xi. 268). In France the hearts of two quails are held to ensure the happiness of a married couple, if the husband carries that of the male, the wife that of the female (Rolland, Faune, ii. 343). Among the Greeks the quail was used in a game in which the players struck at it blindfold, exactly as the cock and other birds and mammals are used in Europe at the present day (Pollux, Onomastikon, ix. 168). The quail was sacrificed by the Phenicians at its return in the spring, and they explained the festival as the commemoration of the descent of Heracles (Athene. ix. 47); possibly the first quail was killed—a practice to which there are many European analogues. In Greek mythology Artemis is said to have been vanquished with the quail (Farnell, Cults, i. 423; she was called Ortygia, which is also a place name). For the quail in mythology see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 276-279.

Seal.—Among the Eskimos, women stop work when a seal is taken, until it is cut up; when a ground seal is killed, they stop work for three days (5th Ann. Rep. Bar. Ethn. p. 565). The heads of sea and other marine animals are kept (5th Ann. Rep. p. 434). In Kamtchatka they do a piece of mimetic magic before they go seal fishing. A large stone is rolled into the court to represent the sea; small stones do duty for the waves, and little packets of herbs for the seals. A kind of boat of birch bark is made and drawn along the sand; the object of the ceremony is to invite the seals to let themselves be taken (Sébillot, Folklore, p. 125).

In the west of Ireland and the islands north of Scotland there are certain people who believe themselves to be descended from seals, and who refuse to injure them (Folklore, xi. 252; Orkney and Shetland Folklore, pp. 170-189). The same belief is found in the Azores, pigeons are considered to be descended from Pharaoh’s army, which was lost in the Red Sea (Annanalde, Foros, p. 25). In the island of Piguro it is believed that the species is descended from drowned human beings (Folklore, xii. 235). Among the Kwakins the chief group of dancers’ societies is that of the seal (Report of United States National Museum, 1885, p. 419).

Serpent.—(For serpent-worship proper see separate article). The serpent is respected among many peoples who do not worship it in the sense of offering prayer or sacrifice to it. This is illustrated in the case in South Africa and Madagascar. The Malagasy regard serpents as objects of pity rather than of veneration (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 273), holding them to be the abode of dead men’s souls. But the Antimierus had a serpent idol, whose worshippers carried serpents (ib. p. 275); in the case of the Betsileo it is difficult to say whether we have to do with serpent-worship or not; they regard the fanarin as the re-incarnation of a deceased ancestor, make it offerings of blood, and even tend it in an enclosure (ib. p. 277). If these attentions are offered it without arriers pennte and solely because it is one of the kin, we are hardly entitled to call it worship. The cult of the snake implies that an offering is not strictly disinterested.
ANIMALS

Among the Zulus the souls of the dead are said to take up their abode in serpents, termed ithlozi (pl. amathlazi). Various forms of the belief are recorded; according to one, the serpent form is assumed only by an ancestor who wishes to approach a kraal; another version, but slightly different, says that only the serpents which frequent the neighborhood of a kraal are amathlazi. A third authority says that the soul is not bound, as in some of the Malagasy beliefs, to the single soul-animal, but is incarnate in all the species, like several ways. But, among other accounts, that probably unreliable, makes the ithlozi the soul-animal of the living (Int. Arch. xvii. 121; Man, 1904, No. 113; Golden Bough, ii. 409, etc.). As in Madagascar, different species of snakes are the abodes of different classes of men; one for chiefs, another for the common people, another for women (Int. Arch., loc. cit.). Among the Masai, on the other hand, the difference of species marks a difference in the family of the deceased (Hollis, The Masazi, p. 307). In Europe, the form of the serpent, like that of the mouse and other small animals (see above), may be assumed by the soul of a sleeper (Meyer, Germ. Myth. p. 631). The serpent is regarded, according to some of Eastern Europe, sometimes as an ancestor of the tribe, sometimes as the soul-animal of deceased ancestors (Int. Arch., loc. cit.). Many of the tribes in New Caledonia never kill serpents, but no reason is given for this (Parouillet, Trois Ans, p. 113). In North America they were respected (Brinton, Myths, p. 129). In South America the Aicecos believe themselves to be descended from serpents (Tirado, Estudios, p. 39); for other stories of descent see J. F., M’Lennan, Studies, 2nd series, p. 526). Serpents are respected over a large part of Europe, especially those which live in or near human dwellings—probably as a survival of ancestor-worship. In like manner, harmless snakes are tutelary household divinities in the Panjib hills (Cooke, i. 141 f.). The name of the serpent is also frequently tabu (Böckler-Kreuzwald, p. 120; Lloyd, Poignant Life, p. 293; Tradition, v. 149; Asiatic Observer, 1821, p. 451, etc.).

It is only rarely that ceremonies of purification are prescribed for the killer of a serpent; the Amazons custom prescribed that the killer of a boa had to lie in running water for weeks together; during this time no animal could be slaughtered; finally, the body of the snake was buried close to the cattle-fold (Kay, Travels, p. 341). On the other hand, the killing of a snake is a good work in Japan; if the head of the snake is not crushed when it is killed, more will come to take its place (Mittel. d. Ges. Natur.- u. Volkser. Ostas. xv. 232). In Bengal it is believed that barrenness is the penalty for killing a snake (Cooke, i. 236), while in Germanic mythology such an act causes the child of the house to waste away (Meyer, loc. cit.).

The snake is commonly associated with water (see above), and said to reside in water-holes, rivers, etc. (Salvado, Memoirs, p. 260; Meresky, Beiträge, p. 126; Philip, Researches, ii. 117; Church Miss. Rev. xiv. 30; Strahlenberg, Des No. 8, f. 366; cf. the Indian Terms in the Nat. Dict., i. 120, etc.). Snakes are likewise guardians of treasure in folklore generally (Cooke, i. 134-136). Mythical serpent-monsters are also found as earth-carriers (see ‘Earth-Carrier’), or destroyers of the human race (see ‘Creator’); or bears the name of the Ixivi. In Brazil, the term is given to the City (see ‘Creator’); in Chile one is connected with the Deuge myth (Medina, Aborígenes, p. 28 ff.), and the Mirmeces place two on the road followed by the Semina, who are the ancient Minchi. On the Hurons made a monster-serpent the source of all maladies (Rel. des Ind. 1675, p. 75), and for the natives of Victoria the serpent Mindi is the cause of death (Parker, Aborigines, p. 25); for the Aruntas the Magellanic clouds are the teeth of a gigantic serpent, and silence is to be preserved when they are visible (R. G. S. A., S. Aust. Br., ii. 36). In America, according to Brinton, the serpent is often associated with the lightning (Myths, p. 136). Mention should also be made, in this connection, of the ‘snake-dance’ of the Hopis, which are probably expressions of clan totemism, not of obligatory (19 RBEW 638 f.). In South America, serpents are held to be the chief food of the dead (Spix and Borrer, Tucuman, p. 115).

A good deal of mythical lore has gathered round the serpent in Europe. A king is their ruler (Austland, ixiii. 1031; Globus, iv. 353, etc.), and wears a crown which is coveted for its magical properties. In Russia the king is often white, and the skeleton of the white snake makes its possessor the owner of a familiar spirit (ib. xxxi. 293). There is a stone in the snake’s nest which draws poisons out of a man’s body (Jeklkin, Veldstämml. ii. 133; cf. Cooke, ii. 141 f.). In Hindu belief serpents have in their heads jewels of marvellous properties (Cooke, i. 143 f.). He who eats the great white snake understands the language of birds (Ross- Warren, Ethn. 526, p. 137). If a snake is hung up head downwards, it will rain (FLJ v. 91; Wittke, Volksbergl. § 133). St. Patrick banished all snakes from Ireland, and even Irish cattle have the gift of killing the snakes in the meadows where they are (Northumb. Folklore, F. L. S. p. 8). The snakes know a root by which they bring to life a snake that has been killed (Lepechin, Reise, ii. 165). The belief in the king of serpents is also found among the American Indians (Brinton, Myths, p. 137). Folklore likewise knows of many cases of the union of serpents with human beings (MacCulloch, 255-259, 264-267).

In the ancient world the serpent was associated with leechcraft (see Disease and Serpent); the same idea is found in Madagascar (Int. Arch. xvii. 124), and also among the American Indians, perhaps because the snake is in America so often associated with the magician, who is also the leech (Brinton, Myths, pp. 132, 133). The snake is sometimes held to be unlucky (Globus, lxix. 73), but is more often welcomed as the ‘Hausgeist.’ A snake shot out of a gun is a charm against witchcraft (Liebrecht, Zur. Volksk. p. 332; Müllerhen, Sagen, p. 229); and a Huclanian hunter carries a piece of snake to attract game (Globus, lxxvi. 274). In Sussex the first snake should be killed for luck (FLR i. 8). In Bulgaria and France, any snake killed in July is a good work, probably because the snake is regarded as the incarnation of a witch (Straus, Die Bulgaren, p. 34; Holland, Paume, iii. 36). Snakes are burnt in the summer fire (Athenaeus, 1820, July 24; Jones and Kropf, Folktales, p. lix).

In North Africa the Aissouans and other sects of fanatics eat serpents annually or at intervals during the year (Walpole, Memoirs, p. 398; Denon, Voyages, i. 390; Pliny, VN vii. ii. XVII., xxv., xxv. x., xxviii. iii.; Pausaniais, ix. iv. etc.; cf. Bancroft, iii. 429).

The serpent is commonly of good omen; so among the North American sects of the Moos. Cath. 1896, 371; Meresky, Beiträge, p. 126), in Arabia (Nolde, Innerarabien, p. 96), and in medieval Europe (Panzer, Beitrag, ii. 259). In Albania it is unlucky before sunrise and after sunset (Castori, p. 16), and is held to be lucky, but its appearance is a warning that misfortune is near (Petter, Volestämm. iii. 33). In Suffolk it is a death omen (Suffolk Folklore, F. L. S. 5, 329). On the other hand, ii. viii. xxv., xxv. x., xxviii. iii.; Pausaniais, ix. iv. etc. On the other hand, ii. viii. xxv., xxv. x., xxviii. iii.; Pausaniais, ix. iv. etc. On the other hand, ii. viii. xxv., xxv. x., xxviii. iii.; Pausaniais, ix. iv. etc.
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tr. Sohnau, p. 218) so, too, in Norway, when it crawls across the road (Lichtenreit, Zur Volkskunde, p. 236). In Zoroastrianism the serpent is a most evil creature, and to be killed (Vendidad, xiv. 5; Herodotus, i. 140); it was formed by Ahuriman (Bundakishn, ii. 107). The custom of the serpent exists in Armenia (Abejghian, Armenischer Volksbrauche, p. 30). For the serpent, see, further, de Gubernatis, Zool. Mythol. pp. 389-419, Pauliny-Wissowa, a. a. O. (v. 77, 119).

Shallah: the shallah or slahah in the East is regarded as a god (Globus, x. 285). Sharks are sometimes regarded as enchanted men (Wilson, Western Africa, p. 161). The shark was formerly protected by a death penalty inflicted on the killer of one, but this was subsequently abolished by a religious revolution (Rastian, Bilder, p. 169). Shark-worship is said to have existed in Hainhau (Montgomery, Journal, i. 235). In the Solomon Islands the shark is addressed as 'a grandfather' (Zts. Geogr. Ges. Thür. x. 34). Sharks were worshipped in the Sandwich Islands; and if a man who adored them happened to have a child still-born, lie endeavoured to save the child by planting it in the shark's teeth. In order to do this he flung the body into the sea, performing various ceremonies at the same time. There were temples with shark- idols; the priests rubbed bricks that had been moistened with sand and water to give them a gaudy appearance (Golden Bough, ii. 432). In New Georgia the shark is 'hope' ('sacred'), because it eats men. It may not be touched in Rubiana, but in the eastern part it may be killed but not eaten (JAI, xxvi. 384). Sharks are very often the form in which dying people announce their intention of re-appearing; offerings are made to them. In Sia special coconut trees are reserved for the shark; they are clothed with a prayer for rain, and may also use the trees. Other men will join them sometimes and ask for coconuts with the voice of a shark-ghost (Golden Bough, ii. 434-435).

Sheep.—In Greek cult the ram was connected with Zeus; at Eleusis and elsewhere its fleece was used in rites of purification (Farnell, Cults, i. 65; Smith, Rel. Scm., 2. 474). As a substitute for the eldest son of the Athanankids, a ram was offered (Farnell, 184) much prayer for rain was offered to Zeus on Mount Pelion by youths clad in fresh ram- skins (ib. p. 95). Zeus Ammon is derived from Egypt (ib.). In the cult of Artemis the sheep was sometimes tabued (ib. ii. 431). In a sheep-offering to Zeus at Mantinea the wools were consecrated and sprinkled with holy water (R. W. Smith, p. 474). Aphrodite is represented as riding on the ram (Farnell, ii. 675).

Although the sheep is one of the most important sacrificial animals (Int. Arch. xvii. 139, for Africa), it is only in Egypt that we find a sheep- god proper. Amon was the god of Thebes; his worshippers held rams to be sacred, and would not sacrifice them. At the annual festival of the god a ram was, however, slain, and the image of the god was clothed in the skin; they mourned over the body and caried it in a sacred tomb. Amon is represented as a ram-headed god (Golden Bough, ii. 365 f.). Among the Hittites the sheep was regarded as an emblem of an annual sacrifice of a lamb, possibly as a means of expelling the evils which have accumulated. They are said before the ceremony, and show great joy when it is over. The ceremony is begun by a stone circle, and the lamb is led four times round the people, who pluck off bits of its fleece as it passes and put them in their hair; the lamb is then killed on the stones and its blood sprinkled four times over the people. It is then applied to each person individually. It has each rises to go away, he or she places a leaf on the circle of stones. The ceremony is observed on a small scale at other times, particularly when trouble comes upon a family; it is also practised on joyful occasions, such as the return of a son after a long absence (Proc. R. S. Edin. xii. 330). The peculiar sacrifice of a ram is occasionally found in European folklore; near Maubeuge a lamb is killed by one of the squires of the neighbourhood, and is believed to be laden with the sins of the village (Fournier, r. 366). But more commonly the sacrifice is performed without any specific reason being given for the ceremony. It is a common practice in Bohemia, Hungary, and other districts to lead a lamb before a church tower in the autumn in order to procure a good harvest in the following year (Mannhardt, Myth. Forsch. 139 n.). In Finland a lamb which has not been born since the spring is killed in the autumn; it must be slaughtered without using a knife, and no bones must be broken. When it is served up, water, which probably has taken the place of blood, is sprinkled over the threshold, and a portion of the meat offered to the house-spirits and the trees which will serve as May-poles in the following year (Bööer-Krenzeltwold, Der E Lenii Abeg. Geb. p. 87). In East and Central Europe a lamb is commonly sacrificed at Easter or rather at the end of Easter, the simplicity usually being this (Globus, xxxvi. 155, xxx. 93, xi. 71, etc.; cf. Golden Bough, ii. 438). In West Europe there are traces of such a custom at Whitsun-tide; in Hamburg, children do not bring lambs, but lamb heads and water to give to them, so that they may appear sacred (Golden Bough, ii. 438). In Virgen, a lamb is taken in procession on the Sunday after Easter to a mountain-chapel and subsequently sold (Zts. Ver. Volksk. v. 265). The sheep is also figured at the Carnaval (Manzhaner, Antik. Wald- und Feldkulte, p. 191 n.). The Feast of the Fishermen (Vannenschmid, Germ. Ernte- feste, pass.), and at Christmas (Tradition, vi. 255; Mannhardt, op. cit. p. 190). In Wales, people dressed in sheep-skins went round on All Souls' Day (Byegones, May 6, 1891). In some cases the ram or sheep was hunted with or without a subsequent sacrifice (Folklore, xi. 21; Duceange, s. a. Agrains Dei). Probably all these customs are in some degree connected with the idea of the expulsion of evils.

In Madagascar the sheep is one of the animals in which are incarnated the souls of ancestors; various fields have as their tutelary god the steer (v. Genep, Tabou, p. 230). In India there is reason to believe that the sheep was once a sacred animal (Crooke, i. 163 f., ii. 226). A large number of Chinese have a prejudice against mutton; the sheep is, however, regarded as a lucky animal, and its skull is hung over the door to prevent theft (Zoolog. Garten, 1900, 6). In France a lamb is blessed in the church at Christmas in Nievion, and allowed to die of old age (Rolland, France, p. 160). In the same way rich Kahuus consecrate a white ram under the title of 'the ram of heaven'; probably the object is, as in France, to provide the flocks with a tutelary god (Golden Bough, v. 20). The sheep is auspicious as an omen; it is lucky to touch it (Desrousseaux, Mmeur, ii. 254). The skull of a sheep wards off evil (Wiedemann, Ehekoten, p. 452; Ruswurm, Ehenkolk, ii. 281, 283, 402; Mühlen, viii. 39). The sheep figures in various European ceremonies connected with marriage; probably the rites are magical and performed as ceremonies of fertilization. In Poison the newly married had to pass a ram (Mem. Soc. Ant. France, p. 437); at Chatillon-sur-Seine the bride drove the animal thrice round a tub (ib. iv. 119). In Bulgaria and Russia the bride receives a lamb or sheep as 'Morgengabe' (Anthropologie, ii. 587; Holderness, New Russia,
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p. 250. The Gallus take an oath by the sheep (Pinkerton, Africa, i. 8).

Spider.—In the Creation myth of the Sias there was only one being in the lower world, the spider Spider-maiden, fencing even, the one who entered into existence and divided them into clans (10th Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., 1889–1890, p. 261 f.) In like manner, among the Hopis the spider represents the first being in the earth after the flood (W. P. Wissow, p. 111). According to the Teton, Ikto, the spider, was the first being in this world who attained maturity. He was the first to use human speech, and is more cunning than man. All the animals are his kindred, and he commands them. In their myths the spider is deceived by the rabbit (Dorsey, Siouan Cults, p. 472). The Teton prays to gray spiders. When they are going on a journey, they kill a spider if they see one, and pray; it is unlucky to let it pass or to kill it in silence. They tell that the Thunder-beings killed it (10th Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., p. 479). In the mythology of the Akwazip, Anansi, the spider, is a sort of deus ex machina, he acts for carrying away the daughter of the god; hence the cat and the spider are enemies (Petermanns Mit., 1856, 466; Frobenius, Weltanschauung, p. 294). Many of these myths are collected by the West Hudson (C. Smith, Anansi Stories from Jamaica). The Adjadurrals believe that the islands were made by the spider E.G.S.A., S. Aust. Br. ii. iii. 18). In another Australian myth the spider is a monster, and injures everything within the sphere of its influence (Soc. Amer. Miss. Mag., xiv. 112). The Haidas also have a story of a spider who was the mortal enemy of man; he was overcome by T'skanah, who used a magic wand to boil him alive, put him into a bottle, and let him become a mosquito (Smith's Report, 1888, p. 326; cf. Ehrenreich, Myth. u. Legend, d. südamer. Urvölker, p. 33 f.). In a Kayow myth, 'Old Spider' escapes the flood and is concerned with the early history of the human race (Auwalde, 1890, 901). For the Flatheads the residence of their grandparents, the spiders, was in the clouds. Both in Australia (Howitt, Native Races, p. 388) and in America the spider's web is a means of getting up to the sky (Trs. Ethn. Soc. iv. 306). The Cherokees told how the spider brought fire on its web, but was captured before it reached the earth (Foster, Sequoyah, p. 241). It is held in several parts of Europe that to draw a spider's web is to kill the spider (Folklore, xi. 241; Zts. f. Oest. Volkst. ii. 252). In Tuscany it is the custom to kill a spider seen in the morning (Andree, Ethn. Par. p. 8). It is also killed in Poland (Tadad, iv. 355). The Southern Slavs use it in magic; a girl takes a spider and shuts it up, calling on it to show her the destined lover, and promising to set it free if it does so, and if not, to kill it (Kraus, Sitten, p. 173). There is a curious diversity in the omens given by spiders; in Ditmarschen a small black spider is a death omen (Am Urqueld, i. 7). A spider in the evening is lucky, in the morning unlucky (ib. p. 64). In America the reverse is the case (Bolte, Studien, xxxii. 169). In Jewish folklore the spider is hated (JE vi. 607). For other spider omens see John of Salisbury, i. 13; Wolf, Beitr., ii. 199; Heier, Sagen, p. 224; Birlinger, p. 110, etc. For the spider in folk-tales see de Gerber, Sagen, ii. 161–164.

Stork.—The stork was sacrosanct in ancient Thebes, and a killer of one was punished as though he were a murderer (de Visser, Götter, p. 157). It enjoys the same respect wherever it is found in Europe. It is also respected in Egypt (Globus, Ixix. 257), and in Morocco (Clarke, Travels, iii. 164). It is a bird to be a hospital for sick storks and a fund for burying dead ones. The stork is commonly said to bring the children. Its presence brings luck to the house; in particular, it is a safeguard against the danger of fire; its efficacy is discounted by the stork's supposed practice of removing its nest from a house that is shortening to fire. In Bohemia, etc., to have a stork, however, is thought to bring bad luck (Wiedemann, Ehsten, p. 454), for, where one nests, one of the family or a head of cattle dies. So, too, in Bohemia and Moravia, a stork has twelve storks; circling over a house, means fire (Grohmann, Abergl. Nos. 438, 439; cf. Meyer, Germ. Myth. p. 110). For other omens and beliefs see Globus, xiv. 22.

The stork is one of the migrants which must be greeted when they appear in the spring; the house-stork must learn all that has happened in its absence. In other countries he is a man (Zts. deut., Phil., i. 345). In spite of the sacrosanctness of the stork, it is used in magic (ib.; Grohmann, Abergl. No. 434), and its gall cures a scorpion's bite in Jewish folk-belief (JE xi. 550). For the stork in folk-tales see de Gerber, Sagen, Zool. Myth. ii. 381–382.

Swallow.—There seems to have existed a custom in ancient Greece of carrying a swallow round from house to house, singing a song (Atheneus, Deipnosophists, viii. pp. 369–373). The swallow and its young are important in the bird races; its appearance in the spring are very common (Kuhn and Schwartz, Nordl. Sagen, p. 452). We find the swallow carried round in modern Greece, a wooden bird on a cylinder, and a song is sung (Roodi, Csok. and Lore, p. 136; cf. p. 271). In Macedonia the wooden swallow is encircled with leaves. Eggs are collected and riddles are asked, the answer to which is 'swallow' (Bent, Cyclopes, p. 434). The swallow is a symbol of Fatum among the Savages of the Crimea, and the songs refer to the advent of spring (Miladinov, Bulgar. narodni песни, p. 322).

The swallow is everywhere regarded as sacred; it is unlucky to kill it (Kaindl, Hausw., p. 194; Strackrjann, Abergl. p. 45; Globus, xii. 325; Brit. Ass. Ethnog. Sure. Scotl. Nos. 387–383; Alvarez, Folklore, ii. 224, etc.); it may not be touched (Tradition, v. 100), or caught (B. trad. D. p. 121). Its presence is regarded as lucky (Zts. Ver. Volkst. x. 299; Rohrokl, D. Glaube, ii. 107). In spite of its sacred character, it is used in magic; in Bohemia the blood of the first swallow drives away fleas (Wutke, D. Abergl. p. 159). The first swallow is important in other respects; it has long been the custom to draw omens from it (Pfliny, HV xxv. 25; Hoffmann's Panomyschhe, G. Ges. a. S., u. Lit. i. 325, and many modern instances; Bartsch, Sagen, ii. 172; Germania, xix. 319). As a rule it is of good omen, but in Thuringia it means a death in the family if a young swallow is thrown out of the nest (Zts. Ver. Volks. x. 266). A swallow in a room is a death omen (Ernan, Archiv, p. 628). For other omens see Grohmann, Abergl. Nos. 496, 504, etc. Swallows are sold in Paris and elsewhere and set free by the purchasers (Birring, p. 311; Rev. des trad. pop., iv. 229). A similar custom exists in Japan, and is especially practised at funerals (MS note). For the swallow see also Pauly-Wissowa, s.e. 'Aberglätte.'

Swan.—By the opinion of Jacob Grimm, the goose has supplanted the swan in mythology to some extent; but the opposite view seems nearer the truth. Perhaps the same applies to the duck. In Europe the swan is said to be a hospital for sick storks and a fund for burying dead ones. The swan is commonly said to bring the children. Its—\textit{swan-maiden stories} (see 'Myths' above), but
in: Picardy we find the duck taking the place of the swan (Romania, viii. 256). It may be noted that the subjects of transformation are not necessarily female (ib. ; cf. Mannhardt, Germ. Mythen, pp. 378-379).

The swan is important in the religion of N. Asia (cf. Cochrane, Ped. Journey, ii. 163; Georgi, Bemerkungen, p. 282). Among the Tatars a man who catches a swan passes it on to his next neighbour; when a woman catches a swan she gives it to her husband; if the swan possesses it on, and so on, until it is no longer presentable, when it is let loose (Castrén, Vorlesungen, p. 530). The oath by the swan was well known in the Middle Ages. In Moscow a swan is sometimes given to the newly married, who alone, in the opinion of the common people, has a right to eat it (Rec. des Trad. Pop. iv. 324). In Germanic folk-lore the swan is associated with the Norns, who sometimes assume its form (Meyer, Germ. Myth. p. 168). Its cry foretells a thau, and it is pre-eminent a bird of prophecy, often of coming ill (ib. p. 112).

Thunderbird.—Widely spread over the American continent is the belief in a great bird as the cause of thunder, which also figures in the Creation myths of some tribes, notably the Chipewyans, as the being which brought the world from beneath the water. Omondick, *Mithridate*, (cf. Dunn, Orygen, p. 102). The Hare-skin Indians describe it as a gigantic bird which dwells in winter in the land of the dead in the West-South-West, together with migratory birds and animals. When the warm weather comes, it returns with the ghosts in its train. When it shakes its tail-feathers, it makes the thunder, and the flash of its eyes is the lightning. It causes death; it is an evil deity. Dowitch, *Hiawatha*, etc. (ib. 282) Vancouver Island the Aits call the thunderbird Tootooch; its wings make the thunder, his forked tongue the lightning. Once there were four such birds, but Quawteat, the God of Thunder, killed them in the sea (Sproat, Scenes, pp. 177, 218). The Dakotas say that the old bird begins the thunder, but the young birds keep it up and do the damage; the old bird is wise and good, and kills no one (Tylor, Prim. Cult. i. 363). In Central America we find the bird Voe associated with Hurakan, the god of the tempest (Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh, p. 71). In South America the idea is found among the Brazilians (Müller, Am. Urvcl., pp. 222, 271; but see also Ehrenreich, Myth. und Legend. d. südamer. Urvölker, p. 13). The same conception is found in West Africa among the Ewe-speaking peoples. Kthalmor or So, the god of lightning, is conceived as a flying god, who makes the noises of the sky, that is to say, "of a bird; his name means 'bird that throws out fire.' He casts the lightning from the midst of the black cloud; the thunder is caused by the flapping of his wings, and the thunderous sounds are found among the Bantu. The Zulus think a brown bird is found at the spot where the lightning strikes; the Amazopos say that the bird causes the lightning to hurry out for its task; according to the Romans, the bird sets its own fate, or rather, and cause by the lightning. The thunder is the flapping of its wings; the female bird causes loud, cracking thunder, the male distant, rumbling sounds. In Natal we are told that when a whale is killed by the cause of the lightning (Kidd, Essential Kafir, p. 120; cf. Moffat, South Africa, p. 338; Casalis, Basutos, p. 266; Callaway, Religion of Amazulu, p. 119). The conception of the thunderbird is also found in the Hervey Islands (Ellis, Researches, ii. 417; Williams, Enterprises, p. 93), and among the Marshall Islands (Mitt. d. Schutzbez. i. 66), and the Karens have a similar idea (Mason, Burma, p. 217).

Tiger.—A myth of descent from a tiger ancestor is found among the Bihls and Rajputs (Crooke, i. 211). It is associated with Siva and Durga, but tiger-worship proper is confined to wilder tribes; in Nepal the tiger festival is known as Bagh Jatra, and the worshippers dance disguised as tigers (ib. i. 212). The tiger is likewise worshipped by the Santals (ib. p. 213), while in Mizipar, Bageswar, the tiger-god, is located in a bira tree, and is said to take human form at night and call people by name; those who answer fall sick (ib. i. 256 f., ii. 78). The Warlis worship Waghia ('bird of tigers'), a shapeless stone smeared with red lead and ghi, which is held to protect them from tigers (Home and For. Miss. Rec. 1836, 390; cf. Rec. of Free Ch. vii. 292). In Hanoi a tiger-god is worshipped; a shrine contains an image of a tiger (XT. Cong. Orient. i. 294); and a tiger-god is also found in Manchuria (Miss. Cath. 1885, 259). The tiger is represented in Sumatra as the abode of the souls of the dead; it is the god of the Norns (Meyer, Battalinder, p. 308), and a name-tabu is practised. A like custom is found in Sunda (Tijdsschr. T. L. vi. 80) and parts of India, where the souls of those who devote their lives to tigers are worshipped (Crooke, ii. 211). For other cases of name-tabu see Frazer, Golden Bough, i. 457.

The hunting of the tiger is naturally attended with much ceremony. The Sumatrans attack tigers only when they are wounded, or in self-defence. The Menangkabaner try to catch them alive in order to beg their forgiveness before killing them; they show them other marks of respect; no one will use a path that has been untrodden for more than a year; at night they will not walk one behind another or knock the sparks off a firebrand (Golden Bough, ii. 393 f.). The people of Melamul have a tiger clan which honours the tracks of a tiger, and claims to be spared by it; when a tiger has been shot, the women of the clan offer it betel (ib.). When the Batteras have killed a tiger they bring its corpse to the chief; the reverse happens when a man kills a tiger; people of the tiger clan make offerings to it; a priest then explains why it has been killed, and begs the spirit to convey his message to the soul of the tiger, so that it may not be angry and do harm; after this a dance is held, and most of the body is buried, only those parts being saved which are useful in medicine; in particular, the whiskers are burnt off at an early stage, so that they may not be used as poison (Golden Bough, ii. 394; Tijdsschr. xxiv. 172). Connected with the atonement for the death of a tiger is the Indian belief that a garden where a tiger has been killed loses its fertility (Crooke, i. 212). Not only is it dangerous to kill a tiger, but the animal may have been killed by the tiger, which has its pelt; the 'tiger ghost' is worshipped (Crooke, p. 213). Among the Garrows a man who has been killed by a tiger is believed to appear in a dream or in the form of a tiger, and his name is changed (Mission Life, N. S. x. 250). In North Arabia the ceremony of 'ya,' or tabu, is strictly enforced when any one has been killed by a tiger (JAI ii. 240). Connected with tiger-worship is the practice of keeping a tiger's tail and other parts of the body, or even the tiger's name (Miss. Cath. 1897, 360; Crooke, loc. cit.). Among the Gonds, two men, believed to be possessed by Bhagawar, sit at the front of a tiger and fall upon a kid with their teeth (Crooke, ii. 216).
Besides being the abode of the soul of a dead man, a tiger may be the temporary or permanent form of a living human being. In India a root is said to confer the transformation, and nother root is the antidote (Crooke, ii. 216). In Central Java the power of transformation is hereditary, but the wer-tiger is held to be friendly, especially if his friends call his name, or he is affected by the various kinds of stone which make the tiger the soul of a dead, not a living man, see Tijdschr. xii. 568. The belief in the wer-tiger is also found in the Malay peninsula (Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 113) and China.

Closely connected with the wer-tiger is the familiar of the wizard in tiger form. A connecting link is found in the Thana belief that mediums are possessed by a tiger spirit (Boudoir Gaz. xiii. i. 156). The Binus of Johore believe that every pawang has a tiger subject to him, which is immortal (Journ. Ind. Arch. i. 276, 277). The Malays believe that the soul of the dead wizard enters the body of a tiger; the corpse is put in the forest and supplied with rice and water for seven days, during which the transmigration, which is the result of an ancient pact made by the pawang’s ancestor, is effected, and the son of the previous tiger to succeed his father. The owner performs a ceremony to secure his soul (Newbold, i. 387). The tiger is largely used in magic. In North India and Korea it is eaten in order to gain courage (Golden Bough, ii. 336). In India the fangs, claws, and whiskers are used in love charms and as prophylactics against possession, especially in the case of young children (Crooke, ii. 214 f.). The whiskers are regarded as poisonous in Sumatra (Tijdschr. loc. cit.) and in India (Crooke, loc. cit.). Tiger’s flesh is burnt to keep blight from the crops (ib.). Some Dayaks keep a tiger’s skull in the head-house; to move it is said to cause heavy rain, and to touch it is punished by death by lightning, while its complete removal would cause the death of all the Dayaks (JERAS, S.B. No. 5, p. 159).

Corresponding to lecanthrogy in Europe, there is in India a pathologioal condition in which the sufferer believes that he is turned into a tiger (Sprengel, Auswahld, iii. 27). The Garrows say that the mania is connected with a certain drug, which is laid on the forehead. The wer-tiger begins by tearing the ear-rings out of his ears, and then wanders about, avoiding all human society. In about fourteen days the mania begins to subside. Although fits of this kind are not attributed to witches in India, the patients are said to be seen with ‘their eyes glaring red, their hair dishevelled and bristled, while their heads are often turned round in a strange convulsive manner.’ On the nights of such fits they are believed to go abroad and ride on tigers (Malcolm, Memoir of Central India, ii. 212). It seems, therefore, not improbable that the fit in question is of the same nature.

Tortoise, turtle.—Both in Asia (Miss. Herald, xviii. 383; cf. Bastian, Bilder, p. 356; Crooke, ii. 255) and in America the turtle is one of the mythical animals on which the world rests. In the Iroquois myth the world was at first covered with water, and when Antaecints fell from heaven, the animals held a conference to decide how she was to be received, and the turtle caught her on her back, the fish and animals were then brought up by water-fowl! the earth was formed (21st Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. p. 180, etc.). The turtle is an important Iroquois totem, and the clan descent is from a turtle who threw off its shell (Francis, Tar. 7, p. 3). In like manner the tortoise is a totem of the Mundari Kols, and is also worshipped and sacrificed elsewhere in India (Crooke, loc. cit.). In Zoroastrianism, on the other hand, the tortoise was an evil creature, and consequently was to be killed (Vendidad, xiv. 5). A turtle taba exists in Madagascar (v. Garrows, in Java (Tijdschr. T. L.V. xxv. 575), and Pomota (Routings in the Pacific, p. 243); and the Kwaps were not allowed to lift a small water-tortoise by its tail, lest there should be a rain (van Heurk, viii. 130). The turtle was sacrificed in Pomota (Ches. C. 1874, 378). The Zuñis have the turtle as one of their totems. Sometimes they send to fetch turtles with great ceremony, and apparently each family keeps its own. It refuses to enter the water until after it has been killed, its flesh and bones deposited in the little river, and its shell made into a dance rattle. The object of the ceremony is obscure; Frazier suggests that the turtle are fetched in the form of turtles and sent back to spirit-land; it seems very probable that the turtle is killed in order that it may be a messenger; but it does not seem that the ceremony is performed only by the turtle clan; how far, therefore, the kinship terms applied to it are merely complimentary it is impossible to say (Golden Bough, i. 371). Turtle-fishing is an occupation surrounded by many tabas; in Madagascar the fisher had to eat the turtle on the shore, and the shell had to be left there until it was used. All the village took part in the turtle feast, and it was not allowable to eat other food with it. If these tabas are not observed, the turtles leave the shore (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 287). In the islands of Torres Straits many magical ceremonies were performed to prepare a canoe for turtle-fishing. There were many tabas connected with the fishing, chiefly of a sexual character; turtle dances were also performed. The fixing of the taboo is treated of in (Camb. Univ. Exp. Reports, vol. v. pp. 196, 207, 271, 330-336). For the myths and folk-tales of the tortoise see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 95-95, 360-570.

Whale.—The Tongans regard the whale as the abode of certain deities, and never kill it; when they chance to come near one, they offer it scented oil or kava (Prins, Cult. ii. 352). Among the Haidas the fin-backed whale is taboo, on the ground that a dead man’s soul sometimes enters it (JAI xxi. 20). As a rule, however, the whale, like other large mammals, is feared but not exactly worshipped. It has a certain veneration for it, and have a special ritual for the whale fishery; before the voyage begins, both husband and wife submit to a certain number of tabas, of which chastity is one; the man remains in his hut and fasts regularly; in his absence his wife does the same. After various magical ceremonies, the boat is covered with branches by the magicians, the fishers sing supplications to the old whales, which they do not pursue, to give them their young ones. After bringing the whale to land, the canoe backs away from the shore and then returns at full speed, the harpooneers in the bow; they harpoon the animal again, and are again painted and carried to their huts, where, as a part of the ceremonies, their continence at once comes to an end; the whale is then cut up, and preparations for a feast are made; the carcass is decorated with necklaces, and one of the fishers performs a long prayer or address. Thereupon the whale is divided, and each hut receives a portion (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 224 ff.).

In preparation for the whale fishing the Aleutians celebrate a festival; after killing a number of dogs, they carry a wooden image of a whale into a hut with loud shouts, and cover it up so that no light can get in; then they bring it out and throw it into the sea (Krach-ennikov, ii. 215). The Kanigmiasts consider whales to be in communication with evil spirits,
and fear them. They seem to have expiated the death of the whale as the Amins do that of the human beings. When a whale was killed in a special village; dead whales were buried in caves, and were regarded as tutelary divinities; they were placed in positions resembling those which they took in life. Their ribs and other portions were made to them; it was believed that if a man put a piece of slate at the entrance to the cave the dead would prepare a spearhead (Rev. d'Anth. ii. 679-80). On the island of Hwec whale taboos were taken during the period they lived; the fisher-men believe they searched for eagles' feathers, bears' hair, etc., as talismans; when the season was over, they hid their fishing implements in the mountains caves with the dead bodies; they stole the bodies of successful fisher-men, some said as talismans, others in order to prepare poison from them (Lisiansky, Voyage, pp. 174, 209). In Vancouver Island whale-fishers are carefully selected; for months before the fishing they are kept from earthquakes; they take, in consequence, wash three times a day, redden their bodies, etc. Any accident during the fishing is put down to a violation of these tabus, and punishment attributed to the death of the whale. The whole of the village shares in the proceeds of the fishing (Rev. Sci., Nov. 4, 1890). A whale dance is performed at Cape Flattery (Swan, Indians p. 70). In Nootka Sound a feast is held after the whale fishery, and the chief, before distributing the portions to the guests, performs a sort of pantomime, during which he imitates the blowing of a whale (de Saussure, New Voyages, i.; Roquefeuil, p. 24).

The chief is buried in a special hut, which contains eight images of whales made of wood and placed in a line; after the bodies have been under ground some time, they dig them up, take off the heads, and place them on the backs of these images; the reason given is that it is done in memory of their skill in throwing the harpoon; but it has more probably a magical intention. When a whale is caught, the chief goes to the hut to offer some of its blubber to his ancestors and return thanks to the sun (9); after the festival mentioned above, the chief carves a wooden whale and puts it before the shed (ib. p. 102). The Eskimos of Greenland put on their best clothes for the whale fishery, because the whale cannot endure dirtiness; if they wore dirty clothes or some one took part in the chase who had touched a dead body, the whale would escape (La Harpe, xvi. 266; Fowler, Whale Fishery, p. 24). The chief is buried at the bottom of a cave, is carried with, and is himself a magician, being even associated with the dragon of Midgard (Meyer, German Myth. p. 124.). Among the Yupkans the initiants are bound to abstain from certain parts of the whale (South Am. Miss. Mag. iii. 117). In South Africa the Yaos make images of whales on the ground, at the initiation of young men (Macedon, Africana, i. 131). The Antillean Indians believe, that before it became a human, the whale was a fish; it was, however, sometimes interpreted as a wolf (ib.); some stories connected Apollo with the wolf, some possibly due to a misunderstanding of his epithet ἄπωλός (Iliad, iv. 101, 149), probably meaning ‘twilight-born’ (Meyer, Handb. der griech. Etymologie, iv. 519), but interpreted by popular etymology as ‘wolf-born.’ In Delphi was a bronze image of a wolf; this was explained as commemorating the finding of a treasure with the aid of a wolf. Like Rondard and Leblanc, many children of Apollo by human mothers were said to have been suckled by wolves (Lang, Myth., ii. 220; Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, p. 18). The wolf was also associated with the folk-lore of Africa, the Lyceans, where a human sacrifice took place, succeeded by a cannibalistic feast, participation in which was believed to result in transformation into wolves; according to a later legend, one portion of the human flesh was served up among the other sacrificial dishes, and the eater was believed to become a wer-wolf (Lang, Myth., etc., ii. 283). At Rome the wolf was associated with Mars, and the Lupercale is sometimes interpreted as a wolf festival; if the Luperici were wolf-priests, it is probably due to the connexion of the wolf with Mars and the wolf cave (Fowler, Rom. Fest. Ph. 210-221).

A study resembling that of Jonah and the whale is a fairly wide-spread myth (Tylor, Prim. Cults. iii. 399). For the Dog-Rib Indians the swallowing of a man, and his escape through being drawn out by his sister's shoe-lace, form the basis of a derivation from the Deluge myth; the whale in his wrath raised great waves and inundated the earth (Petitot, Traditions, p. 319). The same incident of the swallowing is found among the Haidas and other tribes of the North-West Coast (Am. Anth. xi. 258, x. 370; Swan, N. W. Coast. ii. 496). One of the features of Man- bosho's career is the victory over a monster who swallowed him (Schoolcraft, Algic Researches, i. 138). At Eromanga a story is told of a man who fell into the water and was swallowed by a whale, but escaped because his ear-rings prickled the inside of the monster (Murray, Missions, p. 180; Turner, Nineteen Years, p. 406). The same incident is found in the Paumotu archipelago (Miss. Cath. 1884, 243). Many nations attribute the salvation of all save one woman to a monster who swallows them (Casalis, Langue Suchuana, p. 97). Among the Warangis of East Africa it is a snake which comes out of the sea (Mitt. d. Schutzgeb. xii. 45).

Wolf.—Outside Europe, where the wer-wolf figures prominently in the popular belief of many countries, the wolf is, from a mythological point of view, comparatively unimportant. The Tallincks have a god, who is said to be the head of the wolf pluriety (Bancroft, iii. 101). It has, nevertheless, been denied that Khannakh the god has anything to do with the wolf (Jaët. xviii. pp. 144, 201). Probably the wolf was originally worshipped or received offerings, as was the case among the Luts (Golden Bough, ii. 422; in process of time the cult was associated with that of Apollo, and it was supposed that he received his title from having exterminated wolves (ib.). Many stories connected Apollo with the wolf, some possibly due to a misunderstanding of his epithet ὁ λυκερός (Iliad, iv. 101, 149), probably meaning ‘twilight-born’ (Meyer, Handb. der griech. Etymologie, iv. 519), but interpreted by popular etymology as ‘wolf-born.’ In Delphi was a bronze image of a wolf; this was explained as commemorating the finding of a treasure with the aid of a wolf. Like Rondard and Leblanc, many children of Apollo by human mothers were said to have been suckled by wolves (Lang, Myth., ii. 220; Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, p. 18). The wolf was also associated with the folk-lore of Africa, the Lyceans, where a human sacrifice took place, succeeded by a cannibalistic feast, participation in which was believed to result in transformation into wolves; according to a later legend, one portion of the human flesh was served up among the other sacrificial dishes, and the eater was believed to become a wer-wolf (Lang, Myth., etc., ii. 283). At Rome the wolf was associated with Mars, and the Lupercale is sometimes interpreted as a wolf festival; if the Luperici were wolf-priests, it is probably due to the connexion of the wolf with Mars and the wolf cave (Fowler, Rom. Fest. Ph. 210-221).

The Kanitchevats celebrated a wolf festival and related an astrological myth (Kranemninkov, p. 129). When the Koriaks have killed a wolf, they dress one of their number in its skin and dance round him as they do round the carnival; saying that it was a Russian who killed him (Golden Bough, ii. 397); the Tunguses kill a wolf with fear (Erman, Archiv. xxi. 25). When the Kwakiatl killed a whale, the Columbia Indians would, they lay it on a blanket and wait over the body; each person must eat four morsels of its heart. They bury it and give away the weapon with which it was killed. They believe that killing
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A wolf causes scarcity of game (Golden Boukh2, ii. 396). In the same way in ancient Athens any one who killed a wolf had to bury it by subscription (ib.). Possibly the Cree custom of painting the faces of their canoes with wolves’ heads and red ochre is a propitiatory ceremony (Hearne, Northern Ocean, p. 363), for there is a prohibition of killing wolves among them, which is not, however, universal (ib., p. 340). In the tribe, the Chipewyans, forbid women to touch a wolf’s skin (Dunn, Oregon, p. 106). It is very common to use another name for the wolf than the ordinary one (Golden Boukh2, i. 545; LIT VII. vii. 55, etc.). The Romans regarded the wolf as unclean, and purified the city with water and sulphur if a wolf got into the Capitol or the temple of Jupiter (de Gubernatis, p. 329).

The wolf is frequently found among the tutelary animals of the dancing or secret societies of North America. The Nootkas relate that wolves once took away a chief’s son and tried to kill him; failing to do so, they became his friends, and on his return to the house, brought him more of the other young men into the society, the rites of which they taught him. In the ceremony a pack of wolves, i.e. men with wolf masks, appears and captures those who are bringing him back apparently dead, and the society has to revive him (Golden Boukh2, ii. 434 ff.). Similar associations are found among the Kwakintins (Report U.S. National Museum, 1885, 477-478), and among the Dakotas, by whom parts of the animal I am used in magic, though they may not kill it (except, probably, at initiation), or eat it, or even step over on it (Frazer, Tot. p. 50; cf. Schurz, Alterskreise, p. 206). These societies in general, pp. 150, 300 ff.). In connexion with these societies may be mentioned a curious confraternity that existed in Normandy till late in the last century. A prominent part in the midsummer ceremonies was taken by the Brotherhood of the Loup Vert and its chief; they ran round the fire hand in hand, and had to capture (while belaboured by the man selected for the headship, to which was attached the title of Green Wolf) in the following year (Golden Boukh2, iii. 392).

The corn-spirit is believed to take the form of a wolf (Golden Boukh2, ii. 264 ff.), and the binder of the last sheaf is sometimes called ‘the wolf.’ The wolf also plays a considerable part in the carnival festivity and at the Carnival in Nuremberg (Mannhardt, Ant. Wald- und Feldwutte, p. 323). In Norse mythology witches and giantesses ride on wolves yoked with serpents (Meyer, Germ. Myth., p. 142), while the demonic Fenrir-wolf is too well known to require more than passing mention here. In Zoroastrianism wolves rank as most evil animals (Yasna, ix. 18), and should be killed (Vendidad, xvii. 65). A wolf must be seen by a man before it spies him, or evil results will follow (Yasna, ix. 21)—a belief which has its parallels in classical lore and in modern Europe (Darmesteter, Etudes iraniennes, ii. 234). In Armenia, in like manner, wolves are even more evil than serpents, and numerous charms are used against them (Abeughian, Armen. Volksglaube, 114-116).

As the last dangerous animal to survive in many parts of Europe, the wolf has given its name to the group of beliefs based on the idea of the temporary or permanent transformation of living men into wolves or other animals (see Lycanthropy). The people of the Caucasus say that women are transformed into wolves as a punishment for sin, and retain the form for seven years. A spirit appears to them at night bearing a wolf skin, which the woman must wear, or she will acquire wolfish tendencies, and devours children. At times she puts off the wolf skin, and if any one can burn it the woman vanishes in smoke (Haxthausen, Transkaukasien, i. 323. For wer-wolves in general see Tylor, Prim. Cult. i. 312; Hertz, Der Werwolf; Baring-Gould, A Book of Witches). A very similar belief is found in Armenia (Abeughian, iii. 118). As an ominous animal the wolf is commonly auspicious. For myths and folk-tales of the wolf see de Gubernatis, Zoö. Myth. ii. 142-149. For the wolf in Russia also Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. ‘Abergläube, p. 81.

Wren.—All over Europe the wren is called the ‘king of the birds’ (Golden Boukh2, ii. 442), and a German story tells how it gained the position in a contest with the eagle (de Gubernatis, ii. 298). In France and the British Isles it is accounted unlucky to kill a wren or harry its nest (Golden Boukh2, loc. cit.), but there was also a custom of hunting it annually (Folklore, xi. 290; BHR xxxviii. 329; IQ, 6th ser. x. 492, xi. 177, 297; Croker, Researches in the S. of Ireland, p. 233) at Christmas or somewhat later. In the Isle of Man the bird was killed on the night of Dec. 24, and fastened, tied to the chimney, in the house. It was then carried round to every house, and finally taken in procession to the churchyard and buried. The feathers were distributed, and certain lines sung to the accompaniment. The wren was formerly boiled and eaten. In Ireland and Wales the bird was sometimes carried round alive. In France the bird was struck down, and the successful hunter received the title of ‘King’ (Golden Boukh2, ii. 446). In Limousin the ‘roi de la Tirevessie’ was named, whereupon he had to strip naked and throw himself into the water. He then took a wren upon his wrist and proceeded into the town, where he took off his feathers and scattered them in the air; finally, the wren was handed over to the representative of a square (Tradition, iv. 160). Therewith a wooden wren was attached to a high post and shot at; if it was not hit, a fine had to be paid. In Berry the newly married took a wren on a perch to the square; it was put on a waggion drawn by oxen (ib. p. 364; Rolland, Fauve, p. 297). At Entrailles the wren had to be sent, rea (i.e.), and it is probable that these ceremonies are connected with a former annual expulsion of evils; in Kaumtchatka a similar ceremony is performed in connexion with an annual festival (Krachehenikow, p. 147); a small bird is captured from the house, and is baked and tasted, and the remainder thrown into the fire.

The wren is considered of good omen in Japan (Chamberlain, Kojiki, p. 241 n.), and among the Ainu (Batchelor, p. 430); in the Isle of Man fishermen take one to sea (Rolland, Fauve, p. 295), and it is used in the Tyrol folk-medecine (Heyl, p. 139). Among the Karens it is believed to be able to cause rain (Miss. Cath. 1888, 261). In Australia the shell wren is a ‘sex totem’ (Golden Boukh2, iii. 416); near Tanganyik it seems to be a totem (Miss. Cath. 1885, 351). Both in Europe (Ann. Phil. Chret. 3rd ser. ii. 148) and in Victoria (Dawson, Aust. Ab. ii. 52) the wren is said to have brought fire from heaven or elsewhere. The wrens of one brood are said to be re-united on Christmas night (Ann. Phil. Chret. 11.). A song of the wren figures in the Fawne Hako-cerimony (22 KEW II. 191 f.).

LITERATURE.—The following is a complete list in alphabetical order (with the exception of a few publications which are cited throughout the article, with a few additions. Anonymous books and periodicals fall, also in alphabetical order.

ANIMISM. — Definition and Scope. — In the language of philosophy, Animism is the doctrine which places the source of mental and even physical life in an entity ascribed by the beliefs of a people, either directly or indirectly, to the body. From the point of view of the history of religions, the term is taken, in a wider sense, to denote the belief in the existence of spiritual beings, which are ascribed to bodies of which they constitute the real personal identity, or souls without necessary connexion with a determinate body (spirits). For convenience in treating the subject, it will be of advantage to study Animism separately under two heads: (i.) Worship of the souls of men and animals, manifesting itself above all as worship of the dead (Necrolatry); (ii.) Worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with certain bodies or objects (Spiritism); (iii.) Worship of spiritual beings who direct the permanent or periodically recurring phenomena of nature (Naturalism).

Animism in the sense just stated represents an attempt to account for a rational development of man’s conception of the Universe. It is the religion and the philosophy of all non-civilized peoples. It predominates at the commencement of all the historical forms of worship. It is still shown in all savage tribes, and completely developed, among the survivals of folk-lore. In all probability, from the moment when man began to inquire into the cause of phenomena, external or internal, he thought to find in the only source of activity with which he was directly acquainted, namely, an act of will. Objects which moved, or which he believed capable of moving; gave him the impression either of bodies set in motion by hidden beings, or of bodies endowed, like himself, with will and personality. Our languages bear witness to a mental condition in which those who created them attributed life, personality, and sex to the forces of nature.

The imaginary personalities that controlled the sun, the moon, the stars, the clouds, the waters, etc., were not thought of separately from their

* A similar conception is found at the present day among non-civilized peoples. "The Ashivis or Zulus," writes Mr. Framlingham, "suppose the sun a great round body, or, as they say, a man, living and moving in the sky, and sea, in all their phenomena and elements, and all animate and inanimate objects as well. The men and beasts, the trees, plants and other living beings, form a great system of all-conscious and inter-related life, in which the degrees of relationship seem to be determined largely, if not wholly, by their class and rank in the natural order of creation. The Mission Institution, vol. ii. [1839] p. 9]. Again, Sir E. P. Troum relates that the native inhabitants of New South Wales, and of the Tasmanian group of islands, think of the heavenly bodies, atmospheric phenomena, and inanimate objects, all as beings of the same nature, alike composed of a soul or a spirit, but differing only in the extent of their powers (JAF, vol. vi. p. 577).
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visible garb, any more than the personality of a man was conceived of apart from his body. But it cannot have been long before a new intermediate presence felt. The experience of dreams led men to the conclusion that their ego was different from their body, that it could separate itself from the latter—temporarily during sleep, finally by death and continue to exist. Thus a native of Australia, being asked by a traveller whether he believed that his yambo could quit his body, replied: 'It must be so; for, when I sleep, I go to distant places, I meet with my sons and speak with those that are dead.' (Hovitt, On some Australian Beliefs in JAL, vol. xii. [1884] p. 189).

1. Necrolatry.—It will of course be understood that, in employing the terms 'soul,' 'spirit,' 'personality,' we do not mean to attribute to savages any notion of immaterial entities, such as is arrived at by making abstraction successively of all the properties of matter except force. The soul is to be regarded as a kind of body and a higher, more subtle, essence, generally invisible but not always intangible, subject in a certain measure to all the limitations of human beings, but endowed at the same time with mysterious powers and functions.

Hitherto no people has been met with which does not believe in the existence and the survival of human souls, which does not admit the possibility of their intervention in the affairs of the living, and which does not seek to enter into relations with them by processes which are everywhere closely analogous—either by offering to them anything of which they were fond during their lifetime, or by applying to them the methods resorted to by sorcery in order to avert or to control superhuman powers. The assertions of some authors to a contrary effect are due to incomplete observation, hasty generalization, or misunderstanding of the sense of the terms employed.

The souls of living beings are generally believed to be the pale and vague image of the body itself. It is the double, as it appears in dreams. Sometimes the soul is assimilated to the shadow cast by the body ('the shades' of poetical language), or to its reflection in water. At other times we find it confused with the breath (Lat. anima, Gr. άναμνη, Skr. prāja, Heb. רוח—'breath,' 'spirits,' or with the beating of the heart and the pulse. Again it may have a special form attributed to it, borrowed from living beings or what are viewed as such: birds, serpents, insects, weapons, sea-deities, meteors, storms, vaporet, etc. There are peoples who imagine that men possess a plurality of souls, each with its distinct role.

Soul, it is supposed, may feel the counter-stroke of wounds inflicted upon the body or of diseases which attack it. Again, the same body may become successively the seat of a number of souls, and, conversely, the same soul may inhabit in turn various bodies. Hence the magical processes, not uncommon among non-civilized peoples, whereby it is sought to replace the original soul by a superior one; and the custom, observed among some of the most civilized races, of putting on a new garment, when death, the moment he shows the first signs of mental or physical decrepitude, the personage—sorcerer, chief, or king—whom it concerns the tribe to preserve in the full possession of his faculties, to put out of his way all events and accidents that in the least way may determine the soul to quit the body. What becomes of the double after death? In general it is supposed to continue to haunt the corpse as long as any part of it remains, or to frequent the vicinity of the dwelling. But, after a certain number of times the notion of survival is limited to the moon, or less vivid recollection retained of the deceased.

'Ask the negro,' writes Du Chaillu (Tus. 369.), 'where is the spirit of his father or his mother, he says he knows not where; it is done. Ask him about the spirits of his father or brother who died yesterday, and to this question he answers: 'It is in the air.'

At the end of a certain period, or as the result of certain rites, the soul, as it is sometimes held, reincarnates itself; or, more frequently, it is believed to take a new departure to another world, usually situated under ground, beyond the sea, on the summit of a mountain, above the vault of heaven, in the stars, etc. There it leads a vague, colourless, miserable existence (this is the peculiar quality of subterranean abodes, Sheol or Hades); or, it may be, an existence moulded more or less closely upon the earthly life, each shade retaining its rank and his circumstances.

But, even upon this hypothesis of another abode, there is supposed to intervene in the affairs of the living, especially when the deceased wishes to do a good turn to his descendants or to take vengeance upon his enemies. Hence the importance attached by the custom and practice which has played so large a part, as has been shown by Herbert Spencer, in the consolidation of families and tribes. This cult has its origin at once in the fear of ghosts, in filial affection, and in the desire to preserve for the family the benefits of paternal protection. Once it is admitted that death does not interrupt the relations between men, it is logical to suppose that a father after his decease will retain a prejudice in favour of his descendants, and will seek to add to their welfare and to protect them against dangers at home or abroad. The children, for their part, in order to preserve his favour, will have to continue to show him the consideration he demanded in his lifetime; they must also maintain the organization of the family and assure the permanence of the home, so that this cult may never be interrupted.

By the side of ancestors, and at times above them, a place comes to be taken by the menses of illustrious personages who have profoundly impressed the popular imagination—chiefs, sorcerers, conquerors, heroes, legislators, and reputed founders of the tribe or the city.

The worship of ancestors sometimes includes the belief that all the members of a tribe are descended from some individual without having possessed the form of an animal or, more rarely, of a plant. This involves certain relations of consanguinity with all the representatives of this species. See TOTEMISM.

The notion that the lot of souls in the future life is regulated by their conduct in the present life belongs to a more advanced stage in the evolution of religious ideas. Its appearance and development can be traced in the main lines of historical religions. The first stage is to accept the principle that souls have awarded to them a better or worse existence according as they have or have not, during their sojourn on earth, done a good or evil action. The last stage is reached when it is supposed that, upon the analogy of what happens in well ordered societies, the lot of the soul is made the subject of a formally constituted process of retribution, in which is the aim of the gods to protect. Thus the theory of retribution finds room by the side of the theory of continuation, and probably succeeds to it. But
even this method of regulating the destiny of souls after death does not exclude such an eventuality as their temporary return to earth and entrance into relations with the living.

ii. Spiritism.—Once a start has been made by attributing to existing beings, and even to a great many inanimate objects, a mental equipment which differs from a man's own merely in the degree of activity and power, it is a logical inference that souls may similarly operate temporarily from their bodies, and, if the latter be dissolved, may survive them. These souls assume, as a rule, the physiognomy of a double, or a form appropriate to their function, but always chosen so as to imply movement and life. Moreover, at this stage of intellectual development, man will cherish a belief in the existence, as independent agents, of a multitude of analogous souls proceeding from beings and objects which he has not known. These souls, from the very circumstance that they have lost their connexion with particular bodies, acquire a fitness for assuming all aspects and performing all acts.

Such is the origin of spirits, to whose agency are finally attributed all phenomena which men can neither explain by natural causes nor set down to the account of some superhuman being with functions of destruction. The savage, who has no higher rank of the Divine Powers; on the other hand, it is acts of conjuration—evocation, incantation, exorcism—that are employed by preference when spirits have to be dealt with. This explains why magic is the only rational conception of the lower world. Where the evolution of religion has developed neither veneration for the forces of Nature nor the worship of Ancestors, the cult consists almost exclusively of the veneration of spirits.

The same phenomenon is exhibited among the Australians, the natives of Siberia and South America, etc.—of processes intended to avert or to subjugate the superhuman powers. Among these peoples the conception of the world as a domain abandoned to the enerepies of arbitrary and malevolent wills makes of religion a reign of terror, weighing constantly upon the life of the savage, and barring all progress. On the other hand, where Animism has developed into polytheism, it may be viewed as a first stage in that evolution which leads to making the Divine Power the supreme agent who seeks order in nature and the good of humanity. (The subject will be more fully dealt with under Soul and Spirit.)


GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

ANNAM (Popular Religion).—A characteristic of the Annamese is the multiplicity and variety of their cults. Influenced more by tradition than by conviction, they manifestly reflect the fusion of the three great religions of foreign origin that prevail in their country—Chinese Buddhism (Phát giáo), which is celebrated in the pagoda (chieu); Confucianism (đạo phong kiến), which is commonly associated with the educated (đạo thức, văn chi); and Taoism (Thố chỉnh, thọ etc bô), in the palace (phu denounced). These are official cults, practised especially by the upper classes and the learned.

So also does the Cult of the Sky and the Earth, which allows no other celebrant than the sovereign, and the cult of the ruling Emperor receive from the Annamese only subordinate veneration. We shall not describe these cults, which are mere offshoots of Chinese importation, but refer the reader to art. CHINA.
The masses retain their preference for ancestor-worship (thọ ồng bà ồng vãi), which is the head of the family offers in a reserved part of the house (nhà dương lầu). Such offerings include all kinds of food, which are invoked in the chapels (miếu) and for the numerous magical performances (phế phật thuat), which have come from China, India, and from other races of the Indo-Chinese plant population, or from China. No one has yet succeeded in finally deciding what belongs to each of these various influences. They all co-operate in perpetuating the old animistic beliefs, which have remained very deep-rooted in Annam as elsewhere.

1. Animism.—To the inhabitant of Annam life is a universal phenomenon; it is the common possession not only of men and animals, but also of things—stones, plants, stars, and of the elements—earth, fire, water, wind, etc.

To all he gives a sex and a rank. The sun is male; the moon, his wife, is female; the stars seem good fortune and bad from on high. Then some animals have been anthropomorphized or even deified, which implies fear and at the same time reverence for them; e.g., in Annam they always speak of 'Sir Tiger' (ông Cốp). Hence that word which is so strange of the whale, the dolphin, and the tiger.

The Annamese not only admits that life is common to all existing things, but conceives of that life as an individual, which is collective, a complex of life, and groups, not in individuals. This difficulty in conceiving individualism is one which is not confined to the Annamese. It exists in almost all primitive races, and still continues among those of lower degree, as exemplified in the Acadian family. In cases of collective solidarity, the conception in groups has legal consequences. When a crime is committed in China, not only is the guilty one punished, but his forefathers, his descendants, his parents, his friends, and even his neighbours. In the collection of taxes, the upper classes in the community are always responsible to the treasury for the general crowd.

In addition to these ideas of universality and collectivity of life, the Annamese believes in the contingency and permeability of beings who do not form distinct categories, but can pass from one genus or species to another under certain conditions of space and time. Hence theriomorphism and totemism.

The elephant was born from the star Gioa Quang, the rabbit from the moon. A fox at the age of fifty can change into an old woman; at a hundred years into a lovely maiden, very dangerous to her lovers; at a thousand years of age, if he happens to die in a cemetery a human skull which fits his head, he may become a spectre, or a being similar to the Hindu prana. So can a dog grow into a serpant.

The fish, after a thousand years becomes a dragon, the rat at the end of a hundred years a bat, and the bat after another hundreds a swallow. Any one who can catch it at the time of its metamorphosis and eat its flesh becomes immortal.

Tigers' hairs may give birth to worms. Even plants are capable of similar transformation: the chuôí tree (a kind of banana), on reaching a thousand years of age, becomes a blue goat. The people maintain that a banana tree (Ficus indica, Linnæus) which grew within the precincts of a temple near Hanoi, was cut down, became a blue buffalo. The ngô-dông (Eucalyptus serricolla, Linnæus) has the power of changing itself at night into a ghost with a buffalo's head, which steals men's garments, especially to plants and animals, are still more so to supernatural beings, and even to men. The fairies (bô tiên, many fô) often take the shape of butterflies, the geni of those men and monkeys. The mother of an Annamese king of the Trân dynasty (1220-1402) appeared in the form of a spider on the altar of the temple after first sacrifice to her images was being offered. Some sacrificial have a still more extraordinary origin. The origin of the heavenly bodies, the stars, sun, etc., is explained in the same way. Corn, rice, beans from grains of rice, with which they fill their mouths and which they then blow out forcibly into the air; others ride on a simple image of a horse, or even a donkey, which turns into a donkey and then change back to its original state.

In this reciprocal and continuous intermingling of the life of all beings, pairing cannot be determined or limited by species. The legend of the founding of Cố-loa tells of the union of a maiden with a white cock. Dinh-bô-Lanh, at one time a lapwing, surprised an immense assembly of the national Annamese dynasty in the 10th cent., is said to have been the son of a woman and an otter. These totemic legends enable us to understand such associations, as the appearance of clan, the clan of the Red Sparrow-hawks, assumed in semi-historical times by the tribes among which Annam was divided. The Annamese state, that, down to the 14th cent., the kings of Annam tasted their bodies with the representation of a dragon, in allusion to their legendary origin.

For a similar reason, but with a more practical object, the inhabitants of fishing villages used to fast themselves with the figure of a crocodile in order to establish their relationship with the numerous crocodiles of their shores, and to be spared by them. Others in the same way used to adorn their bodies with a serpent, in order to avoid being bitten by those formidable reptiles.

Union was possible not only between men and animals, but also between human beings and supernatural beings, geni, or vampires, especially as vampires of the Annamese, were looked upon as men who were to be better able to deceive the women they wish to possess. O-Jol, a famous personage at the court of the Hanoi kings, was, the legends affirm, the son of the genius of the Ma-la pagoda and the wife of Si-Donag, Annamese ambassador to the court of China.

The phenomenon of conception, in the popular beliefs of the Annamese, not only does not always preserve the identity of species of the two parents, but can even be accomplished without sexual intercourse between them. Nearly all the heroes of the semi-historical annals of the Annamese, who formed the result of miraculous fertilization. The mother of the assassin of king Dinh-Tien-Hoang, who ascended the throne in 365, became pregnant after dreaming that she was swallowing the moon. Another king was born from a fresh egg that his mother had taken from a swallow's nest and eaten. The legend abounds with analogous cases in which fertilization is due to spring-water, the touch of a handkerchief, the fall of a star, etc.

Another result of this absence of limits to beings and things is that everything that resembles a certain individual, in however small a degree, may at a given moment be regarded as the individual, and undergo the treatment that was to befall him. Here we come upon the spells often practised by the Annamese sorcerers. The elfy or the sign may replace the thing signified so effectually that they sacrifice to the genius of epidemics the elfy of the person whom they wish to harm. By analogous reasoning, they burn at the graves paper representations or even merely a list of all the objects (clothing, furniture, jewels, houses, etc.) that the dead man is supposed to take away with him.

Similarly, any particular condition is transmissible by contact, without regard to the person's own will. That is why a person who wants to avoid all misfortune has to keep constantly in the shade. A pregnant woman must be careful not to accept betel-nuts from a woman who has already had a miscarriage, under penalty of abortion. She must not eat double bananas if she does not want to have the birth to the person carrying the straw must avoid passing a field of rice in blossom; the rice would change to straw. They believe also in the contagion of death, and several parts of the funeral ceremony is solemnized by guarding the body from it.

Lost in the midst of the universal life which surrounds him, haunted by the terrible and manifold forms that life can take to destroy or to save him, the Annamese constantly feel himself insensitive. If he tries by sacrifices and offerings to gain the favour of the good spirits, he seeks still more to appease the malignant ones, under whatever form they appear, and to foresee, and consequently to
avoid all the misfortunes which may befall him. Hence the cults of the good and evil genius, of certain animals and of souls, the belief in magic and presentiments, and a whole series of prophylactic ceremonies before each important event in life, especially marriage and burials, and finally the divination.

2. Good Spirits.—In the first rank of good spirits is Độc-Cu’ôc, the one-footed Spirit, whose worship, the Annamese, asserted, was brought from Nañ-quant in China to Tonkin by a Taoist priest. He flourished in the first century B.C. but lived throughout the whole of Tonkin. Độc-Cu’ôc assumes the form of a warrior of noble bearing, brandishing an ax in his only hand, which is always represented in profile. His body, cut in two lengthwise, rests on a single foot. A prayer taken from the ritual of the spirit prays his virtues thus: 'The one-footed Spirit has only one eye and only one foot, but he is swift as lightning and moves in the world. He sees afar the evil spirits who bring plague, ruin, and misfortune. He calls to his aid the millions of celestial soldiers. He protects and avenge men. Thank you, one-footed Spirit, for this good or bad weather as he chooses, makes the sun to shine or the rain to fall, and cures all diseases.'

An inscription in memory of the erection of his temple in the hamlet of Vung-Quy (Tonkin) eloquently repeats these words: 'The one-footed Spirit is powerful; he protects the country. Everyone who receives an ax from him paves a golden way; he hovers on the clouds and scour the country, always present though invisible. By his favour the student is successful in his examinations, the farmer is assured of a good crop, the buffaloes are strong and active, the farmyard is prosperous, gold and silver are amassed in the coffers, there are no longer any poor people in the village. All this is due to the influence of the one-footed spirit, because he is pleased with our homage, and he is always ready to aid us in any emergency.' To obtain a favour from the one-footed spirit they trace a formula on a white paper, and place the paper on his altar with a small sum of money (generally equal to 1s. 6d.), where it must remain for one hundred days.

The one-footed spirit contains a series of formulas which, written in a certain way on paper or on shells, form precious charms for the most diverse cases: invisibility, toothache, barrenness, different diseases; they banish malicious powers, ensure the sex of a child during pregnancy, silence children who cry through the night, ward off nightmares and ghosts, prevent demons from entering the mouth of the celestial, when he is invoking the one-footed spirit, and from replying instead of him.

Độc-Cu’ôc can, moreover, transfer a part of his power to small figures of straw, wood, or paper made by his priests. These figures can then go to the places to which they are sent, in a dream or in an illusion, which harm as powerful animals, and objects chosen for their vengeance, who are not long in being struck down by death, disease, ruin, or destruction. In cases of disputes among the community, the priest of the one-footed spirit can, by his exorcism, constrain the demons to drive the parties to satisfaction and to agree in a rough wooden or straw doll, which is then burned.

Around the one-footed spirit crowd legions of good spirits (thian bânh), who preside over the events of life in general. The tutelary genii of the village (v˚n kî) and the patron guardians of the home and the family (thian tik) are also worshipped. These spirits are infinite in number, as every action and even every object is, for the Annamese, placed in dependence upon a superior power, whose favour they must win, especially to thwart the continual temptations of the nà, or evil spirits.

It is for this reason that, during the first three days of a new year, when all Annam is rejoicing, each Annamese workman, after worshipping his ancestors, whose spirit bottle is salted, seeks to gain the favour of the spirit who presides over his special work. The peasant offers a sacrifice to the spirit of the buffaloes in the stable; the fisherman, a side of cooked rice, a little salt, palm-sugar, incense, leaves of gilt paper, and a cake to the spirit in the rice field. The shape of these cakes varies according to the sex of the animal. The female buffaloes' cakes, which are square and flattened, contain other offerings for the intended, for the male are intended for the persons who are supposed to carry in the womb. The buffaloes have three heads, each one with a mouth, and each mouth is but little of each offering, the remainder being left to nourish the cows. Then each buffalo is led out to trace three furrows.

Thus also the blacksmith sacrifices to his forge, or rather to the spirit of his forge, after having adorned his fellows with gilt paper. The linebrower sacrifices to his linebrow, the hunter to his nets and mares, the merchant to his hampers, and the sailor to the sea. One must not forget the heartstones and the line jug, which are also covered with gilt paper. The line jug is filled to the brim so that it may have abundance, and that in return its master may be able to do the welfare of those who buy from him.

Invocation and sacrifice take place also when in a new house the head of the family installs the line jug, whose contents will be used as an offering of the nà, the misalliance of the natives of the Far East—beetle-pellets. In it the guardian of the house (chén) is incanted. Its duty is to forebode the death of one of the members of the household, whom they wish to see crowned by hoary hairs, as the jar itself is with lines. When, in the morning of all precautions, it breaks, a new one is bought, but great care is taken not to throw the other into the aboriginal. His spirit would dearly avenge such irreverence. They go and place it with great ceremony on the branches or trunks of certain trees near the pagodas, either to serve as an offering to the wandering souls who come to take shelter in these trees, or to be delivered there to a spirit which is powerful enough to prevent it from taking vengeance on the inmates of its former home.

When hunters catch an animal in their nets, they kill it and then pull off a part of its left ear, which they bury in the spot where the animal was caught, as an offering to the Spirit of the soil (Thô Thân). Then the prey is flayed and dismembered. Its heart, cut up into small pieces, is cooked with burning coals. These pieces are then laid as a cake upon broad leaves on the ground; and the chief of the hunters, protruding himself four times, informs Thô Thân that such and such a band of men from such and such a village has taken the liberty of depriving him of his prey. The heart is then consumed.

The animal is then divided among all the hunters.

In fields of eatable or unmarketable plants (cucumbers, water-melons, etc.), they often erect a miniature triple chapel of straw to the Lord of the earth (Thô Chu). In this way the field is placed under the protection of the spirit; and thieves are far more afraid to come near it, for it is Thô Chu, and not the owner, that they dread having anything to do with.

For the same purpose of protection, travellers, on leaving the river for the sea, make offerings of gilt paper at the mouth of the river, in order to secure the favours of the sea-spirits. Those who travel by land throw them at the turnings of the road to avoid accidents, especially the teeth of the tiger.

There are also female spirits (chû vi), who inhabit forests, springs, thickets, and certain trees. At their head are the five great fairies:

1. Thuy-Tinh-công-Chúa, 'Star of the Waters.'
2. Quinh-Hoa-công-Chúa, 'Hortensia Flower.'
3. Quinh-Tinh-batkun-flower,' 'Tutelary Flower.'
4. Bach-Hoa, 'White Flower.'
5. Hoàng-Hoa, 'Yellow Flower.'

Their goodwill is secured through the intermediaries bà-dông, or priestesses, who correspond to the sorcerer-priests of the evil spirits.

Then the people also render regular worship to the Bà-Dâc-Chúa, or the Three Mothers, whose three images, dressed in red, are set up in a side chapel in nearly all Buddhist and Taoist temples. They represent, according to the Annamese, the Spirit of the Forests, the Spirit of the Waters, and the Spirit of the Air and Sky.

3. Evil Spirits.—Far more numerous and more dreaded are the supernatural powers, which, for the Annamese, inhabit all space. They include the whole of the Ma and the Qui, evil spirits or devils, hobgoblins, vampires, and ghosts, which are commonly admitted in Annam, and are reported to be the cause of the millions of the wandering souls of the dead.

Physical and moral pain, epidemics, ruin, and accidents come from them. There is the Spirit of Cholera, of Small-pox, of Bad Luck, etc. It is for this reason that Annamese believe each of their misfortunes means to apprase them, and are far more deeply concerned about them than about the good spirits. For, whereas the good spirits harm human beings only when they are offended or slandered by them,
the evil spirits are incessantly trying to work mischief. They can be disarmed only by means of sacrifices, or rendered harmless by the protection of holy goods.

In the first rank we must place the worship rendered to the spirits of the autochthonous (chû' ngu), the original possessors of the soil, which wander about famished, because their descendants are no longer allowed to own the land, and look with a jealous eye upon others possessing their goods. Not only are they granted a share of the oblations which are made at stated times by the bonzes, sorcerers, or private individuals, but, every year each landowner, in one of the first three months, offers a sacrifice to them. And if unforeseen evils befall the farmers or their cattle, if they are the victims of misfortune, it is evident that the anger of the chû' ngu is affecting them. They must appease him by a sacrifice (generally an expensive one), in which they buy or hire his land from him, in order to live peaceably with him. With the help of a small [chart or diagram] showing the arrangement of the spirit, and making known every detail of his appearance, they try to do it in such a way as to please him and make him sign the contract of this mystical sale, the amount of which they pour out to him in imitation paper money. Henceforward the landowner has nothing to fear from the chû' ngu.

Of a more dangerous kind are the Ma-lai, 'wandering demons,' who have all the signs of life, and often assume the form of a pretty girl; but at night their head, followed only by the complete alimentary canal, is seen separated from the body and going about feeding on excrement and taking part in a kind of infernal 'witches' midnight orgy.' The prosperity of a house which has been entered by a Ma-lai, or 'swimmer,' is affected.

It is well also to guard against the Ma-trov or ignes fuiti, which, thin and worn, wander through the fields quite naked, with dishevelled hair, walking a foot above the ground; and also against the Con-linh, or spirits of young maidens who have died prematurely—spirits which are of the most malicious kind. They hide in trees, from which they are heard laughing with a weird laugh and calling The passer-by who is so impudent as to answer their call feels his soul fly from his body and becomes mad. One must also beware of the Ma-gio, or spirits of the drowned who have not received burial. They sit in trees at night, and try to snare either the passer-by or swimmer who goes to sink. It is the Ma-gio that sends the fatal cramp to the swimmer, which paralyzes him and causes him to drown. The best means of appeasing this spirit is to call back the soul in order to construct a tomb for it (châu hồn đáp nơm).

This ceremony consists in re-making a body for the person who has disappeared, and in re-uniting the soul of the drowned person to this body by means of magical ceremonies, after which the funeral is celebrated. This artificial body, whose bones are made from mulberry branches, its entrails from five threads of different colours, its flesh and visceras from earth and wax, and its skin from flour, is dressed in the most beautiful clothes of the dead person, and put into a coffin. The ceremony of fixing the soul in this new body requires the aid of a sorcerer and of a medium who is provided with three sticks of incense and a coat that had belonged to the deceased. These two men go in a boat to the real or supposed place where the person was drowned, taking the stretching out the hand in which he holds the coat. If this hand begins to tremble, they conclude that the soul of the dead man is present in the coat. The medium then jumps into the water, and after a time comes up, saying that he has succeeded in getting possession of the soul of the drowned man. They then put on the coat that was used in the ceremony into the coffin, which is then shut, and they proceed with the burial.

The Ma-lon, or spirits of soldiers who have died in the wars of the Empire, are recognizable by their hurried and unintelligible whisperings. The Magiû, Ma-dûn, Ma-dào, Ma-rin, or phantoms which make themselves felt in the night, are the ring and alarm round about the traveller, talk in front of him until, struck by illusion and exhausted with following the phantoms, he falls in some lonely spot to which he has been lured. A magical ceremony is necessary to bring back life or reason to the victims of these phantasmagoric perversions. The Ma-tròt-tròt, or souls of beheld persons, are the cause of whirlwinds. The Annamese scare these demons away by calling out 'Chém! Chém!' (I behold you). The Ma-vân-vong, or souls of those who have hanged themselves, try to entice to another attempt at suicide those who have been saved when attempting to hang themselves. For these the charm is broken by putting the string, not by undoing it. If this precaution has been omitted, the danger may still be obviated by a ceremony in which a Ma-thân-vong is represented with a rope in his hand. They burn this little figure, and then the rope of the hanged man is cut in pieces.

The Con-hoa, the souls of those who have perished in fires, glide under the roofs in the form of bluish smoke on the anniversary of the day of their death, or at fixed times, and cause spontaneous fires very difficult to extinguish.

The Con-sêc, or vexations spirits, are especially fond of tormenting young children, in whom they cause frights, convulsions, head eruptions, etc. Twelve in number, they each represent one of the spirit world.

These demons, lying down on people when asleep, give them nightmare.

It is well to beware also of the Ma-dan, gigantic ghosts of buffaloes and elephants, and especially the Che-dôn, or abandoned souls, who, having died a violent death, return to torment the living. They are appeased by offerings of leaves of imitation gold or silver, or counterfeit bank-notes. The wandering souls which have not had burial take shelter by 'millions and tens of millions' in the shade of shrubs and trees. At night they come in crowds to attack people passing on their way, and they send misfortune to those who fornicate. So large is the number of them that their lot, that small temples of wood or plaited bamboo are erected for them, or small stone altars, sometimes formed simply by a stone at the foot of a tree. The individual whose business is in danger tries to gain the favour of these miserable souls by oblations, which almost always consist of paper representations of bars of gold or silver,* paper shoes, and rice. The rice is scattered broadcast to the four cardinal points, while the offerer says: 'This is for the miserable souls who wander among the clouds, at the mercy of the winds, and whose bodies have rotted by the wayside or under the water. Let each single grain of rice produce one hundred. Let each hundred produce ten thousand, and let the wandering souls be satisfied.' The souls then hasten forward under the supervision of two spirits, one of which is called a bell, while the other, sword in hand, sees to the just division of the rice among the hungry souls.

4. Animal-worship.—From their ancient animal-cult the Annamese have retained the forms of animal worship, a veneration born of fear, for a certain number of animals. The animal most dreaded is the Ong Còp, a title of respect equivalent

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* The bar (mèn) is a parallelopedial ingot used as money. The bar of gold (sơn vàng) weighs 200 gr., and is worth 18,880 francs. The bar of silver (sơn bạc) weighs 600 gr., and is worth 4,800 francs.
to 'Sir Tiger.' This awe-inspiring feline is worshiped in many places, and has special priests or sorcerers, the thây-dông. Small stone temples are erected to him, provided with two altars, the one a little below and the other a little of the other. On the lower one a huge lamp burns in honour of the spirit who is the real patron of the temple. At the foot of this altar, Ông Cop is painted on a screen, several times as large as the object of a watch. Sometimes the temple has nothing on its altar except a stone tiger.

The thây-dông, by means of a medium called dòng, enter into communication with the spirits, and in their name exorcise evil, cure, give advice for the success of such and such a matter, etc.

This tiger, although so greatly respected, is nevertheless, in practical life, hunted with great keenness; and in their name, exorcise evil, cure, give advice for the success of such and such a matter, etc.

To excuse the unreasonable conduct of this, they imagine two kinds of tigers: those which feel on the outskirts of the village, and the two kinds of tigers: those which feel on the outskirts of the village, are very much revered, especially by the maritime population. He is believed to save shipwrecked sailors by carrying them on his back. They also give him the title of Ông, 'Grandfather,' My Lord,' 'The Venerable.' They make use of a periphrasis to announce his death, or say that he is dead and has received the official name of 'Spirit with the jade scales.'

The dead body of a dolphin encountered at sea is a presage of good fortune. It is taken ashore and buried with ceremony. The captain of the vessel that discovers it becomes the 'son of the dolphin,' conducts the obsequies, and those he presided over at the burial of the dolphin, being a guarantee of prosperity for the whole village. Every boat, too, during its voyage, is on the lookout for the death of a dolphin. A village which possesses several dolphins' tombs may give one of them to a less fortunate village. The transference takes place with all the honours, and the consent of the dolphin has been obtained in a ceremony with sacrifices.

Ông Ti, 'Sir Rat,' is invoked both by farmers, that he may not devour the rice which is being sown, and by sailors, that he may not gnaw their boat of woven bamboo.

Ông Tôm, 'Sir Silk-Worm,' is treated with the greatest deference during its breeding, in order to counteract the great mortality of its species. To Ông Chá, 'Sir Stag,' the peasants offer sacrifices, and beg of him not to devastate the fields of rice which they have planted in a newly-cleared corner of the forest. He promises to go to the valley every right to regard this very place as his home.

Ông Chang, 'Sir Boar' or 'Sir Wild Buffalo,' is imprecated in the same way to spare the harvests.

Serpents are the object of a worship which the fear which they inspire. They and the tigers are the great animal perversions dreaded by the Annamese.

To meet a serpent is a bad omen. If they succeed in killing the serpent, they are careful not to cut off its head with a knife, since it would escape and pursue them. So also, when holding a serpent by the tail, they must not let it wriggle about the air, lest it would immediately grow on it. Pythons fat (con tribo) makes a very good depilatory.

Certain millets feed in their mouths a bright stone, the possession of which renders a person invulnerable to serpent bite.

The leech is the symbol of immortality, because it is indestructible. When killed it lives again; when cut in pieces it multiplies; if it has been dried, it becomes re-animated whenever it is put into water; if it is burnt, from its moistened ashes is born a crowd of young leeches. There is only one way of getting rid of it, to put it into a box along with some hemp; then it disappears. There is reason to beware of the leech; for, if it put into a horse's ear, it creeps into the brain, multiplies in it, and devours it.

Fowls have the gift of reading the future and foreseeing misfortunes. For this reason, they are esteemed as bad omens.

The little gecko, or ceiling lizard (Hemidactylus mammatus, Dum. and Bib.), is dreaded because of its bite, which causes fatal suffocation. To avoid the consequences, the person must catch a cornelian bird from the first one he meets, rap it in water, and swallow the beverage thus obtained.

The skink (Scincus rajanus, Shaw) also causes a serious wound that may be cured by drinking the blood which escapes from a black cat's tail, the end of which has been cut off. When cooked, the skin is an excellent remedy for asthma and quinsy (mumps) in pigs.*

A maid deposit bites which are fatal, unless some one manages to pull the three dog hairs that grow soon after on the bitten man's head; then he may recover.

Certain vegetables, material objects, and even the elements, require reverential treatment, for they may be receptacles of a mysterious power.

When a junk or a house is built, the sorcerer is sent for before it is occupied, and he exorcizes the spirits which might still be dwelling in it, and decays wood and might bring misfortune.

Before putting a new junk into the water, the sailors sacrifice to Ông Hà Râu, 'Lord of the River.' If, during their voyage, they notice in the middle of the water a tree-trunk which might knock against and capsize their vessel, they immediately sacrifice to Ông Gê, 'Tree-Trunk.' They treat Ông Thợ, 'Sir Wind' with equal consideration. If Annamese children, during their play, want to reach the fruit on a tree, they throw their sticks up at it and shout 'Sir Wind!' to help them.

The possession of an aerolite is a guarantee of good luck. Aerolites change the colour of evil spirits, which are terrified at their fall, and which at each peal of thunder run to take shelter under the hat or umbrella of the people they meet. Accordingly, every peal of thunder the Annamese take care to raise their hats or umbrellas a little to guard against their intrusion. Aerolite powder mixed with water keeps children safe from evil spirits. In smallpox it ensures regular and favourable suppression.

The skull of a male (more especially of a child or a youth) who has been stricken by lightning, which afterwards has had formulas recited over it, becomes a useful charm, and even a very good medium.

5. Priest-sorcery.—Beliefs so numerous and so entangled produce very complicated cults. All the various kinds of priests have different requirements, and in order to secure their favour it is necessary to be fully aware of what they desire and of the offerings which they prefer. The common people are quite content with the sorcerers, mediums, magicians, exorcists, and sacrifices. Hence arises a body of special priest-sorcerers among the Annamese.

The most numerous class is that of the thây phê thây, 'those of amulets and purificatory

* Needless to say, the virulence of the hemidactylus is a fact, and the skink seldom bites.
1 The length of time of nearly all magical occurrences among the Annamese.
waters, who have no regular temples, and who, when they go home, take their altar and the cult-objects with them. Some of them are the celeb- rates of deities or spirits selected by lot. They officiate there at certain anniversaries, or when a person is imploiring the intervention of the spirit of these temples.

Another class, of a higher order, the thin獲得 or thin-dang, practise only in their homes. Having a very numerous clientele, they are often able to build stone temples in which to officiate, and which are their own property. They are assisted by a deity or “superintendent,” who acts as a medium between the invoked spirit and the petitioner; for hypnotism, real or feigned, plays the chief role in these cere-monies. All these sorcerers derive their power from certain good or evil spirits, to which they have dedicated themselves, and which, after being raised, remain in direct communication with them, possessing them and speaking through their voices. The sorcerers can not only command the spirits, but are able to influence the normal order of occurrences in nature. They raise the dead, cast lots, practise spells, and send telepathic suggestions to persons whom they wish to employ against others. They can instantaneously change the nature of substances, and substances, transform a savoury dish into filth, or change a dog into a cock; they can send diseases, defects, or pains to whomsoever they choose.

They can also employ their power to do good. It is they who cure illnesses, exorcize persons pos-sessed and houses haunted by demons, cause rain to fall or to cease, and find out treasures. They do not all have an equal amount of power, and whether they can cure will be decided by the skill of the sorcerer; the only thing one has to do is to set a more powerful sorcerer against him.

The sorcerers still manufacture love philtres and talismans, for ensuring success in love, from the bodies (which are difficult to get) of two serpents that have died while fighting with each other, and one of which has been half swallowed by the other. To achieve the same end the ordinary people make use of less complicated charms, which consist in scourching in a pan the whole or part of a garment belonging to the person by whom they wish to be loved.

Some sorcerers are regular spell doctors, who perform their spells by the use of talismans (nuay-nuay). They themselves are called thin-naoy, and have great skill in killing, causing illnesses, and bringing about good or bad hair. They can minister the tubercules in their garden or house, or in some isolated place, and then go and choose the one that they need at the appointed hour. While uprooting it, they recite incantations over it, informing it of the cruel design to be accomplished and of the hour at which it is to take place. Then, either directly or by means of a third person, who in most cases knows nothing about the part which they are making him play, they endeavour to bring the least particle of nuay into contact with the enemy whom they wish to harm. The latter is immediately struck by disease, and may die unless he happens to get the better of it, or unless the hatred of the avenger does not go the length of death. Only another sorcerer can cure him.

Any sorcerer who thinks that he is thin-naoy are not the only persons who threaten the safety of the people; that there is in existence some families of professional poisoners, who, on various pretexts, slip into their houses and poison their provisions, especially the water. These persons poison from filthiness, because one of their ancestors committed the sin. His descendants must imitate him at least once a year, to prove their thoughtfulness and skill. If they did not succeed, they would have to sacrifice one of their own kin. That is the reason why, when their odious practices have achieved the slightest success, they sacrifice a dog or turtle or some other small creature. On account of this fear, the Annamese take great care that strangers do not get near the family provisions, especially the jars where they keep the water.

Fortune-telling.—The Annamese have also fortune-tellers (thin-bôy), who are nearly always blind, and rather poorly remunerated. They cast many lot in the same way by opening certain positions, heads or tails, determines the prediction.

In the temples the divining logs and rods may be interrogated. The logs are two pieces of lacquered wood, like corydolens, which give an affirmative answer when cut at the same side, and a negative if the other way.

The rods, about thirty in number, have figures in Chinese characters, which, on being referred to a horoscope, give the reply of destiny. Other oracle books are regularly issued by some of the temples.

The Annamese practise chiromancy, physiognomy, and phrenology. Several fortune-tellers, instead of examining the hand of the querist, obtain their predictions from the configuration of their nasals, or herm’s foot. Others tell fortunes from the lines of the hand, the lines of the face, and the protruber-ances of the head all at once.

7. Superstitions.—Is it necessary to add that the Annamese believe in signs and omens? The following is a list of the most common superstitions:

They must begin the year with a lucky transaction if they want to make sure of ending it in luck. It is for this reason that during the first days of the year shopkeepers sell cheap in order to sell much, and thus guarantee a regular sale all the year.

On the other hand, they all shut their doors until midday on the first of the year, in order to avoid seeing or being visited by people bringing bad luck.

Meeting an old man is a sign of failure.

Meeting a young woman has the same significance. If they have come out of business, it is wise, after such an omen, to go back to the house.

A tradesman who enters a house where there is an infant less than a month old is followed by a misfortune for three months and ten days, unless he wards it off by burning a hand-ful of salt immediately on his return home.

Every son whose father has died a violent death is threatened with the same fate if he does not appease the evil spirits. If a person who weeps over an ancestor enters a room where a husband and wife are lying, he becomes totally blind.

The risk of being stung by a wasp is a bad omen for work and prosperity. If it gets blackened and swatters, beware of thieves.

Numerous gossamers announce a bad crop; in the eye, coming blindness.

A singing fire means discord in the house.

To walk on paper while singing on it is in itself a serious fault. If there are Cambodian, Shan, or Arabo-Malayan characters written on it, misfortune will certainly follow; and if it is a pregnant woman that commits the fault, she will miscarry.

A lamp that goes out, a broken cup, and girls or women look-ing into a gambling-house without playing, are omens of loss for the banker.

When young people of either sex who have not arrived at the age of puberty touch the unformed flowers or fruits of mango or banana trees, they cause them to fall.

When trees persist in yielding flowers, it is necessary, in order to obtain the fruit, to break on the fifth day of the fifth month, to cut them down. Every year some cuts are made with a hatchet in the mango trees to persuade them to produce fruit.

A lowest flying low, a cawing crow, and a cracking frog, are all signs of rain.

A buffalo coming into a house, a bird flying round about it, and a spider a constant companion of a child, are all bad omens.

A fish leaping into a boat signifies a good catch, unless it is immediately cut in two and thrown back quickly into the water.

Fishing for the porpoise, the messenger of the demons, roases their anger.

The cry of the khôch bird (Cygnaëtis minuta), heard in the East, foretells a visit; in the West, murder.

The cries of the geckos, 'Tôkkî! Tôkkî!' an odd number of times are of good omen; an even number, of bad omen.

The cry of the musk-rat foretells a visit that evening or the following day.

The prolonged whining of dogs signifies a calamity.

The crowing of a rooster at midnight gives rise to fear that the daughters of the house will become ill.

The cry of night-birds announces illness or death.

The grating or cracking of inanimate objects foretells their future. If it is a coffin that cracks, it means that it is going to be bought. If it is a barrel, that it is to receive money.

Do not open a safe during the night for fear of attracting thieves. Do not open it on the last day of the year, or the first three days of the next year. It is a sign of expense.

When a sword appears in a dream, if it is to be kept, that one will soon have to buy another.

When the wolf barks instead of the bell, it means that an execution is near.

Guns that are loaded cause the approach of the enemy. Guns are, besides, regarded as being endowed with a sort of life. The Annamese sometimes think ill, and give them names.

8. Diseases.—It is quite natural that, in a country where diseases are supposed to result from the malvolence of a spirit or the vengeance of a sorcerer, the popular medicine should consist of empirical remedies and magical performances.
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The doctor and the sorcerer attend the invalid in turn, and it is not the former that is most listened to. The people try to prevent misfortune and its visitations by amulets and sacrifices to the spirits. If, however, in the end, they have recourse to the doctor (and they do not pay him unless he succeeds in curing the patient); and in grave cases they nearly always call in the sorcerer instead.

The two most terrible diseases that the Annamese have are smallpox and child-chorea. Quite special talismans are needed against the demon of chorea, those which serve in ordinary illnesses being insufficient. The frightful rapidity of the disease does not allow of lengthy therapeutics.

Smallpox, which is even more frequent, is perhaps dreaded still more. It is never spoken of except in periphrases, and its pastures receive the reverential designation of Ong. Smallpox is attributed to evil spirits, and especially to the souls of persons who have already died of smallpox (Con na dâu). The latter are responsible for all the serious cases. The mild cases are due to predestination. Whenever a sick person is attacked by smallpox, he is isolated, not from fear of contagion, but from fear of the evil spirits which have taken possession of the invalid. Nevertheless, especially if a child is the victim, the family never leaves the sick man, and they surround him with a net to prevent the approach of the Con na dâu.

When the disease takes a serious turn, many of the physicians abandon their patients, not so much, perhaps, to avoid attempting an impossible task, as to be safe from the anger of the Con na dâu. In fact, one of their proverbs says: 'If you cure smallpox, it will have its revenge; if you cure your patient, it will pass over to you.' It is believed that the children of doctors die from the smallpox from which their father has saved others.

During times of epidemic, if a family has already lost a child from smallpox, they are afraid that he will come and take away his surviving brothers and sisters, and they sacrifice at his grave to prevent him from leaving it. Amulets and witchcraft are the only cures for smallpox.

During the course of the illness they place under the bed of the smallpox patient a ci ré, a fish with a smooth green skin, of the eel or the carp family, which is believed to be infested with the venom of the smallpox until it stings with it.

In order that the erythematous stage may pass quickly into the pustular stage, they sprinkle the patient with a mixture of earth, the patient eats shrimps and crabs. On the other hand, when desquamation is complete, they bathe the patient in order to help the peeling-off process. Vermicelli is expressly prohibited, for it would change into a multitude of worms in the softened liver and lungs of the patient.

So also, if the smallpox patient wishes to prevent a relapse when convalescent, he must avoid walking barefoot on hens' dung.

Lastly, when smallpox (or any other epidemic) is raging, everybody sacrifices to the crowd of malignant spirits known by the generic name of quan-tông, the primary cause of all ills. For these sacrifices, at the beginning of the hot season, when the death-rate is highest, they manufacture or buy paper figures representing the people whom they wish to be saved, and burn them in the village square. The offerings intended to appease the evil spirits are placed in little paper boats, which they send off on the backs of the god of the sea.

9. Birth.—The Annamese, who are a very prolific race, are anxious to have numerous posterity. They try above all to avoid miscarriages, still-born children, and infant mortality. In their eyes still-born or prematurely born children are more special spirits in short successive incarnations, denoted by the name of Con lon (entering life). The mother of a Con lon is considered contagious. No young woman would accept a betel-nut offered her from them. They even avoid speaking about her.

Successive miscarriages are believed to be re-incarnations of the same spirit. In order to get rid of this evil influence, a woman who has had one or more miscarriages is about to be confined again, a young dog is killed and cut in three pieces, which are buried under the woman's bed; and with the blood of the dog amulets are traced, which are taken to the future mother.

The evil spirit which presides at these premature deaths is called My cong, also the spirit of abortions. It is represented in the form of a woman in white, sitting in a tree, where she rocks her children.

To drive away this demon from the body of the pregnant woman, they exorcise it. For this purpose they make two small figures representing a mother with a child in her arms, and burn them, after the sorcerer has adjured the evil spirit with threats no longer to torment the family which is performing the exorcism.

When a woman is pregnant, there is a very simple way of determining beforehand the sex of the child. Some smear the woman, and she turns to reply. If she turns to the left, a boy will be born; if to the right, a girl.

At the time of her confinement the woman is subjected to a special diet of dry salted food, and a fire (âm bôi) is kept burning under the bed—a custom which is common to all the Indo-Chinese. They invoke the twelve goddesses of birth and other deities.

If the parturient woman is in danger, the father prostrates himself and entreats the child to be born. Immediately after the birth the young mother is trunkled under foot by the matron who has been attending her, and then fumigated and washed to take place.

The part of the umbilical cord that is close to the section is preserved. It is, according to the Annamese, a powerful fœlbrige for the young mother, and they then fix the prohibition post (con khâm) before the door. It is a bambou cane, on the top of which is placed a lighted coal, the burning side turned towards the inside of a boy, towards the outside for a girl. It gets its name from the fact that it prohibits from entering the house women whose confinement have been difficult or followed by accidents, and who might bring bad fortune.

Thirty days after the birth, during which the mother has been isolated, all the things belonging to her are burned.

Various ceremonies then take place, with offerings of fowls, bananas, rice, etc., to thank the goddesses of birth, and afterwards to give fluent speech to the child. They take special care not to pronounce any words of evil omen, as, e.g., speaking of illnesses, among others of thrush, for fear of giving it to the child. They also avoid frying anything in the house. That would cause blisters on the mother and the newly-born child.

As it is not quite customary to enter the room where the mother and the child are lying, each member of the family, in order that the child may make his acquaintance and not cry on seeing him, dips a particle of cooked rice in a little water, which is then given to the child.

Towards the end of the first month after the birth, they sacrifice to the birth-goddesses and give the child a new name. As far as possible, this name must never have belonged to any member of the father's or the mother's family. The rice that is offered on this occasion is tinted in five colours: white, black, red, blue, and yellow. Each of the invited guests presents a gift to the child.

The child that sucks the milk of a pregnant woman soon dies (of mesenteric atrophy), because that milk is supposed not to have reached its nativity.

It is supposed that, on awakening in the morning, a person's bite is venomous, though it ceases to be poisonous when the vapours which cause the venom have passed away. In order to avoid such a bite, the Annamese mother does not suckle her infant until it cries.

When a child remains sickly and difficult to bring up, to battle the evil spirits which are woman without the consent of the parents pretends to put to the spirit of the heart, or to the sorcerer, or to the Buddhist bonze. It then receives another name and is re-sold to its parents, as if it were a strange child.

When the child is one year old, a fresh sacrifice to the birth-goddesses takes place. Then they
spread out playthings and tools before the child. From his choice they infer his future aptitudes.

Do not hallucinate.

When a child is subject to hiccough, they stick on his forehead the end of a beet-leaf bitten off by the teeth.

When a child has been taken away at any rate, they make a stroke or a cross on his forehead with a cinder from the hearth, so that the spirit may protect him from the evil spirits during the journey.

When they cannot take a child under seven years of age away of the hearth, they stick a little wax on his head in order that he may not forget his parents.

10. Marriage.—Marriage does not admit of so many magical rites. But when a marriage has been arranged and presents exchanged, the engaged couple consider themselves as married; and if one of them were to die, the other would mourning.

Misconduct of the girl before her marriage is strictly forbidden. In case of pregnancy, she is compelled to name her seducer. If he denies his guilt, he is retained until the birth of the child. A personal proof by an old woman of this grace, which is called thing man. They link one of the infant's fingers with one of the suspected person's, make a slight incision in each, and catch the blood in a vessel filled with blood clots; the Mana of the deceased accuses it is declared innocent; if they mix, he is guilty, and receives punishment.

ii. Death. —Funerals are as complicated as they are long and expensive. That is why certain families are not able to celebrate them until five or six months after the death, and are obliged to inter their dead provisionally.

The funeral rites include the putting on of mourning garments, and the beginning of the lamentations. At the head of the funeral procession which conducts the dead man to his last resting-place walks the bonze; next come men bearing white streamers, on which are inscribed the virtues and the name of the deceased; next, under the shade of a large umbrella, the hearse of the soul, a small winding-sheet which is supposed to contain the soul, sometimes replaced by the table of the deceased; then, in grand funerals, a puppet, dressed in beautiful clothes, representing the deceased; and last of all the hearse, followed by the family and friends. All along the road they throw gold and silver papers representing money, to attract the attention of the evil spirits and secure an uninterrupted passage. The coffin, after being lowered into the grave, is not covered with earth until the sorceror has ascertained, by means of the sign of the cross, that it is dead for it. A lengthy and pompous sacrifice, which only the rich can afford, terminates the ceremony.

Fresh sacrifices take place after seven weeks, then after a hundred days, one year, two years, and twenty-seven months after the death. About three years after the death, the corpse is exhumed in order that its bones may be enclosed in the regular tomb, after which there is an anniversary sacrifice in a ceremony in which the burn a copy of the imperial diploma conferring a posthumous title, and a new ceremony, of Buddhist origin, called the great fast or deliverance of the souls, which will obtain for the deceased the remission of all his sins. The sacrifice concludes with offerings to the wandering and hungry souls.


ANIHILATION.—It has been a matter of dispute whether anything once brought into existence can ever be utterly annihilated; and further, that possibility being conceded, whether this fate is in store for the souls of the impotent wicked. Of these questions the latter is purely theoretic and academic, appealing only to the interest of the few; the second, like other eschatological problems, has been keenly and widely debated. It is a remarkable example of the divergence in point of view between East and West, that the destiny which in the one hemisphere has been propounded as the final reward of virtue should in the other be regarded as the extremest penalty of obstinate wickedness. Where the theory of annihilation has been found, the wisdom of the contractual acceptance has usually been due rather to a recoil from the thought of the eternal duration of future punishment, than to the influence of the positive philosophical and theological arguments which can be urged on its behalf. Distracted between an equal reluctance to accept the eternity of hell or to admit the universal salvation of all men, some thinkers have found a way out of their difficulty by questioning the truth of the exclusive alternative between eternal blessedess and eternal woe hereafter. Thus they have been led to examine a third possibility, viz. the complete extinction of the wicked. The discussion of the problem belongs to that region of thought where both philosophic and theology have a claim to be heard. Whether the nature of the soul is such that the cessation of its existence is conceivable, is a question which cannot be argued except upon a basis of philosophic principles; what may be the bearing of the teaching of the Bible and of the commonly received tradition of the Church upon the point can be determined only by exegesis and by study of the history of dogma.

1. The question stated.—Obviously, the controversy concerning annihilation, so understood, arises only among those who are at least agreed as to the fact of survival after death. It is, therefore, at the outset to dismiss from consideration those theories which represent death as being of necessity the end of individual being. We are not here concerned to rebut the opinions of the materialist, who holds life to be a function of matter, or of the pantheist, for whom death is the moment of the re-absorption of the individual life into the common fund of existence. Subsequent, however, to agreement as to survival after death comes the parting of the ways, according as men accept or reject the view that the life so prolonged is destined to continue for ever. That it must so continue is the opinion of the religious ascetic, on the other hand, the opinion of the soul's natural immortality, even in this restricted and legitimate sense, is considered a dangerous error, the root out of...
which has grown a false eschatology. In place of the conception of an immortal life belonging essentially and inalienably to the soul, he would substitute that of an existence naturally destined to extinction, except under certain specified conditions. As to this, Platonism is one of the noblest of natural immortality he bases his theory, and, though professing a positive creed and ready to give an account of it, he justly claims that, logically, the opus probatum of the idealist is not to be found rather in the truth than in the word of him who denies that doctrine.

2. The natural immortality of the soul called in question. — This is the place in which to state at any length or with any completeness the argument for the immortality of the soul. It will be sufficient if we so far indicate the grounds of belief as to render intelligible the objections which have been urged on the other side. Undoubtedly, the strongest force working in favour of a general acceptance of the belief in natural immortality has been the dominant influence of Platonism in the earlier stages of the development of Christian doctrine. ‘Our creeds,’ it has been said, ‘are the findings of various Platonisms.’ But even though that statement may stand in need of some qualification, yet it is true in the main of the belief in immortality. The conclusion of the Phaedo has been taken for granted. More than this, however, it is remarkable how comparatively insignificant are the additions which have been made to Plato’s argument since it was first constructed by his genius. In the reasons commonly urged to-day for belief in immortality we may recognize the main features of his proof, if only due allowance be made for the translation of his thought from the modes of ancient Greece to those of the present age. His arguments will therefore be remembered to be a formidable one.

It begins with an insistence on the fact that in nature there are no absolutely new beginnings, but an alternation from one state to its opposite, as from motion to rest and from rest to motion. Since, in the history of the soul, life and death are thus related to one another as alternations, the latter, he argued, cannot possibly be a state of non-being. Secondly, the soul’s capacity for the recognition of truth is compared with memory, and is brought forward as proof of its pre-existence, before union with the body. Hence may be inferred her continued existence after the dissolution of that union by death. Thirdly, the kinship of the soul with the ideas of which she is cognizant, and her identification with the idea of life, render self-contradictory, and therefore incoherent, the thought of her annihilation.

The three lines of Plato’s argument supply us with a classification under which the modern plans for a refutation may be arranged. The first division of his proof is the modern appeal to the principle of the conservation of energy. As in the physical world energy is neither created nor destroyed, but transformed, so it is inferred that psychical energy likewise must be subject to transformation rather than annihilation. Secondly, all idealist philosophers have found their most powerful argument for the immortality of the soul in the fact that she apprehends truth by means of powers which transcend the limits of time and space. The a priori forms of thought are taken as proofs of the immortal nature of the soul. Their existence, as well as the relation of the soul to the eternal and unchanging Ideas is parallel to the appeal to religion of the kinship of the soul with the eternal and unchanging Divine Being. Lastly, the practical and ethical value of the belief in immortality and in the prospect of future rewards and punishments has been keenly appreciated alike in ancient and modern times.

Is it possible along these lines to establish a certainty? — The belief is the outcome of the natural immortality. In that case, the theory of annihilation would be barred at the outset. But the required certainty is not forthcoming. However firmly convinced the student may be in his own mind of the fact of human immortality, he must nevertheless admit that, technically, the philosophical proof of the doctrine is far from reaching the standard of demonstration. The history of human thought unforces the admission. Even among the immediate inheritors of the Platonic tradition there were many to whom the opinion of the master on this point carried conviction. Still less was the tenet of individual immortality acceptable to Peripatetics, Stoics, or Epicureans. As a general statement, the world remained unconvinced, so to-day the philosophical arguments for individual immortality, however combined and expanded, are by no means universally admitted. If we take the argument in the order given above, we shall find that each in turn has been subjected to damaging criticism. Energy (it is retorted) cannot be destroyed, but it may be dissipated. What reason, therefore, have we for thinking that the force which underlies the individual life will be exempt from the general law of dissipation? If the premises of the idealist philosophy be conceded, there is, doubtless, a legitimate inference to the existence of an immortal element in the human spirit, but that conclusion does not decide the question of the destiny of the individual. Even the admission of the kinship of the soul with the Divine Being is consistent with the belief in the annihilation of individual immortality. The ethical instinct which demands that the injustice which has been committed in a former life should be rectified in the future—certainly by far the most powerful influence in inducing the belief in immortality—might be satisfied by the conception of a future survival not necessarily of the soul, but the soul, which was developed above as something of the very essence of man, as its essence is a being which is not without an aim, and there is the aid of revelation to prove the immortality of man—from Plato down to Franklin one appears to us to have failed deplorably. Wholly is a like opinion. That the natural immortality of man’s soul is discoverable by reason may be denied on the ground that it has not been discovered. Were it necessary, it would be easy to multiply quotations to the same effect.

That there is a living principle in man which cannot be affected by bodily death is a proposition from which no possible proof can be held dissuasory. That this living principle will manifest itself in a prolongation of the individual life is a conclusion for which there is a large measure of practical and philosophical probability, though no demonstrative proof. That the life, so prolonged will continue for ever is a tenable hypothesis, but it cannot be presented as an inference from universally admitted premises. Hence, in the absence of any proof of the conviction of natural immortality, the hypothesis of annihilation must obviously be given a fair hearing. They cannot be dismissed in limine on the plea that they are in contradiction to one of the accepted truths of natural religion.

4. Arguments for and against Annihilation.—The hypothesis of annihilation has in its favour the following considerations. — (a) Cosmological. — If the souls of the wicked are eventually to be annihilated, then the process of creation and redemption may be represented as destined to issue in unequalled success. When all that is evil shall have been finally removed, nothing will remain but light and love; whereas every theory of everlasting punishment involves the assumption that a state of impenetrable darkness will hang for ever over a portion of the universe.

It was maintained by some medieval theologians that the existence of this shadow would intensify by contrast the enjoyment of the light by the saved. A more humane age recoils from the suggestion of such a reason for the everlasting duration of misery, and indeed takes precisely the opposite line, holding that the happiness of the saved will not be in any direct proportion to the number of their race were suffering (cf. Roscoe, Dogmatik, iii. § 145). Even though evil be regarded as powerless and tethered, scrapped, and even with the capacity for assimilation and identity has not been diminished, yet its continued existence would seem to constitute a protest against the Divine Goodness—a manifestation of the perversity of Evil which will have in some measure frustrated the Divine intention. Advocates of the theory of annihilation maintain that the imperfection of the evil of evil in any shape gives the measure of the probability of the total destruction of the wicked.

(b) Psychological. — A further argument in the same direction is derived from the nature of the

* Enquiry, iii. 211 (pop. ed. 1870, p. 549).
*Thomas Aquinas, Summa, iii. exp. xiv. 1.
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soul and its relation to moral evil. All evil is self-destructive, and therefore tends to be self-destroyed. The wicked soul is not only at enmity with others, but divided against itself. And if the doctrine of natural immortality be abandoned, what is there to prevent the internal discord from achieving its end? The disintegration, and disintegration ending in the final dissolution of the individual being? That evil is in its essence negative rather than positive, has been a widely accepted theory. It would even seem to be the case that the soul of a complex, of a mere compilation of values, which identifies itself with this principle of non-being will become less and less alive, until it passes out of existence altogether. Sin, it has been said, may be regarded as a poison to which the vital forces of the soul must in the end give way by passing into sheer extinction "(cf. Gladstone, Studies subsidiary to Butler, 1596, p. 218).

(c) Practical. So strong is the tendency towards Pragmatism at the present day, that little objection to the acceptance of a theory is justified by an appeal to its supposed beneficial effects upon practice. To judgments of value, as distinct from judgments of fact, is assigned a supreme importance in our approach to the problem. If we maintain that the theory of the wicked, and eternal life for the righteous, provides (tell us) a legitimate appeal alike to the hopes and to the fears of mankind. Nothing can be a greater inducement to moral effort than the hope of acquiring an immortality otherwise unattainable; nothing a greater deterrent than the threat of doom of extinction. If capital punishment upon earth arouses in the highest degree the fears of the criminal, the thought of an execution in which soul as well as body shall be involved in a common destruction is sufficient to appall the most indifferent and the most hardened.

4. Counter arguments.—Counter considerations to the above arguments are not wanting, and have been brought forward with effect by critics of the theory. (a) Whatever plausibility there may be in the argument that sinners must cease to exist in order that the final state of the universe may be altogether holy, is greatly lessened by reflection on the obvious truth of our profound ignorance with regard to the whole problem of evil. Where the mystery is so impenetrable, it is well to remember that any inference must be hazardous in the extreme. To find a solution of the riddle of the world lies in the present fact of evil rather than in the questions concerning its origin and its end. If we cannot reach even an inkling of the solution of the mystery of evil, present though it be before our eyes and lodged in our own hearts, we are in no position to indulge in rash speculations as to the mode of its introduction into the universe, and the likelihood of its final removal therefrom. Though confession of ignorance is never a very acceptable conclusion to any argument, yet along this line we can arrive at no other result.

(b) Nor, again, does the argument from the nature of the soul produce conviction. Advocates of the theory of annihilation are too apt to confuse absence of proof with proof to the contrary. Right as they may be in questioning the demonstrative cogency of the commonly received arguments for the immortality of the soul, they go beyond the mark in thereupon assuming its mortality. The positive arguments which can be produced to prove that the soul is subject to decay are of the most curious and indirect. Ultimately they depend upon the assumption that the nature of the soul is complex, and therefore capable of disintegration. And that assumption is as much an unproved hypothesis as is the contrary theory of the soul's indiscernibility.

(c) Lastly, the utilitarian arguments in favour of annihilation suffer from the weakness inherent in all considerations of that type. In spite of the stress which Pragmatists lay on the will to believe and on the thought that the possession of values is a moral good which remains true that the claims of the pure reason in speculation cannot be disregarded with impunity. A strong sense of the beneficial effects which will follow from the acceptance of the theory, which inquirers to a diligent search for arguments pointing that way; it cannot dispense him from the obligation of finding them. Hence, though it be admitted that threatenings of hell fire and never-ending torments belong to a stage of theological thought now outgrown, and have ceased to exercise a deterrent effect upon sinners; and though it be granted that a crude presentment of the theory of universal restoration may deaden the conscience and encourage a lamentable slackness of moral effort; and though it were true that an obvious way of avoiding these opposite dangers might be found in the adoption of the doctrine of annihilation, yet such an abandonment of the hope of eternal life is one of the hardest problems of practical government to calculate correctly the deterrent effects of different punishments. A fortiori must it be a hopeless task to discover the comparative deterrent effects of the fear of eternal punishment and the fear of total extinction. If the theory of annihilation fails to commend itself on the grounds of reason, it can hardly hope to win general acceptance as a judgment of value.

5. Annihilation and Biblical eschatology.—In the literature of annihilation a great deal of space is devoted to the examination of passages of Scripture supposed to bear more or less directly upon the subject. In this article no attempt will be made to deal with particular passages and texts; it will be sufficient to point out why neither in the OT nor in the NT can we expect to find an explicit negative or affirmative answer to questions as to natural immortality. The Dualism of the Jews has formed the subject of prolonged and minute study, leading to some generally accepted results. Belief in a future life, beginning its existence in a little more than a dim and uncertain hope, developed under the stress of national suffering and disaster until it succeeded in establishing itself as an integral part of the national creed. Long as the process was, yet throughout its whole course the issue of the soul's natural immortality seems never to have been raised.

Nor is this surprising, when the conditions under which the belief grew up are recognized. Belief in immortality did not supersede a definitely formulated view to the contrary, viz. a belief in the soul's mortality. In early times the Israelites had shared the common Semitic conceptions of the destiny of man after death. They had looked forward, not to annihilation, but to a shadowy pure Sheol. It is only in the late and uncertain hope, the hope of a future life among the Jews that has formed the subject of prolonged and minute study, leading to some generally accepted results. Belief in a future life, beginning its existence in a little more than a dim and uncertain hope, developed under the stress of national suffering and disaster until it succeeded in establishing itself as an integral part of the national creed. Long as the process was, yet throughout its whole course the issue of the soul's natural immortality seems never to have been raised.

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thought at work, the possibility of complete anni-
hibition is not contemplated in the OT. Hence, though it is true that in the OT there is no de-
claration of belief in the soul's natural immortality, yet it is equally true that there is no counter declaration of its possible extinction. The question whether the soul could or could not die entirely had not yet been asked. To attempt to find in the later writings of the Greek, especially in the time familiarized Jewish thinkers with the philo-
sophic aspect of the problem. So far there is no reason why any NT writer should not deal with the question of the nature of the soul's life, and with the possibility of its death. In some Apoca-
lyptic writings of earlier date than the Christian era, the annihilation of the enemies of Israel is foretold as one of the events of the last days (cf. Rev. xxviii. and Apoc. lixvi. 4-6; Charles, op. cit. pp. 240, 305). But in the NT the indica-
tions as to the ultimate fate of the wicked are of doubtless interpretation.

In the NT the situation is somewhat different. Contact with Greek thought and with the prevalent conceptions of the Hellenic "yes" and "no" is, and was, rejected, for example, by Justin Martyr (Trulp.
v.), by Tatian (ad Greeks, xiii.), by Theophilus of Antioch (ad Autolyc. ii. xxvii.), by Ireneeus (adic Herv. ii. iv.) , and by the apologists (see e.g. Tertullian, De Or.

...
tality. At the 5th Lateran Council in 1513 A.D. Leo X. condemned in set terms the opinion of the mortality of the soul, and the doctrine strictly commanded all and sundry philosophers, in their public lectures at the universities and elsewhere, to rebut and disprove that opinion. It was not until the crisis of the Reformation had broken through the fetters of speculation, that a theory of annihilation, not unlike that which had been expounded by Arnobius, was once again suggested and defended.

Annihilation in post-Reformation thought. — In this matter, as in so much else, Spinoza displays his originality and independence. His writings reveal a marked change of opinion in the course of his life. In the *Ethics*, *Meta-phys.,* he had upheld the doctrine of the soul's immortality on the ground that the soul being a 'substantia' could not pass away. In the treatise, *De Deus,* etc., he takes up a different position, affirming that the destiny of the soul will be determined by her decision between alternative courses. She may unite herself either with the body of which she is the idea, or with God the source of her existence. In the first case she perishes at death, in the second her union with that which she calls herself is prolonged upon her, which preserves the privilege of immortality (Deo, etc. II. xxiii., Supp. 209, 211). 'It is obvious,' writes Dr. Martineau, 'that an immortality no longer involved in the nature of the soul, but depending on the direction of its love, passes from the necessary and universal to the contingent and partial.'†

The influence of Hobbes was also making itself felt in the same direction. However little credit belongs to the simplicity, he is sufficiently explicit in his denial of the natural immortality of the soul:

'That the soul of man is in its own nature eternal and a living creature independent of the body, or that any mere man is immortal otherwise than by the resurrection in the last day, except Ezekiel and Elias, is a doctrine not apparent in Scripture.' (Works, Lond. 1838, vol. III. p. 445.)

On the ground of a careful examination into the various Biblical passages bearing on the subject, he sums up in favour of a theory of the annihilation of the wicked:

'... though there be many places that affirm everlasting fire and torments into which men may be cast successively one after another as long as the world lasts, yet I find none that affirm there shall be an eternal life therein of any individual person, and contrary to every thing which is in the second death. ... Whereby it is evident that there is to be a second death, and that the one that shall suffer there shall suffer at the day of judgment, after which he shall die no more' (Ch. iv. 451).

Locke also conceived of the soul as being, under present conditions, subject to the law of death. In the short treatise, *On the Reasonableness of Christianity,* which exercised so profound an influence on the course of religious speculation in the next generation, he begins by insisting that the consequence of the Fall of man was to reduce him to a condition of mortality, the death-penalty involving the destruction of both body and soul. Through Christ alone is the doom reversed, and man becomes capable of immortality. Those who obey His precepts and imitate His example are delivered from death, and rewarded with the gift of life; and life and death are interpreted in their plain meaning of existence and non-existence. Thus Locke, in his attempt to recover the original simplicity of Christianity and to free it from the supposed accretions of theology, substitutes a doctrine of annihilation for the traditional doctrine of inherent immortality. Moreover, he seems to feel no scruples in discovering evidence in the Bible which, he thought, was in accordance with the doctrine of annihilation. His opinion gave occasion to some controversy on the point at the beginning of the 18th century.‡


*§* Cf. H. Dodwell, *Epistolary Discourse* proving that the Soul

But the question of the particular fate in store for the wicked was soon lost sight of in the interest of the doctrine that it was a true and orthodox as to the essence of Christianity. It was not until the middle of the 19th cent. that the topic came again into prominence. From that time forward the conception of annihilation has formed the underlying presupposition of all theories of conditional immortality, and guesses have been hazarded as to the nature of the process which will end in this result. While some writers have imagined a life of existence complete together with a loss of consciousness, others have adopted the more thorough hypothesis of entire extinction. Some, again, have assumed a future interposition of the Divine power in a sudden act of annihilation, others have preferred the idea of a gradual dilapidation of the soul. And the various theories about annihilation have been put forward with very various degrees of confidence. Cautious thinkers, like W. E. Gladstone and J. Agar Beet, have not ventured beyond the assertion that the Christian revelation certifies indeed the finality of the Judgment, but makes no pronouncement as to the duration of the pains of the lost. More eager advocates of the immortality of the soul have advanced proof of their theories in reason and Scripture (see art. Conditional Immortality).

9. Impossibility of comparison with Buddhist doctrine of Nirvāṇa. — Between the theory which we have been considering and the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvāṇa there is some superficial resemblance. Both involve the conception of annihilation; both assert survival after death together with the possibility of ultimate extinction, the total loss of individual existence. But the resemblance is more apparent than real, and affords little help in the elucidation of the problem. Things which are entirely heterogeneous not only cannot be compared, but cannot even be contrasted. And the difference between Christian and Buddhist religious conceptions amounts to heterogeneity. The two systems are committed to radically opposite interpretations of the universe, the one looking for the solution of all problems in the knowledge of God, the other ignoring His existence; the one regarding life as the great boon every increase of which is to be welcomed, the other as the great evil in delivereance from which the soul is to be released. The proof will be found. When views about God, the world, and the self are thus essentially divergent, no true relation of comparison can be established by the mere force of analogies. This is the reason why some sort of annihilation of the individual is contemplated. Comparative Religion is a fascinating study, but it is well to remember that the religious conceptions of different nations are often incomparable; and even when similar terms are used, the underlying ideas may be very far from coincident. This is notably the case with the respective eschatologies of Christianity and Buddhism. See Nirvāṇa.

10. Conclusions. — Metaphysical and ontological considerations must of necessity enter into any estimate of the theory of annihilation, although it is notorious that the present age is in the full heat of the mortification of the soul. And a method of philosophy wherein the metaphysical and ontological discipline, which may perhaps explain the prime reasons why the theory of annihilation has rapidly acquired a considerable popularity. Owing to the temper of the age, the religious difficulties have been insufficiently considered. It is not easy to deny the contention that the doctrine of annihilation tends
in some measure to lower that high conception of the value and dignity of human personality which has been the direct outcome of traditional Christian teaching as to the nature of the soul. Man destined sooner or later to eventuate in a blank nothingness, such a life, as opposed to it, is widely different from a being Divinely endowed with the supreme gift of immortality. He stands on an altogether lower level. To make immortality dependent on response to the action of the grace of God is to leave the position of man as man vaguely indefinite in the scheme of creation. So vast a gulf divides beings endowed with immortality from those for whom final extinction is the natural end, that the difficulty of conceiving a creature capable of both may well seem insuperable. And yet there are doubtless many to whom a difficulty of this kind is less than that of admitting evil to be an ineradicable and eternal element in the universe. They see no escape from the conclusion that, if evil is irreformable, its annihilation is inevitable. If pressed for an answer as to the mode in which this result will be brought about, it is hard to fall back on the conception of the Divine omnipotence, and to believe or hope that, by some Divine act analogous to creation but opposite in its effect, evil will be utterly abolished from the final state of the universe. By taking this line certain difficulties are avoided. The act of annihilation, so conceived,
is an exceptional interposition discontinuous from the rest of the Divine action upon the created world, and therefore ex hypothesi not admitting of explanation. But the hypothesis of Divine interpositions becomes less and less acceptable as men realize, alike in the kingdoms of nature and of grace, the presence and action of the unchanging God. Hence, for the most part, preference has been given to that theory of gradual annihilation which has been under discussion. It is a solution of the problem which has satisfied itself to many; it may probably secure even wider acceptance in the future; but even its advocates will admit that the difficulties involved in it deserve to be more fully faced and met than has yet been done.

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C. G. JOYCE.

ANOINTING.

Introduction (A. E. Crawley), p. 549.
Buddhist.—See Abhiseka.
Christian.—See Unction.

ANOINTING.—1. Unction,* anointing with oil, is a minor act of ritual, which possesses, however, considerable significance for the history of sacramental religion. Its forms correspond generally to the practical purposes for which, in early culture, animal and vegetable fats and oils were so largely employed, while in both principle and practice it has connexions with painting and dress, decoration and disguise, nutrition and medical illustration and the various uses of water and blood.

2. The application of unguents to the skin and the hair has obtained, as a daily cosmetic practice, in some parts of the world, and is practised, for example, by the Tasmanians to the ancient Greeks and Romans. The material varies in both secular and sacred uses, from crude animal fat to elaborate and costly perfumed vegetable oils. Among the lower races, animal fats are employed, frequently in combination with ochre, occasionally with such substances as charcoal, soot, and ashes. Higher stages of culture prefer vegetable oils, with gums, balsams, vegetable pastes and powders, such as turmeric, sandal and mustard, sawdust and flour, or the sap and pollen of plants, some of which are occasionally used without oil. Perfumes were usually prepared in the form of ointments. Lastly, the term 'unguent' is in most languages made to include, by analogy, such substances as blood, saliva, honey, mud, pitch, and tar. (See art. BLOOD. For anointing with blood see H. C. Trumbull, The Blood Covenant [1897].)

3. Anointing usually follows washing or bathing, and completes the toilet of the skin. The action of oil is to produce a sensation of comfort and well-being. Some peoples regard it as conducive to health. The etymological identifications, still to be met with in dictionaries, of Eng. oil, etc., and Lat. oleum, etc., and of Lat. ovum, etc. and Gr. oos, etc. are unfounded. F. W. Cullen in his Das Leben im Morgen- und Abendlande (1857) has discussed the etymology of 'anointing' in Indo-European and Semitic languages.

Ethnic.—See Introduction.
Hindu (A. E. Crawley), p. 554.
Semitic (M. Jastrow), p. 555.

suppleness of the muscles and joints. The Australian aborigines relieve the languor consequent on a long and tiresome journey by rubbing the limbs with grease. W. E. Roth, Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines (1897), 114, 162. Oil closes the pores of the skin, and partially represses perspiration; hence the use of unguents by the Greeks and Romans before exercise, and after the bath which followed. Similarly, the Hindu anoints himself before bathing. In extremes of heat and cold these properties have an increased value, and anointing is almost a necessary of life. Fear of life itself is one race, from the Tasmanians to the ancient Greeks and Romans. The material varies in both secular and sacred uses, from crude animal fat to elaborate and costly perfumed vegetable oils. Among the lower races, animal fats are employed, frequently in combination with ochre, occasionally with such substances as charcoal, soot, and ashes. Higher stages of culture prefer vegetable oils, with gums, balsams, vegetable pastes and powders, such as turmeric, sandal and mustard, sawdust and flour, or the sap and pollen of plants, some of which are occasionally used without oil. Perfumes were usually prepared in the form of ointments. Lastly, the term 'unguent' is in most languages made to include, by analogy, such substances as blood, saliva, honey, mud, pitch, and tar. (See art. BLOOD. For anointing with blood see H. C. Trumbull, The Blood Covenant [1897].)

4. The cosmetic use soon acquired aesthetic associations. The gloss produced by oil has itself an aesthetic value, which is heightened by the addition of coloured substances. Of the majority of early peoples it may be said that grease and oil substituted their wardrobe. The use of unguents as the vehicles of perfumes became a luxury among the Persians, Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, while among early peoples generally it is a common practice on both ordinary and ceremonial occasions, the object being to render the person attractive. Thus the natives of West Africa grease the body, and powder it over with scented and coloured flour. On the 'Slave Coast,' mango oil, 'magical' unguent to 'awaken' the priests, are employed for such purposes as the borrowing of money and the obtaining of a woman's favour. Swahili women use fragrant unguents in order to render themselves attractive. Similary, Homer describes how Hera, when desirous to obtain a favour from Zeus, cleansed her skin with ambrosia and anointed herself with fragrant oil. In the islands of Torres Straits, the boys, at the close of initiation, are rubbed with a pungent scented
substance, which has the property of exciting the female sex. The Eve-speaking peoples of West Africa scent the bride with eucat, and make her skin red with the bark of the fe-tree (F. RATZEL, The Sociology of Stomked [Eng. tr.], ii. 397, iii. 106; A. B. Ellis, The Eve-speaking Peoples, 94, 156; Velten, Sitten und Gebranche der Suaheli, 212; Homer, ii. xiv. 170 ff.; A. C. Haddon in JAF xix. 412).

5. Anointing thus stands for physical refreshment, well-being, and personal attractiveness. It is, therefore, naturally regarded as being essential on festal occasions. The Australian native, we are told, is fond of rubbing himself with grease and ochre, especially at times when ceremonies are being performed. Among the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, unguents, as representing the completion of festal attire, were offered to guests. In the Homeric age, lathering and anointing formed an indispensable part of welcome. The use of anointing as a mark of honour naturally ensues. Thus, when a Cerenean warrior has taken his first head, he is anointed with fragrant oil by the young women of his village (Spencer-Giltena, 28; Wilkinson, i. 425; W. R. Smith, 238; Homer, Od. iii. 466, viii. 454; J. G. F. Riedel, De slo-k en kroeshoar Eassen tuschen Selenes en Pompoe, 118).

The sacred use of fats and oils is their application to food-stuffs as a 'dressing'; to tools, utensils, weapons, furniture, and buildings, as a lubricant, preservative, or polish; and to perishable substances as a preservative (Kep. morjgine, The Indians of Guiana, 314; K. Langloh Parker, The Ewaklayi Tribe [1905], 123; Roth, op. cit. 102).

6. In the magical-religious sphere a further principle makes its appearance. In addition to their cosmetic, sanitary, decorative, and magical or supernatural power, is transmissible by various methods, primarily contact. Inasmuch as its most obvious and convenient source is the flesh and blood of the worshipper, and the most direct method of assimilation is provided by eating and drinking; but an equally certain method is external application—a method which, in the form of anointing, is peculiarly adapted to the use of fats and oils. Anointing is thus based upon the same sacramental principle as the practice of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the sacred persons and animals. The Divine life is transmitted, and communion with the sacred source attained, by anointing the worshipper with the sacred essence. Fat is the most primitive unguent, and is regarded in early thought as a very important seat of life. Ideas of sacredness are perhaps implicit even in its ordinary use, insomuch as it is animal-essence.

Ernest Crawley, The Mystic Rose [1902], passion, also The Tree of Life, A Study of Religion [1905], 110, 223; W. R. Smith, 383). Where the idea of the sacredness of fat is less developed to an extreme, as among the Hindus, animal fat is tabu.

To take illustrations: the Arabs of East Africa anoint themselves in great style. The Bushmen of the Andamanese pour melted pig's fat over children to render them strong. The Namuang wear amulets of fat. The Danzara collect the fat of certain animals, which they believe to possess great virtue. It is kept in special receptacles: 'a small portion placed on the prong of a fork given to persons who have been hurry after a lengthened absence. . . . The chief makes use of it as an unguent for his body.' The fat of the human body possesses a proportionately higher sacrality and potency. It is especially the fat of the omentum that is regarded as possessing this vital force (Becker, La Vie en Afrique, ii. 396; E. H. MAN, The Andamanese Indians, 120; W. R. Smith, op. cit. 223). The Australian savage will kill a man merely to dispose of his kidney-fat with which to anoint himself. It is believed that the virtues of the dead man are thus fused into the person by anointing. It is a regular practice throughout Australia and the Pacific for this purpose and to chase away evil. These nases also employ it to make their weapons strong; sickle blades are rubbed with it to give them life, health and strength. In India a prevalent superstition relates to the supernatural virtues of moomii, an unguent prepared from the fat of a man slain for the purpose. The latter is regarded as the fat of a corpse is a potent charm among the Aluitus (K. R. Smith, Ceram: The People of Victoria, I. 15; J. F. Rose, The Australian Aborigines, 65; W. Crooke, The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, 117; H. H. Davoli, Native Races of the Pacific States, iii. 145). A piece of human kidny-fat, worn round the neck, was believed by the Zan- manians to render a man proof against magic influences. The virtues of human fat as a curative and magical ointment are well known throughout the world. By its use love may be charmed, warriors rendered invulnerable, and witches enabled to fly through the air. Transformation into animals, as related in folklore, is effected by magical ointments, originally the fat of the animals in question (J. Bowick, The Turpinians, 137). And so on.

7. There are two further considerations to be taken into account in treating of the origin of unction. Sacred fat, in the first place, may be regarded as too holy, and therefore too dangerous, to be eaten. Exact methods of assuring the purity of its virtues. In the second place, neither fat nor oil is, properly, an article of food in and by itself (W. R. Smith, 252, 386), but rather a medium or vehicle. Even in its cosmetic uses, oil is frequently mixed with other substances, it is taken into, and when used alone would be regarded as the medium of a hidden virtue. In its sacred applications, therefore, we may take it that the oil of anointing is the vehicle of a sacred or Divine life or vital-essence, which is either inherent in and possessed by, or is infused thereinto. When the primitive conception of the virtues of human and animal fat decays, the Divine essence is, as it were, put in commission, and may be transmitted to others by means of various methods of con- secration. Apart from the sacredness which it carries, a holy unguent is distinguished from other vehicles chiefly by its original cosmetic, decorative, sanative, and other properties.

The sacred fat is thus the controlling factor in the theory of anointing; but it is always possible to trace the connexion between the essence and the accidents of holy oil, between the magical force or sanctity, and the personal properties which, to quote a Catholic theologian, 'well represent the effects of this Sacrament; olim enim sancta, levit, recreat, penetrat ac locut (P. Denis, Theologia Moralis et Dogmatics [1832], vii. 2). Ceremonial unction in all religions satisfies the condition laid down by Catholic theology for the Catholic rite of unction; the differentia of the sacrament consists in the fact that 'the sign of the sacred thing, the visible form of invisible grace' (Augustine), should be 'such as to represent it and bring it about.'

The methods of transmitting the sacred essence to the unguent are material contact, magical and religious formulas, invocation, blessing, and prayer. The results of unction develop from the decorative and sanitary through the magical stage to a super- natural consecration, which imparts spiritual re- freshment, and strength—in Christian doctrine, grace and the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

8. In the very widely spread use of fats and oils for the treatment of the sick, physical, moral, and religious diseases, there is another imperceptibly. Some typical examples will illustrate the range and the working of these ideas. Thus the Australians use various fats to assist the healing of wounds and sores. The Samoans use a composition made from the grease with which his body is rubbed (K. Langloh Parker, The Ewaklayi...
Tribe, 38: Spencer-Gillen*, 250, 464; Roth, op. cit. 157, 162. The shamans of Asiatic Russia charm the blubber, reinforce-fat, or bear's grease with which the body of a patient is anointed. So, more definitely, the Melanesian medicine-man impregnates the body of his patient with oil, neutralizing and discarding the unguent. On the other hand, the most powerful unguent in the Chinese pharmacopoeia owes its virtues to gold-leaf. Gold is considered to be the most perfect form of the spirit that transmits life to the human body. The unguent employed by the priests of ancient Mexico, when sacrificing on the mountains or in caves, contained narcotics and poisons. It was supposed to remove the sense of fear, and certainly soothed pain. It was used in the treatment of the sick, and was known as 'the divine physic.' The holy oil of Ceram Lant may be manufactured only by a boy and a girl who are virgins. A priest superintends and repeats formulas over the oil. The Amboynese offer oil to the gods. That which is left over is returned, and now possesses Divine virtues. It is used to anoint sick and sound alike, and is believed to confer health and protection. Mikhailovski in JAI xxv. 98; R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, 195 f.; J. J. M. de Groot, The Religious System of China, iv. 331 f.; Acosta, History of the Indies; R. C. Riedel, De shuit- en kroochaiige Russen tuschen Selteke en Popna, 173; F. Valentijn, Oud en nieuwing Oost-Indiën, ii. 10. To return to magical ideas, variations of method are seen in the practice of anointing the weapon which doth wound; doth wound, in the East Indian custom, whereby fruits and stones are smeared with oil, and prayer is made that the bullets may rebound from the warriors as rain rebounds from the clouds. It is considered that the god will embrace the warrior or his own body with grease, in some cases giving what is left of the unguent to the sick man. On the principle of sympathy, a mother will grease her own body daily while her son is recovering from circumcision (G. Frazer, GBR. i. 57 ff.; C. M. Pleyte in Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (1893), 805; Langloph Parker, op. cit. 32; Spencer-Gillen*, 466, also 259).

9. The anointing of the dead is based on the principle that, as the Chinese say, the dead man 'may depart clean and in a neat attire from this world of cares.' Africa, North America, and the Fijis and Tonga Islands supply typical examples of the custom. The corpse is washed, oiled, and dressed in fine clothes (J. J. M. de Groot, op. cit. i. 6, 20; P. Ratzel, The History of Mankind, i. 329; Williams and Calvert, Fiji and the Fijians, i. 188; J. Adair, History of the North American Indians, 181). The ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans thus prepared their dead for the last rites. The Egyptians also oiled the head of the mummy; the Romans poured perfumed oils over their bodies after the tomb. At the annual commemoration of those who fell at Plataea, the Archon washed the grave-stones with water and anointed them with oil. The Greeks placed the bier in the temple, containing the incense, and vessels for the use of the dead. The Kingsmill Islanders, like many other peoples, preserved the skulls of dead relatives. These were oiled and garnished. Anointing was offered as if they were alive (Wilkinson, iii. 363; Servius on Virgil, En. v. 219, ix. 483; Lucian, de Luctu, 11; Schömann, Gr. Alterthümter, ii. 555, 600; Wilkes, U.S. Exploring Expedition, 556). The pious affection shown in such customs is elsewhere very commonly developed into practices which aim at a closer union with the departed. Thus in Australia we find a prevalent custom among mourners of anointing themselves with oil made from the decomposing fat of the corpse. This practice has typical examples in the Dutch East Indies, Africa, and North America. The custom, however, is also prevalent in Europe, with oil mingled with the ashes of the dead. A curious custom obtains in the Aru Islands of the Dutch East Indies. As soon as a man is dead, his widow runs around the houses of all his friends and smears the doors with oil (Spencer-Gillen*, 530; Fison and Hovitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, 243; Riedel, op. cit. 308; First Report BE, 145, 155; Riedel, 268). The Catholic rite of Extreme Unction doubtless derives from the general principle of anointing the sick; but, apart from such customs, there would seem to be no definite case elsewhere of the practice of unction immediately before death.

10. It will be convenient at this point to draw out the connexion between ceremonial anointing and the principles of tabu. In the first place, grease, oil, and fat are convenient vehicles for the application of ash, dirt, and water. Similar, and of the red paint that denotes such persons as the shedder of blood and the menstruous woman. These states, being tabu, possess one form of grease, oil, or both, together with a decent appellation, should be discarded during their continuance. Similarly, anointing, with other aids to well-being, is re- nounced by the ascetic. Differences of the custom produce exceptions to the rule; thus, among the ancient inhabitants of Central America it was the custom to smear the body with grease as a mark of fastening and penance. During the penitential season among the Laut people of Fiji, the festival, every man was thus anointed daily; the festal use of paint was resumed as soon as the feast commenced (H. H. Bancroft, op. cit. ii. 690, 696). In the second place, we have to recognize the cleansing powers of unction. Anointing is positive, lustration negative; but this original distinction is not kept intact, for consecrated water not only cleanses, but imports the Divine life of which it is the vehicle (W. H. Smith, 160); and consecrated oil, conversely, both imports virtue and cleanses, by the action of the Divine life which it carries within it. Early peoples, it must be noted, employed fat and oil-refuse as a detergent. Anointing, as a consequence, can not only produce the effect of physical consecration, but also removes the sanctity of tabu. In the latter case, its result is re-admission to the normal life (which itself possesses a measure of sanctity [W. H. Smith, 420]), and to that extent it brings about a re-consecration of impaired sanctity. The following cases show how unction and lustration tend to assimilate. The ghâ of the Hindus is held to purify by virtue of its sacred essence, while the sprinkling with sacred water which constitutes the abhîsêka, or anointing of a king, possesses not only the name but the function of ordinary anointing. The Yoruba's 'water of purification' is really an unguent, prepared from shea-butter and edible snails. The 'neutralising rice-flour' of the Malays has both positive and negative virtues (A. B. Ellis, The Yoruba-speaking Peoples, 141; W. W. Skew, Malay Magic, 77, 376, 385). Lastly, in the very widely spread ritual of blood, the material is either sprinkled like water, poured like oil, or smeared like ointment, while the results of the ceremony are both to cleanse and to confer a blessing.

11. The examples which follow illustrate the use of anointing to remove tabu. Three cases, representing various principles of unction. In the Ongtong-Java Islands all strangers are met by the priests with water and anointing on landing. The oil is sprinkled about, and the visitors themselves are sprinkled with water, anointed with oil, and girded with pandanus-leaves. Gullah 'warriors on returning home are 'washed' by the women with
fat and butter, and their faces are painted red and white (L. Parkinson in Intennett. Archiv. fri Ethnograph. x. 132; P. Paulitchea, Ethnograph. Nordost-Afrikas, 255). Before starting, the seated Waunawensi are anointed with a sort of porridge, and the ceremony is repeated on his return. The Australians who has slidden his enemy with sickness by the use of the bone may release him from his curse by anointing the magical weapon in water or by rubbing it with fat. Similarly, as a result of a pig, or to correct a general result by greasing his own body. The customs connected with war and slaughter supply remarkable cases of this form of uncen. In Central Africa war is decided upon by the wife who anoints the feet of the aggrieved person with oil. It is a kind of consecration. The mother of the dying child is the first to anoint the body. The Ilkapurinje, &c, female avatar, among the Central Australians, is rubbed with grease and decorated. On her return, her husband has a fillip of the oil, and he rubs her back with grease. The Fijians observed an elaborate ritual for the son of a chief after slaying his father. He was anointed from head to foot with red turmeric and oil. For three days he lived in seclusion with several other youths, anointed and dressed like himself. They were forbidden to lie down, or sleep, or change their clothes, or enter a house where there was a woman (P. Stuhlmann, Mit Eimis Pacha in Bort von Afrika, 59; Roth, op. cit. 157; Riedel, op. cit. 168; Spencer-Gilten, 496-498; Williams and Calvert, op. cit. 156). In the cases cited above many principles of early thought may be discerned. This should be noted that the first war is a holy state, and that it must be inaugurated and consecrated with ceremonial observances.

12. The removal of tabu coincides with the renewal of normal life and normal sanctity, and anointing is employed here no less regularly than for the inauguration of a highly sacred state. Thus mourners are anointed, as in Africa and North America, the person being anointed.

Throughout Africa it is the custom to anoint the mother with fat and oil shortly after birth. The practice is common throughout the world, and the sickness generally affects women after the monthly period, and with children after the ceremonial observances at puberty. The practice in the last instance often takes a peculiar form. In Australia, for instance, and the Andaman Islands, there is an anointing with a sacred food by the process of having fat rubbed over his face and body (J. Shooter, The Kaffirs of Natal, Lond. [1857], 241; REDEW, 146; Maclean, Compendium of Kaffirs and Celibots, 94); D. MacDonald, African, i. 129; Dennett, Folk-tales of the Kaffir, 137; Spencer-Gilten*, 388; E. H. Man in JAI xii. 134; Howitt, ii. xiii. 455. xiv. 316).

13. Passing now to cases of consecrational proper, we must consider the inauguration of periodic sacredness, as in rites corresponding to baptism and confirmation, in marriage and in worship. The customs last noted tend to merge into these. (a) It is a constant custom in most parts of the world that the newborn child should be rubbed with oil (Roth, op. cit. 168; Batzel, ii. 286; Williams and Calvert, i. 175; Caron’s ‘Japan’ in Pinkerton’s Voyages and Travels, vii. 635; Ellis, Yoruba-speaking Peoples, 141). This practice soon becomes ceremonial, and suggests baptismal analogies. The Ovaherero ceremony of naming the child combines so many principles that it may stand for a typical summary. The rite takes place in the house of the sacred fire, and is performed by the chief man of the village. He first takes a mouthful of water, and spurns this over the bodies of mother and child. Then he addresses the ancestors thus: ‘You a child in your village; may the village never come to an end.’ He then lays some fat out of a vesel, spits upon it, and rubs it over his hands. He next rubs more fat in his hands, spurning water upon it. Then he anoints the child. In doing this he crosses his arms, so as to touch with his right hand her right side, and with his left hand her left side. The process is repeated with the child. Finally he gives it a name, while touching its forehead with his own (E. Denont in South African Folklore Journal, ii. 67).

(b) The anointing of boys and girls as a preliminary to the ceremonies observed at puberty is of wide extent; it is most prominent in Africa and Asia. In Central Africa the candidate is anointed with grease at various times of the consecrated ceremonial. At the circumcision festival of the Masai the boys were allowed to gorge themselves with beef. They rubbed the fat over their bodies, much as a Dayak rubs himself with the blood of a pig, or a negro grease with result by greasing his own body. The customs connected with war and slaughter supply remarkable cases of this form of uncen. In Central Africa war is decided upon by the wife who anoints the feet of the aggrieved person with oil. It is a kind of consecration. The mother of the dying child is the first to anoint the body. The Ilkapurinje, &c, female avatar, among the Central Australians, is rubbed with grease and decorated. On her return, her husband has a fillip of the oil, and he rubs her back with grease. The Fijians observed an elaborate ritual for the son of a chief after slaying his father. He was anointed from head to foot with red turmeric and oil. For three days he lived in seclusion with several other youths, anointed and dressed like himself. They were forbidden to lie down, or sleep, or change their clothes, or enter a house where there was a woman (P. Stuhlmann, Mit Eimis Pacha in Bort von Afrika, 59; Roth, op. cit. 157; Riedel, op. cit. 168; Spencer-Gilten, 496-498; Williams and Calvert, op. cit. 156). In the cases cited above many principles of early thought may be discerned. This should be noted that the first war is a holy state, and that it must be inaugurated and consecrated with ceremonial observances.

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and Christian custom has familiarized the world, is a spectacular rite of rare occurrence outside the sphere of Hebrew tradition. It is found, however, in a more or less perfect form among the ancient Egyptians, the Aztecs, and the Hindus ancient and modern. It was associated by many investi-
guare with the sacred robes. The monuments give representations of the ceremony, and in the Tell el-Amarna letters the king of Cyprus sends to the king of Egypt a flag of gold to wear on your head, now that you have ascended the throne of your kingdom.\footnote{1} The Aztec ceremony of royal

unction preceded coronation. The king-elect went in procession to the temple of Huizilopochtli. After paying homage to the god, he was anointed throughout his whole body by the high priest, and sprinkled with holy water. He was then clothed in ceremonial robes, and about his neck was hung a gourd containing powerful remedies against sor-
cery, disease, and treason. The unguent used was the black oil with which the priests anointed their own bodies and the images of the gods. Its name is variously given, ulti, or ole, as its chief con-
stituent is a red or black juice. The Quiches and Cakchiquels bathed the king at his coronation, and

ointed him with perfumes. Candidates for the order of Tzinctli, the Garter of the Aztecs, which admitted into union with the priests, were anointed with

unguent (Wilkinson, iii. 369; W. M. Flinders Petrie, Syria
and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters, 45; H. Winckler, The Tell el-Amarna Letters [Eng. tr.], 87; Bancroft, ii. 144 f., 641, 196, iii. 385). The anointing of kings and priests combines several principles, and is not to be explained on one separate line of development. It is, in the first place, a part of the festal dress essential on such occasions. It is not easy to distinguish from adoration. In the second

place, we have the various ideas connected with consecration,—the transmission of sanctity, power, and new life (ib. 383 f.), on the one hand; and, on the other, the "hedging," of a dedicated person with sacredness, for his protection and the performance of his office.

16. The anointing of sacrifices and offering, the altar and the temple, and the sacred apparatus generally, supplies many details of ritual which fall into line with the main principles of religious

unction, while giving prominence to such as are more closely connected with worship. The human sacrifice, the anointing of the Consecrator of the Aztecs, and of the people of Timor, were

ointed before being slain. The last case has to do with coronation. The princes of Kupang in Timor kept sacred crocodiles, and believed themselves to be descended from this animal. On the

day of coronation, a young girl was richly dressed, decorated with flowers, and anointed with fragrant

oil, to be offered as a sacrifice to the sacred

monsters. In the remarkable human sacrifice of the Khonds, the Merish was anointed with oil, ghi, and turmeric, and adorned with flowers. He received a species of reverence which it is not easy to distinguish from adoration. Every one who could touch the oil on the victim's body rubbed it on his own head. The oil was regarded as possessing the same virtue as his flesh and blood conferred on the infidels (Strabo, ii. 4. 7; Bancroft, iii. 112; Hubert Thompson, 218. C. Marshall, Memorialsof Services in India, 118; J. Campbell, Wild Tribes of Khondistan, 54 f., 112).

The custom of 'dressing' offerings with oil was noticed among Madagascar, Delphi, and the Greeks. While the natives of West Africa sacrifice an animal, they sprinkle it with palm-oil by way of attracting the spirits. At the festival of the New Fruits among the Crook Indians, the priest took some of each sort and smeared them with oil before offering them to the spirit of fire. The people of Gilgit

drench with wine, oil, and blood the branch of the sacred cedar used in their agricultural ceremonies. Similarly the Malays, in their ceremony of bringing

home the Soul of the Rice, and the Javanese, in the Marriage of Rice Bride, anoint the face with oil (Schömann, ii. 236; Panasian, viii. 42; A. B. Ellis, The Foruma-speaking Peoples, 155; Adair, 96; Biddulph, Tribes of the Hindu Kush, 106; Skend, op. cit. 256; Veth, Java, i. 524).

The native of Celebes purify with water and anoint with oil the plough used in their ceremonial ploughing of the rice-fields (G. K. Niemann in Bijdragen voor de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch
Indie, xxxviii, 2 270; W. Crooke, op. cit. ii. 308; E. Aymonier in R.I.E.H xxiv. 372; B. F. Matthes, Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Sellebes, 93).

When we pass to cases more definitely representative of worship, we find a development of two

ideas: first, that the sacred life immanent in the sacred symbol or image needs periodic renewal; and, secondly, that the spirit connected therewith requires conciliation; anointing the sacred object renues its vigour and also brings the worshipper (Bancroft, ii. 139). The bushmen of the Masai of Central Africa or the Australian of Queensland

aints his sacred stone with fat when asking it for rain, we may infer that the sacred object is supposed to be revived and rendered gracious by the cosmetic virtues of unction. Similarly the Central Australians rub their churinga with fat and ochre whenever they examine them. The churinga is supposed to have human feelings, and the process of anointing it is called the getting of fat (J. Stuhlmann, op. cit. 534; Roth, op. cit. 158; Spencer-Gillen\footnote{2}, 255, 265, 270, also\footnote{3}, 161). Here the use of grease for utensils combines with cosmetic anoint-
ing. In many cases it is natural to find these ideas merging in the notion of feeding the divine object; but it would be incorrect to derive the anointing of sacred stones from the practice of

feeding the god. The custom of smearing blood upon sacred symbols and images is of wide extent,

but it is not a survival from any practice of pouring the blood into the mouth of an image. The practical primitive mind does not confuse the

unction of an image with the feeding of the god and the two are allied. As illustrating the extension of the custom, a few examples are here brought forward. The Greeks and Romans washed, anointed, and garlanded their sacred stones. The

upai-de of Delphi was periodically anointed and

rapped in wool (Schömann, ii. 256; Lucian, Alex. 30; Apuleius, Flor. i. 1; Minucius Felix, Octav. iii.; Pausanias, x. 24, and J. G. Frazer, Com-
mentary on Pausanias, v. 341 f.). The Malagasy

oint sacred stones with fat or oil or the blood of victims. The Wamabana near-herd anoints a rock with oil and offers fruits, in order to get his cattle through a difficult pass (J. Shibue, History of Madagascar, Ze. 325). Anointing as a form of nutrition and unction is found among the Kei

landers; every family here possesses a sacred black stone, and to obtain success in war or trade a man anoints it with oil and offers a sacrifice to it. In Celebes, sacred images, apparatus, and buildings are smearing with oil by worshippers. The ancient Egyptians anointed the statues of the gods, applying the unguent of a donkey with their left hand. The tribal Brothers anointed the image of their goddess, Dea Dia, on festival days. At the ceremony of mourning for the dead god, the stone image of Attis was anointed. This was probably the anointing of the skull and the oned body brought out from the tomb on the day of Resurrec-
tion, the priest anointed the throats of the worshippers. The religion of ancient Greece provides a curious instance of the meeting of the practical and the religious spheres. The old temple-statues of the gods, made of wood, were anointed with oil to preserve them from decay, while to preserve the magnificent creations of gold and ivory, such as the image of Zeus at Olympia, oil was run in pipes throughout the building (Kath. op. cit. 299; Matthes, op. cit. 94; Wilkinson, op. cit. iii. 361; CIL vi. 19797; Firmicus, de Errore, 23; Pausanias, v. 11, and Frazer's *Con. ad loc.*). 17. The principle of communion with the deity by means of anointing the sacred symbol or the worshippers himself is more apparent in the elementary stages of worship. The Asklopolinai, we are told, venerate the bear, and try to keep on good terms with him. They pray to him when they wish to be successful in a bear-hunt, and so to secure a good supply of bear's flesh to eat and of the bear's grease with which they are always anointed. The natives of Central Australia, at the *Indhavama* ceremony for war, supply the supply of kangaroos, eat a little of the flesh of this animal and anoint their bodies with the fat. In order to obtain success in hunting eucarys, they rub themselves with stomach contents of that animal. Similarly, before eating snakes they rub their arms with snake fat. At a higher stage of development we find the West African negro-anointing that part of his own body where his guardian spirit resides (de Smelt, *West Afrikanische astrologische Missionarier*, 139; Spencer-Gillen, 206, also, 182, 235; Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, 126). 18. The oil of anointing, as we have seen, transmits the sacredness latent in either of these dedications, i.e. the worshippers or the god. If we look at the controlling source of its virtue, the potentially sacred substance of the human body, and compare the earliest forms of consecration, we see that the theory of anointing leads us back to pre-theistic and even pre-fetalistic times. The elementary stages of dedication illustrate the less common direction of anointing, in which the worshippers or the priest concerns himself with feeding instead of nourishing it. The dedication, more or less informal, of sacred buildings and apparatus by anointing obtained in Egypt, Greece, and Italy; it is remarkably prominent in India, ancient and modern, but connected with sacred and profane objects. There is, of course, connected with the use of oil for tools, utensils, and furniture, but also has associations with fetishistic methods of making gods (Crawley, *The Tree of Life*, *A Study of Religion* [1905], 239). The ritual of renewing the sacred vigour of a sacred symbol has already been referred to here; we note the original induction. Thus every man on the Gold Coast makes for himself a *amukum*, or tutelary deity. When he has made it, he anoints it with butter. Among the Batakas the *guru* inducts a spirit into the fetish with various ceremonies, chief among which is the application of a vegetable-unguent (Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, 1907). 19. In its latest developments anointing passes into a theological metaphor of quasi-doctrinal import. Consecration carries with it from the sacramental to the ethical-religious plane the various gifts of consecration, leaving in its course such traces of mysticism as *the White Ointment from the Tree of Life*, feared and bathysmal for the gods and *Justin's adaptation of Plato's fancy, to the effect that the Creator im-

pressed the Soul of the Universe upon it as an union in the form of a *x* (Justin, *Apol*. i. 10; *Plato, Timaeus*, 36). In conclusion, the history of anointing in its connexion with religion shows that of all sacramental media the sacred unguent is the most spiritual, and that from beginning to end holy union is the least material of all purely physical modes of assimilating the Divine. Its characteristic is soul. LITERATURE.—*Esp. W. R. Smith, The Religion of the Semites* (1904). Other references—*Bowen, Brit. Antiq. 1894*; *A. E. CRAWLEY, The Mystic Rose* (1905). 105 ff.; *F. W. CULMANN, Das Stellen im Morgen- und Abendlande* (1870). A. E. CRAWLEY.
and washed. Girls, on arriving at puberty, are decorated and anointed with oil, and oil and turmeric (haldi). Brähman boys, on investiture with the thread, are similarly anointed with oil and haldi.* The ceremony of gatra-haldi is performed during the preliminary marriage rites, and even the wedding-gifts of Brähne and bride-groom are anointed with oil and turmeric. The 'sandalwood stone,' which they have to touch with their feet, is rubbed with oil. The bride's brother sprinkles on the hands of the bride with ghi, and sprinkles pached rice upon them. At a Yānâi wedding the mothers of the contracting parties anoint them with oil, turmeric, and sandal-paste. They then bathe and put on new clothes. Amongst the Kānnâyâniis the village barber is also used. Oil or paste is a common medium for sacred marks.

After death, the body is washed and anointed with sandal-paste, oil, and turmeric, or ghi. In some cases, the chief mourner touches each aper- ture of the body with a turnip dipped in a snatra, and pours ghi on each. The forehead of a dying man is, if possible, smeared with the sacred mud of the Ganges. At the burial of the urn the chief mourner anoints himself with ghi.*

At the ordination of a Buddhist priest, his hair is touched with oil before being cut.† The important ceremony of abhiṣekâ is, in principle a form of anointment; the holy water, with its numerous ingredients, consecrates rather than infusion of divine force by histruction. This rite is celebrated towards the close of the protracted ceremonies of the ordination, and may be anointed with ghi. The new rite was celebrated the day after the full moon of Phalguna, i.e. about the end of March. Eighteen ingredients were necessary, the chief being the water of the sacred river Sarasvati. The others included ghi, milk, cow-dung, honey, sugar, sandal-water, perfumes, earths, turmeric, and rice-meal. The adhiṣvâra mixed them from eighteen pitchers in a bucket of nalinâbara wood, repeating a mantra at every stage, e.g. 'O honeyed water, whom the Devas collected, thou mighty one, thou benedict of kings, thou enlivener; with thee Mitra and Varuna were consecrated, and Indra was freed from all his ills; the water, thou art naturally a giver of kingdoms, grant a King-dom to my Yajâmana' (naming the king). 'O honeyed and divine ones, mix with each other for the strength and vigour of our Yajaman.' The king, who was dressed in a bathing dress, was anointed with the head of the king from their respective positions. Mantras were recited as—

O Yajâmana, I bathe thee with the glory of the moon; may you be king of kings among kings; O ye well worshipped

\*H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, 1894, pp. 499, 519; The Religion of the Aryans, pub. by Longmans, pp. 270; Monier Williams, p. 357; Ward, L. 74; S. C. Bose, The Hinduism as they are, pp. 36; in general, Hildermann, Vedische Opfer und Zauber, 1898, pp. 49, 61.

ANOINTING (Semite).—If we find traces of anointing among the Arabs in pre-Islamic days, it is in the traditions of Judaism and Christianity. In both these faiths anointing is a sign of consecration to the sacred office and of the bliss of heaven.

The Easterns, however, use it for sacred purposes, and they consider it a symbol of the presence of the Divine, in the persons of the Râjâ or the king. Figuratively they refer to it as 'brâhman' (or 'śah')-'king.'

According to the Vârâha Purâna, a man may perform the ceremony on himself in a simplified form: 'He who pours sanctum-seed and water on his head from a right-handed sañhika destroys all the sins of his life.'

A modern form of abhiṣekâ is still employed at the coronation of Eajâna. In Assâma, for instance, the water for the ceremony is taken from nine holy pâls and is mingled with the juices of plants. A similar account is given of coronation in Myore. There is no ceremony of consecration in analogous to baptism. A mixture of sandal-paste and attar of roses is the ignuent employed, and a little of this is placed on the forehead with the middle finger of the right hand. The royal metals are then tied on.

As in abhiṣekâ, the Brâhmas anoint themselves with oil or ghi after performing similar religious duties. The institution of a ceremony also anoints himself. On the first day of the festival Sambhânti it is the custom for every one to take a bath, and in which the body with oil forms a conspicuous feature. In the nirââka-pahlavändhaka rite the tree from which the sacrificial post was to be cut was anointed, and the victim, after being rubbed with oil and turmeric and washed, with a piece of wood (aalâ) is declared the sacrifice. In the Yajû sacrifice the ram is rubbed with oil, bathed, covered with aksata, and garlanded.† At the Dâra-gâpâ festival a merchant then bathes and anointed with several kinds of scented oils.

The consecration of buildings by means of anointing is a well-developed feature of Hindu ritual. There is a ceremony analogous to the laying of foundation-stones, in which a piece of wood (aâsulâ) is decorated and anointed, being thereby anointed with the spirit of the god Vâstupuruša, who becomes the tutelary deity of the house. Again, when the principal dwelling is intended to be consecrated, it is anointed with sandal-oil and worshipped. The same ceremony is performed over the ridge-plate and the well, and for the house generally, when first entered.

The images of the gods in the temples are bathed, anointed, and dressed by the priests daily. Un-guents for this purpose (virsamā) are one of the 'essential offerings,' presented by worshippers. Sacred stones are also anointed and decorated; and the worshippers of Siva anoint the lingâ.

The principle of consecration is well brought out in the Hindu ritual of anointing, while the allied principles of decoration and purification are fully recognized.

A. E. CHAVELLY.


Râjendralâla Mitra, ii, 46, f. i, 256; D. Hamilton, in W. Martin, Eastern India, 1858, iii, 611; L. Ewing, Eastern Experience, 1888, p. 393; E. G. Balfour, Encyclopedia of India, i, 'Anointing.'

H. Oldenberg, pp. 266; R. Mitra, l. c. 369 f.; Dubois, pp. 512.

S. Bose, p. 137; H. Oldenberg, Stille Leben in Tibet, p. 182; D. R. Johnson, Nepal and Tibet, p. 147; J. A. JSAS, 1843, p. 20; Annette Re-}

searches, vii, 294; Dubois, p. 589; Mahâkânda Tanâtra, v. 91.
we must perforce assume that, though still clinging by force of habit and tradition to rites and practices that fall within the category of primitive religious customs, resting upon distinctly primitive beliefs, they had advanced beyond the stage of ideas sufficiently to cause the rise among them of the longing to come into direct touch—not merely through the mediation of a special body of men—with the higher powers. The act of anointing is vouched for in the pre-Islamic period in connection with the visit to the old sanctuary at Mecca, known as the Ka’ba, when the worshippers, in order to acquire and take, as it were, into their own persons some of the sanctity associated with the deities of the place, rubbed their hands over the images of the gods (Wellhausen, Reste Arab. Heid.2 p. 105) or pressed themselves against the edifice itself. Although no unguent which we commonly associate with anointing appears to have been employed, it is significant that the verb used to express this pressing (ta’karrub) comes from the stem that in both Heb. and Assyrian, embodies the idea of ‘offering,’ while the rubbing (tamsuzzh) is from a stem that in Hebrew becomes the generic term for anointing, and in the form mš’lāh (Messiah) becomes one of the most significant terms in the religious nomenclature of both Judaism and Christianity.

Unless the kissing of the gods or of sacred objects, as, e.g., the ‘black stone’ at the Ka’ba, be included, the ancient Semites do not appear to have gone further than to symbolize in oil the rites of pressing and rubbing the desire to reach out to the sanctity associated with images or objects. The use of wine and oil belongs to a still later stage of religious custom, and, when they are met with in ancient Semitic practices, are the results of external influences. On the other hand, the antiquity of the blood-rite as a ceremony, used in covenanting, being vouché for (Trumbull, Blood Covenant, ch. i.), some of the uses to which blood is put in the sacrificial ritual of the ancient Semites may properly be classed under the category of anointing. To be sure, the custom of pouring or rubbing the blood of a sacrificial animal over a sacred stone on which the slaughtering was done, is not looked upon as a species of anointing, for the purpose of the act is to symbolize that the deity, represented by the stone, or supposed to reside in it, has accepted the sacrifice; but if we take it as the vital element (Wellhausen, l.c. p. 113). However, in the ancient Semitic method of covenanting by dipping the hands in blood (Trumbull, l.c. ch. i.) a union of the contracting parties is symbolized, and if the deity is introduced into the act by rubbing the blood also over his symbol—whatever it may be—it is with the view of making the deity a party to the covenant, and in so far the thought of a direct union with the deity—a blood relationship—is present. Yet even here a direct transfer of sanctity from the deity to his worshippers does not appear to take place, as would be involved in anointing viewed as a religious rite. It is significant, as Wellhausen (l.c. p. 99) points out, that the ‘black stone’ of the Ka’ba is not smeared with blood. This may be taken as a proof that communion with the deity had its decided limitations, resting upon the mental idea underlying the act, of the sprinkling of blood over the door-posts and lintels, or the threshold of a dwelling, and such other practices as are instanced by Curtiss and Doughty as surviving the oldest times among the inhabitants of Syria and Arabia, in which the blood is rubbed or sprinkled on animals or fields or newly erected or newly occupied dwellings as a protection against demons (Jian), or, in more positive terms, a form of the ancient Semitic Religion To-Day, ch. xv.; Doughty, Arabia Deserta, i. pp. 136 and 499, ii. p. 100, etc.), are not to be interpreted as anything more than the placing of the objects in question under the control of the gods involved through the sacrificial animal blood. The use of blood in the ritual, such as the sprinkling over the worshippers (Ex 24), or over the altar and the sanctuary (Lv 4), for which Robertson Smith (Rel. of Sem.,*p. 344) may be consulted, is a separate rite.

Considerations of this nature lead us to the conclusion that the prominent role played by anointing among the Hebrews, with the application of unguents to sacred objects or to persons invested with sanctity, as priests and kings, is an expression of considerably advanced religious beliefs, in which the symbolic transfer of qualities associated with the Divine essence enters as a prominent factor. That this use of unguents in religious rites represents the transfer to the sphere of religion of originally secular rites, marking the adornment of one’s person, may be granted; but this view, so brilliantly set forth by Robertson Smith (Rel. of Sem., p. 252 ff.), adds nothing to the case, and it has been pointed out that the anointing of the altar by Abishai (I Chron 15:29), etc., as symbolizing the connection of the altar with such objects and persons, and was to be understood as the investiture with such sanctity. The use of oil and wine as unguents—both symbols of luxury accompanying a more advanced culture—seems also to link the rite of anointing with anointing among the Hebrews as among the other nations of antiquity, and is practised to this day in the Roman and Greek Churches for the consecration of sacred edifices. Similarly, the two last mentioned by Wellhausen as the way instances of the anointing of altars, as, e.g., the stone at Bethel (Gn 2817 339); and, incidentally, it may be noted that the reference to oil, which a wanderer like Jacob could hardly have carried with him, indicates the projection of a late custom into the remote past. A similar projection is to be seen in the statement that the furniture of the Tabernacle and the Tabernacle itself were anointed with oil (Ex 30:22, 34). Similarly, the high priest was anointed with oil, sprinkled and poured on his head (Lv 85), while in the case of the ordinary priests, the oil was only sprinkled on them (Lv 86). The anointing of kings represented the formal investiture with the Divine power and was viewed as a sacred one among the Hebrews. We have explicit references to such anointing in the case of Saul (1 S 109), David (1 S 165, 2 S 25), Solomon (1 K 194), Josiah (2 K 115), Jehoahaz (2 K 239), and we may therefore assume that the rite was a general one from the beginnings of kingship among the Hebrews. That the act indicated, besides the purely formal investiture, the actual transfer of Divine powers to the person anointed, may be concluded from the explicit statement in connexion with the anointing ceremony, that ‘the spirit of Jehovah’ rested with the anointed one; so in the case of David (1 K 194). Correspondingly, the Divine Spirit leaves Saul (v.14) as an indication that he is no longer in touch with the Divine Essence, i.e. is deposed from his sacred office.

In the further spiritualization of the fundamental idea underlying the rite of anointing, namely, the transfer of sacred or Divine qualities to an object or individual, the prophets are naturally viewed as the ‘anointed’ ones (Isa 4119; Jer 3130), and we may therefore assume that the act was performed, except possibly in the single instance of Elisha, and even in this case the order given to Elisha to perform it (1 K 1970) may be intended only as a metaphor to indicate the possession of the Divine Spirit, not the literal act of anointing. The metaphorical application is clear in the case of Cyrus, who is called the...
‘anointed’ of the Lord, to indicate that he acts in accordance with the Divine quality with which he is imbued. The same interpretation is to be put upon the appellation ‘anointed’ employed in a like sense. Ps. 74:11 (Heb. ‘an‘ôtn), a return step to designate Israel as the chosen people of Jehovah, as His ‘anointed’ one (Ps 84:10, 89:15, Hab 3:3), etc., in which case ‘anointed’ has become a synonym not only for the historic Solomon, but to the holy menorah also. The final stage is reached in the doctrine of the Messiah as the ‘anointed’ one to bring salvation to His people and to mankind in general. In Christianity, Jesus becomes the Messiah ‘per excellentia (Gr. Xpœrôs), while Jewish theology in rejecting Jesus as the Redeemer of mankind was gradually led to abandon the doctrine of a personal Messiah, and to accept in its stead the outlook towards a Messianic age. The association of anointing with the Divine Spirit passed over into the Christian Church, which, to emphasize the descent of the Holy Spirit on all believers (2 Co 1:21, 1 Jn 2:20), instituted the practice of anointing expensive and rare ointments with the rites of baptism and confirmation.

As yet no traces of anointing as a religious rite have been found in Babylonia and Assyria, though there were no doubt anointings of this kind occurring across the rite in cuneiform documents, especially for those periods when kingship and Divinity were in close union, as appears to have been the case in the days of Sargon, and during the reign of the Ur dynasty (c. 2100 to c. 2040 B.C.). In later times we have the pronounced tendency towards the secularization of the office of royalty, with a concomitant centralization of Divine prerogatives in the priesthood; and it would appear that among the Phoenicians likewise the position of the king, under the influence of the late Bab.-Assyr. conception, became a distinctively secular one, connecting itself with that of a lay-judge rather than with that of a priest-king. As for anointing as a secular rite among the Scenutes, there is every reason to believe that its origin is bound up with the use of unguents as medicinal remedies. In the medical prescriptions preserved on the cuneiform tablets of Ašurbanipal’s library, copied from originals that probably date from as early as 2000 B.C., oils of various kinds to be applied to the skin are mentioned. The frequent mention of unguents of various kinds and their ingredients (Ps 45:8; 80:1; 104:15; 107:36; 110:1; 133:2; 147:14; Jer 8:22; 16:19; Ps 94:5; 110:1; Is 21:11; Ezek 16:9; Mk 10:12; and especially Ja 5:4), points in the same direction, and forms the basis of the Roman Catholic sacrament of Extreme Unction, and the Greek and (previous to 552) Anglian anointing of the sick. The cleansing qualities of unguents appear also to have been recognized at an early period in Babylonia, as well as in their power in the prevention of diseases of the skin, so common in hot and moist climates. The use of unguents thus became at once a part of the toilet and an adornment of the person, like dress and ornaments. With the increase of luxury, expenditure and highly scented ointments were used, and, as a natural corollary to this stage of the custom, anointing became a symbol of prosperity (Ps 92:20), while the general tendency in mourning rites to mourn the late or living the sadness of the age led to the view that anointing was not appropriate during the prescribed period of lament for the dead, so that it was discontinued at such times. In the Semitic Orient popular customs are apt to become hardened to ceremonial obligations, and thus (the anointing of a guest takes its place as a ceremony of greeting and hospitality, and also as a means of bestowing honor. The account of Mary’s anointing Jesus with precious ointment in Mark 14:3 and of the observance of the ceremony down to a late period. Anointing oneself before paying ceremonial visits falls under the same category (Mt 26:6).

LITERATURE.—Besides the references in this art. see the Hebrew Archetypes of Benzinger and Nowack, and the literature in Hastings’ Dict, e. v. ‘Anointing.’ See also Jacob at Bethel by A. E. Stephens, and ‘The Anointing,’ with some references to literature given there.

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ANCELM OF CANTERBURY

I. Life.—Aneel was born at Rome, probably at Cosa (not Grossan) in 1093. After a sheltered youth spent in study, on the death of his mother he crossed the Alps, and after three years of wandering, on the death of 1099 at the convent of Monte Cassino under the guidance of Benedict, he was, in all probability, newly founded (1030) by the saintly Herlevin. There Lanfranc was staying. In the results of his studies and in the results of his travel, 1099, on the death of his father, Anselm took the veil, and when Lanfranc removed to Caen (1003), Anselm was elected his successor as prior. The fame of Bec as a school grew greater still. Anselm’s genius as a teacher was remarkable; his gentle methods earned him an epoch in pedagogics (see esp. Eadmer, Fluctuum et aliorum foedere, lib. ii. 10; on his decretals, Bury, c. 1078) the reluctant Anselm was appointed abbot. One result of this election was of far-reaching consequences. Bec had been endowed with vast estates in England, and Anselm’s journeys in their interest brought him into touch both with the Conqueror and William the Conqueror, and enforced him to the whole nation. On the death of Lanfranc (May 28, 1098) all men looked to Anselm as his successor. But Rufus, who was the spurned of the Church by keeping seas vacant and claiming their revenues, refused to appoint a new archbishop. In 1092 the king fell ill at Gloucester, and in one of his spurns of remorse sent for Anselm, and after some delay appointed him archbishop as the result of the king’s acceptance of violence was almost necessary, but once nominated, the ‘furious bull’, already repentant of his persistence, discovered that the ‘wrenching of the archbishops’ chair was at least a thousand times more painful than his match. Anselm insisted on the restitution to Canterbury of all its estates, and on the recognition of Urban (already recognized in Normandy) as the true pope. To this last William it, who had taken advantage of an anti-pope (Clement iii. to set the ‘pope’s peace’ for the whole of Europe, as the war between France and England, the verbal consent by Anselm’s threat of retiring to Bec. At last Anselm was consecrated (25th Sept, 1093), during the absence of the king, for his tenures of power, a matter of interest in view of later disputes.

The question of the recognition of Urban was, however, not really settled till 1100, when William, according to the king’s request, submitted his case to the pope’s judgment. In 1099, the pope demanded a statement of his acts of excommunication. Anselm refused to return to Urban’s authority, and the pope, having heard the case, refused to submit. A letter from Urban (April 1100) was still more hardening. But the antipope (Clement iii.) was not lost, for during the year the other batch, Anselm, who again took refuge at Bec, was recognized (modern Liber), in the Alpine mountains, his Cur Deus Homo. At Urban’s request the archbishops of Paris (1103), and his archbishops of Rheims (1108), and vindicated before the Greeks the Latin doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. From Rome Anselm, refused admission to England, retired to Lyon, but on the death of Rufus (Aug. 2, 1100) was summoned back to England by Henry in. To his influence, in fact, Henry owed his crown in his struggle with his brother Robert. A new dispute on the subject of lay investitures soon broke out. In England this was undoubtedly an innovation on Anselm’s part on the ‘customs’. In fact it was a part of the great conflict on the matter on the Continent, first started by Hildebrand, which after a struggle of 60 years, in which both parties settled at last by the compromise of Worms (Sept. 23, 1122). After many years of delay the whole of Henry’s barons, and his cousin, Pachus in. Anselm journeyed once more to Rome to defend his own views.

(Christians, 1103). For eighteen months he lived in banishment at Lyon, but on his preparing to excommunicate Henry, the king, influenced by his English bishops (of whom marriage was due to Anselm), gave way, and, on August 11, 1107, a compromise was agreed to, virtually a victory for Anselm (cy. 1103).

Before the peace was made, Anselm had returned to England (Aug. 1100). He had been one of the foremost judicial reforms, planning to make the lords of the land to the commons. But he had come home to die. For six months he gradually faded away, kept alive by the hope of a return to Rome, the observance of the ceremony down to a late period. Anointing oneself before paying ceremonial visits falls under the same category (Mt 26:6).

LITERATURE.—Besides the references in this art. see the Hebrew Archetypes of Benzinger and Nowack, and the literature in Hastings’ Dict, e. v. ‘Anointing.’ See also Jacob at Bethel by A. E. Stephens, and ‘The Anointing,’ with some references to literature given there.

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ready been enroled by a greater than Alexander among the im-
mortal Saints (Cant. xii., last line). His feast day is April 21.

(Auta Sanct., n. v.)

2. Character and place in history.—In character Anselm was a true saint, whose mingled sanctity and sagacity, gentleness and firmness, tenderness and severity, united do him a charm which drew him under his influence, from the rudest (Bragd. HN 89), the Conqueror (Vita, i. 31), and Duke Roger’s Apulian Saracens included (Vita, ii. 33), to the most obstinate novice (Vita, i. 10) or the pious saint John. He was a master of personal magnetism invariably associated in the Middle Ages with miraculous gifts (Eadmer, Descript. Miraculorum (R.S.), 425 ff.). His unfeigned humility in all circumstances was the natural result of that mystical detachment which gives abiding interest to his writings.

Anselm’s place in the ecclesiastical history of England cannot be exaggerated. Hitherto England had hitherto been closely connected with Rome, and as a Church had possessed her own customs and a considerable degree of independence. This independence the Conqueror was prepared to continue, and Anselm had the advantage of 1076 to reply to Hildebrand (Freyman, Norman Conquest, iv. 433). The Conqueror insisted on the complete subordination of Church to State; the modern congé d’ilic was with him the invariable rule. The powers of convocation were limited by his pleasure; papal letters could not be received unless they had first obtained his sanction (cf. Eadmer, HN i. 9). That William’s successors could not maintain his position was due to the stand taken by Anselm. This Italian of Aosta, by the force of his piety, character, and learning, succeeded in imposing upon the English Church the ideals of Hildebrand, and bringing the Church in England into close relation with the Church abroad. In many aspects the Reformation was but the rude undoing of his work and a return by the Tudors to the policy maintained by the Conqueror.

3. Writings and place as a thinker and theologian.—Anselm’s writings may be classified as follows:

(i.) Four books of Epistles. —These letters (over 400 in all) are proof of a wide correspondence, and of the singular regard in which Anselm was held as a director of souls by all sorts and classes. While of value for the details of his life, and for their revelation of his character, there is scarcely a reference in them to the day-to-day details, another sign of his philosophic detachment of soul.

(ii.) Devotional and Hortatory. —Of these the most important are his Orationes (Migne, PL clxxi., 835 ff.) and Meditationes (ib. 710 ff.). This last has singular charm; Anselm’s mystical communings with his own soul breathing throughout a passionate love for Christ (cf. Med. xii. and xiii., both worth reading).

(iii.) Poetical. —That he wrote certain hymns for canonical hours may be reasonably accepted. Much also may be said for assigning to him the Mariæ, a poem in honour of the Virgin sometimes attributed to St. Bernard, and commonly known as the Prager of St. Clair of Poland (Rigg, Anselm, 97-103; first published in full by Rago, London, 1888). But neither in the Carmen de Contemptu Mundi (Migne, PL clxxi., 867 ff.), with its amazing indifference to quantities, nor in several rude poems on the Virgin attributed to him (ib. 1055 ff.), is there any evidence of his authorship save some late and vague traditions. This may have had the Italian’s passion for the Virgin is, however, the Orationes (cf. Rigg, 46-60; Migne, PL clxxi. 942 ff.).

(iv.) Theological and Philosophical. —Of these the most important are—

(a) Monologion de Divinitatis Essentia.—In this work, written in 1070, when still prior at Bec (Lep. iv. 103), he gives the famous so-called a priori proof of the existence of God which has thence found its way into most theological treatises. It is really an application of the Platonic Ideas to the demonstration of a cosmogony who contends for a logical ascent from the particular to the universal. In the world of experience we are confronted by transitory imperfect phenomena which inevitably lead the mind upward toward an eternal necessary perfection. Our recognition of goodness, for instance, in phenomena, drives us to believe in a supreme nature that is good per se, and which must be the final cause of all things, that supreme objectivity in whom our ideas inhere. Thus the existence of God is implicit in ordinary experience.

The criticism of this argument, which rests on certain Realistic premisses, would take us too far into philosophical questions. But we may point out here a criticism that applies to all Anselm’s work—his extreme anxiety to satisfy reason (‘credas ut intelligas’). From this base grew his infinite Trinitarian argument, and his reply to Hildebrand (cf. Anselm’s second last answer of Bec). Anselm in this is akin, though with a difference, to Kant, as contradistinguished from Hegel. He attempts to establish on rational grounds not merely the Trinity, but also the Incarnation; and all knowledge, he seems to think, rests on faith.

(b) The Proslogion, so called because it is in the form of an address to God, is an extension of the a priori argument to an attempt to prove the existence of the Trinity by a single deduction instead of, as in the Monologion, by a long inductive chain. The fool’s very denial of God, he argues, involves the idea of God, and of this idea existence is a necessary part. In other words, thought includes reality, and he who denies the existence of the Trinity tentatively postulates the Absolute, an argument substantially the same as that employed 600 years later by Descartes. To this reasoning Count Gaunilo (F. c. 1053), abbot of Marmoutier, replied in his Liber pro Insipiente or Apology for a Fool (printed in Migne, clxxi. 242-8) that the idea of the fabled Isles of the Blest does not postul this existence (c. 6). Anselm replied briefly in his Liber Apologeticus that there is all the difference between the idea of the Summum Capitale, or eternal necessary idea, and any particular empirical idea of things which had a beginning, and will have an end (c. 9). But this existence of existences is an inalienable feature of the idea of the Summum Capitale, which cannot be conceived save as existing.

The history of these polemical arguments of Anselm belongs to the development of the philosophy of the Church, and can only be received by the Aristotelian schoolmen, with the exception of Duns Scotus, who admired them as the day-by-day progress of philosophy in the form of the systems of Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, and Hegel. Their most effective critics are Kant (Pure Reason, i. 121 ff.) and (iii. 4). Anselm’s objections to Augustine are also most clear (e.g. de Trin., viii, c. 3).

(c) de Fide Trinitatis, an answer to Roscelli’s denial of universals as ‘empty words,’ was composed in 1098 at Schiavi. Roscelli’s denial led him practically to the choice between Sabellianism and Trithesism; for the Trinity is itself a universal in respect of the comprehension theory of the compound personality. Anselm meets Roscelli’s monism by pointing out that it is a fallacy to suppose the universal and the individual to be repugnant inter se. Those who care for ingenious similitudes to the doctrine of the Trinity will find, in words that remind us of the Athenian Creed, a parallel between a ‘fountain, river, and lake,’ each of which may be called the Nile (c. 8).

(d) To one point—the doctrine of the Incarnation—of the modern Roman Church Anselm gave a powerful impulse in his de Conceptu Virginis. In this work (c. 18), as well as in the Cur Deus (l. 16), he argued for the con- gruity of the entire supernatural with the natural, as before he had expressed in the Exposition of the Holy Ghost. Between this and the doctrine of the Incarnation there is but a step, which he himself may have taken in his last thought (see the tractate of
his nephew on the matter, Migne, PL clix. 382 ff.). According to Mansi (xxv. 829), Anselm inaugurated in England the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (Dec. 8). In this treatise (cc. 25-26) Anselm defends most rigorously the damnation of all unbaptized children—a logical deduction from his views on original sin.

(c) De Veritate, a short work which reminds the student of the importance of truth as the accurate perception of the archetypal ideas in the mind of God.

(f) De Libero Arbitrio. —Mere freedom is not the power of choosing between alternatives, but of persevering in righteousness for its own sake (c. 13)—a doctrine afterwards more fully developed in Kant’s Metaphysics of Ethics. It is of importance to notice that Anselm points out that original sin need not involve total depravity. Man is still left in possession of certain powers of the real ‘natural’ freedom (c. 3) and the power of will to govern motives (cc. 5, 6).

(q) Deus Homo (begun in 1084, finished in 1088). In this work, which marks an epoch in the development of doctrines of the Atonement, Anselm destroyed once for all (i. 7) the old tradition of a ransom to be paid to the Devil (Thucydis, p. 215, ed. Loumartzsch. iv. 27) was developed by Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, and Augustine (de Lib. Arbit. lii. 10) and dominated the Church from Gregory the Great to Anselm.) In place of this he substituted a conflict between the goodness and justice of God, familiar in all forensic ideas of the Atonement, and which reminds the student of Roman doctrines of lese majeste. The defects of this theory (which may be described in brief as the interpretation of the relationship between God and man in terms of the Roman law familiar to Anselm—of Tontent law Anselm would know nothing)—, in addition to its tendency to destroy, as in much current theology, the essential ethical unity of the Godhead, lie in the essential opposition between God and the external world which it posits, leading to the idea of arbitrariness on the part of God, and the absence on the part of the individual of his own personality as an essential factor. This last, we may remark, is a common defect of scholastic Realism. The immanence of God can find no place, and the Pauline mystical conception of union with the risen Christ (I Cor. vi. v. 5) is left out of consideration. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Pauline idea would have appealed strongly to Anselm’s cast of thought. The conflict, however, is clear from the juridical bondage. But instead we have the superabundant payment by Christ, the substituted sinless God-man, of a debt due from man to the justice of God (i. 12, 26), which debt man, by reason of his original sin, cannot discharge. The keynote of the treatise is thus the paradox ‘man must, man cannot’ (ii. 6: ‘quam satisfactionem nec potest facere nisi Deus, nec debit nisi homo; necesse est ut ea faciat Deus homo’). Anselm’s theory of the Incarnation in this treatise is far from satisfactory. In his anxiety to avoid conception now known as kenothe, he limits the sufferings of Christ to His human nature (i. 8: ‘Divinam naturam asserimus impassibilim’). The digression on the restoration from among men of the number of the angels who have fallen (cc. 16-19) is characteristically medieval.

2. Opuscula. —(a) De Glorifico Spiritus Sancti.—This great work, the outlines of which were given at Bari and completed shortly before his death, moves in the main on lines traced out by St. Augustine’s De nobilitate Dei (Dea 39) on the cultus of the Holy Ghost, and so far as limited by His threelfold Personality. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son (‘Filhoe’) is more consonant with this personality than the Greek doctrine, which rends the co-inherence in the unity of the Godhead of the Three Persons (see esp. c. 29).

LITERATURE.—(1) LIFE OF ANSELM: We are primarily dependent on two collections of life of Anselm, PL clix. 382 ff., see especially his secretary Eadmer’s Historia Novorum et de Vita Anselmi, two most commendable records (best ed. by Martin Rule in Roll’s Series, 1854, to which all references are given; also in Migne, PL). Of other sources, William of Malmesbury, de gestis huius maiestatis (Huntingdon), and Orden in his Vita Eadmeri, ed. (Paris, 1838-55), are of most value. Of modern literature which is of note is that of P. Harnack, he of Canterbury (1896), especially valuable for the philosophy; Martin Rule’s St. Anselm (3 Vols. 1853) is a good storehouse of facts, far from judicial in tone. Freer, however, at length with Anselm in his Norman Conquest, and more fully in his William Rufus. For the general reader, the history is less to Anselm’s position as a theologian, Dean Church. St. Anselm (1st ed. 1875, often reprinted), may be commended. Of foreign works the best perhaps is Ch. de Remusat, St. Anselme (Copenhagen 1873). Bagge’s Eadmer (1892) and S. Anselme (1887, and abridged, 1891) are also of service. The Life of Anselm by Dean Hook, Archbishops (1890-70), is a valuable Erastian caricature. Dean Stephens’ account, English Church, vol. 2 (1910), is judicious and sympathetic.

(3) REVIEWS of the philosophy of Anselm are many. The student should consult Ueberweg, etc. Attention may also be drawn to Cremer’s work, that Anselm’s doctrine of the Incarnation was different from the earlier, that of Tontent law conceptions as distinct from Roman. See Cremer, SK, 1880, 189. On the other side Louta, Dogmengeschichte, 275 n.; Harnack, History of Dogma, iii. 342, 565.

H. B. WORKMAN.

ANTEDILUVIANS—(a) The term ‘antediluvian’ (Lat. ante diluvium) was formerly applied to men or races who lived before the Flood, the latter being regarded as a Deluge universal in extent, and destroying all men excepting Noah and his family. But the term also came to be used by some ethnologists to describe certain races which were believed to have survived the Deluge, the latter being supposed by them to be concerned only with a single race of men, those descended from Adam. This pre-Adamite theory, as it was called, found many advocates during last century. Thus George Catlin referred the American Indian tribes to an antediluvian genus or family called Anthropus Americanus (O-kepea, London, 1866; for a later exponent of this view, see Alex. Winchell’s Pre-Adamite Races, 1875). The identification of the Deluge in a universal Deluge has been generally given up, the name ‘antediluvian’ has come to have a literary, or it may be a mythological, rather than an ethnological meaning. The examination of this article will be to inquire into, and to some extent compare, the beliefs of various nations concerning those who lived before the great Deluge, especially where that event has come to be part of a definite traditional belief.

1. The Bible antediluvians.—(a) The traditions of J (and secondary elements [J*]).—Man is moulded out of the dust of the ground, and becomes a living being by the inspiration of the breath of Jehovah (Gen 2:7); woman is made out of a rib taken from the first man while he slept (221). He lives at first on the fruit of the garden (225), in the simple innocence of childhood (225). He learns sexual knowledge as a consequence of that temptation, and his sense of shame sets him to provide a form of dress (3') much like what is still used by the pigmy women of the African Ituri Forest. On his expulsion from Eden this was provided for clothing, an alleviating the slaughter of animals (v. 5'). Their use for sacrifice from this point is implied in the story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4 3'), though the staple food is still vegetable. The Beloit points out that only through hard labour—in evident contrast to the fruit of the garden produced by Divine agency (31'-32'). A more important result of the Fall is
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that man became mortal (38) [cf. Ro 5:1, 1 Co 15:22].

On the other hand, 39-40 (J) seems to imply that man was naturally mortal, and that immortality could be acquired; but this passage does not accord with 38, that speaks only of one forbidden tree, and is probably a separate tradition incorporated with J (see Oxf. Hex., ad loc.).

Tibetan and Enosh probably (sons) of the same parent, and the art of smelting brass and iron (rv. 21, 22). The art of building, on the other hand, is primitive, the first to build a city being Cain (v. 15).

The attitude of the antediluvians towards religion and morality is more difficult to de-
terminate, and here again differences between J and J, and even between different sections of J, show themselves. The statement that in the time of Enoch men began to call on the name of Jahweh (42b-3 J) is hardly consistent with the story of Cain and Abel (J). 41b is too ambitious to help us much. The story of the origin of the Nephilim from the unnatural union of the 'sons of God' and the daughters of men (6-9), in its present connexion with 6-8, appears to be a reason for the de-
pravity and violence which were the cause of the Deluge. But it is at least possible that this story was originally quite independent of the Deluge story, and that the latter belongs to a later cycle of traditions (J), inconsistent, as it obviously is, with 41b-3 (see Oxf. Hex. and art. DELUGE). If so, the term 'antediluvian' is not strictly applicable, so far as, as distinguished from J, is concerned.

The names of the antediluvians according to J (+ J) are Adam, Seth, Enosh (45-50 J), Cain, (Abel), Enoch, Jared, Methushael, Lamech (Adam and Zillah), Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain (160-24 J). Of these Abel dies childless; Adam and Zillah are the wives of Lamech; Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain are Lamech's three sons. The rest appear in two genealogical lines, (1) Adam—Enosh, (2) Cain (the elder son of Adam)—Lamech, who is the seventh in the line. (b) The antediluvians of P. —The first were made out of nothing by a direct fiat of God, in God's image and after His likeness, male and female. This primitive tradition (Gen 1:26-27 5;) was repeated by the Jews (6-9), and was vegetarians till after the Deluge (1-9). The names of the ante-
diluvians are given in one line only (Gen 5). Their relation with those of J can best be seen by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>J</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(J) 41-32 J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>Adam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enosh</td>
<td>Enosh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanai</td>
<td>Caim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalalel</td>
<td>Enoch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jared</td>
<td>Tirad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enosh</td>
<td>Mehu-shalal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methushael</td>
<td>Methu-shalal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamech</td>
<td>Lamech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah</td>
<td>Noah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of these lists makes it evident that P has combined the two lists of J (+ J), merely transposing the names of Mahalalel and Enoch. The omission of the names of Adam and Cain in the antediluvians, Seth is described as be-
pot in likeness and stature, and that the Divine nature of Adam is reproduced in his offspring (5, cf. 5'). Of Enoch it is said that he 'walked with God: and was not; for God took

him' (5'), meaning probably that he was translated (for the first phrase cf. 8, where it is used of Noah). This is a hint that antediluvian is a Sumerian Deluge, the 5th of the translation of Noah comparable to that of Sittapali in the Sumerian Deluge story (see DELUGE). There is a trace given of the progress of civilization, or any suggestion of a physical difference before and after the Deluge, except that the age of man, which, but for Enoch, had been on an average about 900 years, began to decline rapidly.

2. The Babylonian of mortality and immortality. Berossus in Eus. (Migne, 1857) Chron. Bk. 1. ch. i. (2); Driver's Gen. in loc.), and Ammonius Ptolemaicus (Opert, Die Antediluvier, 1877, ch. 2) probably with the Sumerian Deluge, Berossus agrees with P in giving (1) 10 antediluvians, and (2) these in one line. (3) Some writers, especially Hommel and Sayce, have found a further agreement in the meaning of some of the names occupying the same place in the two records. Thus, in their opinion, Amelon = Bab. amdu= 'man' = Enosh (26a), and Ammonius Ptolemaicus (31*), and Berossus (31*), and Berossus (31*).

A more probable identification is that of Evedoracus or Edoraches with Enoch. Evedoracus is believed to be another form of En-me-sedaranku, a legendary king of Sippar, a town sacred to the sun-god. This god called Evedoracus to intercourse with himself, taught him secrets of earth and heaven, and instructed him in divina-
tion, and thus he became the mythical ancestor of diviners. This identification is confirmed by the fact that he was one of the 365 years of Enoch's life, which, though having no parallel in Berossus, appear to have some con-
nection with the 365 days of the solar year. (4) A further point of contact lies in the fact that the sum of the reigns of the Babylonian antediluvians amounts to 432,000 years. If a soss (a period of 5 years) be substituted for a week in the Bible record, the period before the Deluge in the latter, 1656 years, will agree with the Babylonian (337, 38, 78-81).

On the other hand, it is difficult to reconcile this probable connexion of Berossus and P with the obvious derivation of the latter from J (+ J). The difficulty may be got over on the supposition that P indeed took his list of names from J (+ J), and altered the position of Enoch to agree with that in the list of Bab. antediluvians; that the agree of the number 10, if it existed in the Babylonian tradition of P's time, was a fortunate coincidence; and, further, that P derived his date from a Babylonian tradition, dividing the relation among the antediluvians accord-
ing to a method of his own. It must be admitted that apart from Enoch the identifications of names are ingenious rather than convincing. It must also be borne in mind that Berossus may very prob-
ably have himself departed from ancient Baby-
lonian tradition by substituting a soss for a week, and possibly even the number 10 for an earlier 7.

The translation of the 7th antediluvian, Enoch, in Gn 5(24) (like that of Sittapali, the Sumerian Deluge hero), suggests the possibility that according to ancient tradition there were only 7 antediluvians, the last being Enoch = Lamech = Noah = Sittapali.

2. Antecedents in the mythological systems of other races. —It is not necessary to say much concerning these. It may suffice to remark that, whereas among Semitic peoples the antediluvians are, if indeed they exist, all 'apart from at least human beings, among many other races they are described as more or less abnormal, and not infrequently as monsters, and that the purpose of the Deluge was to do away with them. Of the many races on which the legend were ape-like creatures (Andreis, Die Flutmythen, § 6). In a Fiji legend two races were destroyed by the Deluge, one consisting of women only, the other of men.
with dogs' tails (Amidre, § 37). The Quiché Indians of Guatemala have a curious story connected with the origin of the tribe. Men were first made of clay, but they had neither speech nor intelligence, and were destroyed by a flood of water. Then the gods brought their proper women, and the men and the women of resin. Those could speak, but only in a senseless fashion, and were destroyed by a storm of burning resin and an earthquake, except a few who became wild asses. The third time men were made of white man and yellow man, and were so perfect that the gods themselves were afraid of them. Therefore they took away some of their higher qualities, and they became normal men (Amidre, § 73). See, further, DELUGE.


F. W. HAARDSWORTH

ANTHROPOLOGY.

[R. MUNRO.]

Definition and scope.—Anthropology (the science of man, from ἄνθρωπος, 'man,' and λέγω, 'discourse'), in the modern acceptance of the term, treats more particularly of man's origin and place in the animal kingdom; his development as an individual (Ontogeny) and as a race (Phylogeny); the physical and mental changes he has undergone during his career, through the glory of his new departure in the organic world as an implement of the animal; and finally, the development of articulate speech and the principles of religion, ethics, altruism, and sociology, which, at the present time, constitute the great landmarks of human civilization. The claim of Anthropology to be recognized as a separate science were for some time successfully opposed on the ground that the phenomena bearing on the history of mankind are already well dealt with under the sciences of Biology, Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, Theology, Ethics, Philology, Ethnology, etc. But the startling discoveries made in the collateral sciences of Geology, Paleontology, and pre-historic Archæology, about the beginning of the second half of last century, which culminated shortly after the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) in the general acceptance by scientific men of the theory of organic evolution, conclusively proved that there were ample materials in this new field of research which were by no means covered by any of these sciences. While, therefore, Anthropology may be justly regarded as comprising all the elements of a comprehensive monograph on mankind—all that they are, or have been, or have done, since their generic founder came into existence,—practically it is restricted to the earlier stages of humanity, leaving the details of its later phases to be worked out by those other sciences, on the principle of the division of labour. But this limitation on the scope of Anthropology, its remaining materials, which are rapidly increasing in number and variety, present a greater attraction to the philosophic mind than those of any other department of speculative knowledge, because they are so intimately connected with the human interest that it is felt as if they were data intimately affecting one's own origin and pedigree.

In order to present a brief but reasoned summary of the conclusions to be derived from a study of so fascinating a science, it becomes almost necessary to arrange its scattered materials along certain well-defined lines of investigation, which may be thus categorically stated: (1) Man's physical characteristics; (2) his fossil remains; (3) his handiwork products; (4) his mental superiority over other animals; (5) his development; and (6) lastly, some concluding remarks.

1. MAN'S PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.—So long as the Hominidae were believed to occupy a higher platform in the zoological world than all other peoples, they were in virtue of specially created endowments, no one apparently thought of looking for evidence of their origin and history in the obscure vistas of prehistoric times. The long-cherished traditions and myths which had gathered around the problem left little room for any other hypothesis than that man's appearance on the field of life, as a fully equipped human being, was the last and crowning achievement of a long series of creative foci which brought the present world-drama into existence. But to eliminate man altogether from the processes of organic evolution is not only an unwarranted assumption, but is unsupported by any evidence that can be characterized as scientific.

No fair-minded person who is conversant with the close anatomical and physiological resemblances between the structural details of man and those of the anthropoid apes—every bone, muscle, nerves, and blood-vessel being virtually the same—and the striking analogy between the complex mechanism of their organs of sense, can seriously deny their community of descent, at least from the animal and bird-like point of view.

But even the acceptance of the so-called orthodox view, viz. that a male and female were originally specially created, from whom all the present varieties of men have descended; and that by no means get rid of the evolution theory. For, in Huxley's time, it has generally been admitted that the gulf between civilized and savage man is wider than that between the savage and the highest ape. If, therefore, the ancestors of the white, black-, and red-skinned people of to-day were originally one undivided stock, why should it be regarded as improbable that that primitive stock itself was a branch of an older stem which included also the ancestors of the anthropoid apes of to-day? The causes of variation which evolved the typical Negro and Caucasian man were quite adequate to evolve that ancestor from the anthropoid stock in the time of the Flood.

The striking analogy between the bodily structure of man and that of the nearest of the anthropoid apes becomes still more apparent when we consider the phenomena of the fatal life of animals. Not only does the human embryo start from an ovule similar to, and indistinguishable from, that of many other animals, but its subsequent changes follow on precisely the same lines. All the homologous organs in full grown animals, as the wing of a bird, the flipper of a seal, and the hand of man, are developed from the same fundamental parts of the embryo.

'It is,' says Professor Huxley (Collected Essays, vol. vii, p. 92), 'only quite in the later stages of development that the young human being presents marked differences from the young ape, while the latter departs as much as possible from its development as the man does.'

Starting at this last assertion may appear to be, it is demonstrably true, and it alone appears to me sufficient to place beyond all doubt the structural unity of man with the rest of the animal world, and more particularly close with the apes.'

The illustrious von Ditsch, who first directed attention to the importance of embryology having formulated a law to the effect that structural differentiation in fetal development was from a general to a special type. Haeckel, looking at the same phenomena from a different standpoint, came to the conclusion that the development of the
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individual is a recapitulation of the historic evolution of the race. If this astounding generalization be true, the study of embryology should supply the secret of life as a skilled naturalist, pursuing the goal of his inquiry, by making the progressive stages of man's development the subject of experimental illustrations within the precincts of the laboratory. But, until greater progress is made in this field, the possibility of illuminating the cerm, we have few data to guide us in forming precise conclusions on the subject. Meantime, it may be remarked, that if embryology is as conservative of energy as other organic processes, it would be expected that, in course of passing through a series of progressive increments, some of the minor links would ultimately drop out altogether. Nature is full of short cuts. As a parallel instance in this human economy, a portion of the instinct which lends the common honey-bee to fix always on a hexagonal cell instead of the simpler globular form used by the humble bee. Here we have an act of purpose complete, and the instinct which has been originally acquired through the ordinary processes of natural selection, but which is now directly transmitted through heredity—thus altogether skipping over its intermediate evolutionary stages.

Man's descent from the lower animals is also greatly strengthened by a number of vestigial, or so-called rudimentary, organs described by anatomists as being normally present, or occasionally to be met with, in the human body. Such organs as canine teeth, the coccyx, inter- and supra-condyloid foramina of the humerus, the coccyx and appendix vermiformis, fibrous traces of various muscles, etc., are apparently useless in the human form while that of the other animals have well-defined functions assigned to them. But, indeed, the homological structure of the entire human body is utterly inexplicable on any other hypothesis.

"Thus we can understand," writes Mr. Darwin, "how it has come to pass that man and all other vertebrate animals have been constructed on the same general model by which they pass through the same early stages of development, and why they retain certain rudiments in common. Consequently, we ought to form the natural expectation of descent, and take any other view to be that our own structure, and that of all the animals, are so connected, as to be mere snags to a weaver's judgment. This conclusion is greatly strengthened, if we look to the members of the whole animal series and consider the evidence deduced from their affinities or classification, distribution and geological succession (Descent of Man, p. 23).

But if the races of mankind are so closely related because of their common mode of descent, it is no less the anthropoid apes, what, it may be asked, are the essential characters which differentiate them from the latter? Flower and Lydekker, in Mammals Living and Extinct (p. 740), thus answer the question:

"The distinctions between the Hominidae and Simiidae are chiefly relative, being greater size of brain and of brain-case as compared with the facial portion of the skull, smaller development of the canine teeth of the males, complete adaptation of the structure of the vertebral column to the vertical position, greater length of the lower as compared with the upper extremities, and greater length of the halluc, or great toe, with absolutely complete absence of the power of bringing it in opposition to the other toes. The last feature, together with the small size of the canine teeth, is perhaps the most marked and easily defined distinction that can be drawn between the two groups."

Of the above distinctions it will be seen, from a posterior paragraph, this article we have assigned the chief place to the erect attitude, because its attainment was the means of setting free the fore-limbs for the development of their higher functions as tool-making organs, which constitute the true starting-point of man's dominion. Throughout the animal kingdom there are many morphological changes which strike one as remarkable instances of the adaptation of special means to special ends. But, as tool-making organs, the fore-limbs have been utilized in the human condition, as for the first time, as the armature of the human body. This momentous fact is the starting-point of the long series of inventions and ingenious methods by which nature's operations will be searched in vain for a series of phenomena comparable to those which ushered man on the field of animal life as a skillful tool-maker. The preliminary work of this great event was the attainment of the erect attitude which to this day distinguishes him from all other vertebrates. This divergence from the pithoid group of animals took place sometime in the Tertiary period, but was eminently characterized by the adjustment of certain muscles and bones so as to balance the upper part of the body on the spinal column, and facilitate bipedal locomotion, which henceforth became man's normal mode of progress.

The organic changes involved in the transformation from the semi-erect attitude of monkeys to that of man cannot be regarded as a very arduous piece of work; so that the assumption of bipedal locomotion, and the differentiation of the hands and feet, would have been effected in a comparatively short period. It was, however, very different with mental evolution, as the formation of brain substance in response to the progressive stimuli of the manipulative organs is a much more elaborate process—a process which has no limits, and indeed is still in operation. Hence, the time requisite to attain the erect position, or transference of the evolution of man is by no means comparable, in point of duration, to the long ages which have elapsed since he became a tool-maker. The evolutionary stages of organic life often run in grooves, and may be long or short in proportion to the facility afforded by the exciting causes in the environment and the benefits conferred by the change. Moreover, it is probable that the attainment of the erect position was, not only because of the great length of time since they came into existence, but also because of their increased numbers and wide distribution on the globe. Whatever the causes may have been, the change which induced the first anthropoid animals to resort to bipedal locomotion, the perpetuation of the habit soon became hereditary; and it has continued ever since to be one of the most distinguishing characteristics of man.

It will be observed that the angle which the axis of the spine of a vertebrate animal makes with the axes of its supporting limbs varies from 90° to zero. In man alone this angle reaches the vanishing point, because the vertebral axis has actually come to coincide with the vertical direction of the two lower limbs, which in his case exclusively support the body. The erect attitude is the only peculiar to men, but the ultimate goal of all improvements in the advance of vertebrate life, since the bilateral parts of the body are nicely balanced on the spinal column and the two arms and legs are equal in length. The conspicuous physiological line of demarcation that exists between man and the lower animals. Moreover, it was indirectly the means of profoundly affecting the subsequent career of the human species, as tool-making on the fore-limbs to manipulative purposes virtually inaugurated a new phase of existence, in which intelligence and mechanical skill became the dominant factors. The co-operation of these two factors was the starting-point of the long series of inventions and ingenious methods by
which mankind have gradually worked out the

elements of modern civilization and acquired
donimion over all other animals.

Linnaeus, in his Systema Naturae, described the
genus Homo as comprising four primary varieties,
which he termed the Malay, Moundian, Mongolian,
and American, all of which were connected by numerous in-
mediate forms. To these Blumenbach added the
Maia, as a fifth variety. On the other hand, Cuvier reduced them to three, viz. Caucasian, Mongolian,
and American,—a classification referred to by
M. Verene in his Races Humaines. The
description of these various races of mankind,
their relation to each other and distribution on the
globe, form the special domain of Ethnology and
Ethnography (see Memoirs of John

With regard to Cuvier's division of the Primates into
quadrumanus and bimanus, it may be observed that he is only
partially correct, for, although anatomically the outer limits of the
former are truly prehensile organs, yet the upper two are
decidedly more differentiated as hands than the
human. Even in the positions where comparison between hands and feet had already
begun. In man the structural difference between the upper
and lower limbs is greatly widened in opposite directions, the
former becoming exclusively adapted for prehensile and
manipulative purposes, and the latter as exclusively adapted for
locomotives.

II. SOME REMAINS OF FOSSIL MAN.—With the
completion of the bodily changes involved in the
attainment of the erect attitude, the evolution of
the present human form, with its exceptional
of some remarkable modifications in the cranium,
facial bones, and probably the larynx, was prac-
tically completed. As soon as bipedal locomotion
became habitual and firmly secured on anatomical bases
strong enough to bear the weight of the body, the
characters of the lower limbs should be sensibly
affected by any subsequent increase in the quantity
or quality of brain-matter. For example, the
feet, which had hitherto been the support of the
entire weight of the body, would not be in the
least degree affected by the nature of the com-
ponent ingredients of that load. It would, how-
ever, be very different with the bipedal form and its
attachment. For, by the substitution of many
factured weapons in lieu of nature's means of
self-defence, the subsequent well-being of these
novel bipeds became absolutely dependent on their
skill in handling them. The course of the cultural
environment into useful mechanical appliances.
As soon as they recognized that the reasoning
facilities were the true source of such inventions, no
doubt a premium would be put on useful dis-
coverties. In this way strong motives for the pro-
duction of more perfect weapons, tools, and other
appliances were constantly coming within the
scope of their daily avocations, the result of which
would be a progressive increase in intelligence,
and a corresponding increase in brain substance.

Now, according to the well-established doctrine of the
localization of brain function, the additional brain cells thus
acquired had their seat of growth for the most part somewhere in
the cerebral hemispheres, which lie well within
the anterior portion of the brain-case. The mere
mechanical effect of this increment to the physical
organ was bound, it is believed, to increase the weight of the
anterior half of the head, and so to upset its
finely equiposed position on the top of the spinal
column. But, as any interference with the free and
easy rotatory movements of the head would
manifestly be disadvantageous to the individual
in the struggle of life, it became necessary to
counteract the influence of this disturbing element
by the action of some other concurrent morpho-
logical process, which would not be prejudicial to
the general well-being of the human economy.
This object was partly attained by a retro-
cession, or contraction, of the facial bones, espe-
cially the jaw-bones, towards the central axis of
the spinal column, and partly by a backward
shifting of the cerebral hemispheres. As the
gradual filling up of the cranial cavity pro-
gressed peri possum with those cranial alterations,
we have, in the facial angle of Camper, a rough
mechanical measure of the acceleration of mental development during the period of man's
existence as a human being, i.e. since he attained
the erect attitude.

One of the results of this retrocession of the
facial bones was the gradual contraction of the
alveolar borders of the jaws, thereby diminishing
the space allotted to the teeth,—a fact which
plausibly accounts for some of the peculiarities
differentiating the older fossil jaws from modern
specimens. Thus, in the dentition of the former,
the last, or third, molar is the largest, whereas
in the latter it is the smallest. Not only so, but
among some European races of to-day the last four
molar (wisdom teeth) have to be removed.

Another peculiarity of civilized races is the
greater prominence of the chin, a feature which
may also be due to the contraction of the alveolar
ridges, and the more upright setting of the incisor teeth in the jaws. But whatever the cause may have been, there can be no doubt that the
gradual formation of the chin has had a striking
parallelism with the progressive stages in man's
intellectual development ever since he started on
his human career.

The evidence on which these views are founded
consists of a few fossil skulls and other portions of
human skeletons (necessarily fragmentary owing to the
ordinary processes of decay). A short descrip-
tion will now be given of one or two of the more
interesting specimens.

(1) Java skull.—Perhaps the oldest and most
controversial skull unearthed in South Java, the
molar teeth, and a left femur, found in 1891-1892
by Dr. Eugène Dubois in Upper Pliocene strata
in the island of Java. After comparing these bones
with the corresponding parts of other human
sketches, both fossil and modern, and of some
anthropoid apes, Dr. Dubois published, in 1894,
a very complete memoir on the subject, with descrip-
tive details and photogravures of each bone. In
this memoir (Pithecanthropus erectus: eine men-
schliche Völgerschaft aus Java, Batavia,
1894) he assigns these remains to an animal having
an erect attitude like man, and a brain-case with
mixed characters, partly simian and partly
human, to which he gave the name Pithecanthropus erectus.

Unfortunately these bones, though found in the
same horizontal strata, were not close together,—
the skull-cap being 16 metres from the femur—and
consequently there is room for the objection that
they did not belong to the same individual.
Expert opinion was greatly divided as to the conclu-
sions to be derived from these relics. Most of
the anatomists who critically examined the fossils pro-
nounced it human—the late Prof. Virchow being
almost alone in maintaining that it might have
belonged to one of the anthropoid apes. As to the
two molar teeth, there was so much difference of
opinion among specialists—some regarding them as
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The following is a brief description of its prominent characters:—External surface generally smooth but without any marked ridges; sutures almost entirely obliterated; frontal bone slightly keel-shaped in the line of the frontal suture; glabella, supra-orbital ridges, and occipital protuberance strikingly prominent; cranial vault depressed, and on section (antero-posterior) showing an arch intermediate between that of the anthropoid apes and that of an average European man. Its general dimensions may be thus abbreviated:

Antero-posterior diameter (max.) 190 mm.
Transverse diameter 120 mm.

Height in the parietal region (max.) 62 mm.
Cephalic index . 70

Estimated cranial capacity (Huxley) 1060 c.c.

With regard to this skull, Professor Huxley, writing in 1863, says:

'There can be no doubt that, as Professor Schaaffhausen and Mr. Busk have stated, this skull is the most brutal of all known human skulls, resembling those of the apes not only in the prodigious development of the superciliary prominences and the forward extension of the orbits, but still more in the depressed form of the brain-case, in the straightness of the squamous suture, and in the complete retreat of the occiput forward and upward, from the superior occipital ridges' (Lyell's Antiquity of Men, p. 94).

Here also, as was the case with the Java calvaria, we have no means, owing to the absence of the facial bones, of judging of the degree of prognathism of this very pronounced pithecanthropus specimen of humanity.

(3) Les hommes de Sp.,—In 1886 two human skeletons were found deeply buried in undisturbed débris at the entrance to a grotto called Belche-Roches, at Sp-sur-l'Orneau, in the province of Namur, Belgium. The interior of the grotto had been examined once before, but in front of it there was a terrace, projecting 13 yards, which had not been previously excavated. It was in this terrace that MM. Lohest and de Puydt made excavations with a view to the recovery of the human remains. The outer skeleton was found at a distance of 26 feet from the entrance to the cave, under a mass of rubbish 121 feet in depth and composed of four distinct strata, none of which appeared to have been disturbed or removed. If lay on the right side, across the axis of the cave, with the hand resting on the lower jaw, and the head towards the east. The other was 8 feet nearer the present entrance of the cave, but its position was not determined with so much accuracy as the former. Associated with these skeletons were worked flints of the type known as Moustirian, and some animal remains representing the following fauna:

Rhinoceros tichorhinus (very abundant).
Equus caballus (very abundant).
Cervus elaphus (rare).
Cervus taurus (very rare).
Bos primigenius (very abundant).
Elephas primigenius (abundant).
Ursus spelaeus (rare).
Moles sp.

Immediately over the skeletons was a hardened layer composed of chippings of ivory and flint, pieces of charcoal, and some angular stones of the surrounding limestone rock. Above this there was a reddish deposit containing remains of the same fauna, but the worked objects indicated a decided advance in civilization—aws and borers of flint, together with needles, heads, and ornaments of bone and ivory. Above this was a bed of yellowish clay, in which were still found bones of the mammoth and various flint implements; and lastly, a mass of clay and fallen rocks, without relics of any kind.

The osteological characters of one of the Spy crania correspond in a remarkable degree with those of the Neanderthal skull, as will be shown from the following measurements by Professor Fraipont (Congrès international d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie préhistoriques, Paris, 1889, p. 333):

Antero-posterior diameter (max.) 360 mm.
Transverse . 144 mm.

The height of the skull in the parietal region was only 62 mm., which is very much less than the average dimensions of the skull found at Neanderthal, which is 120 mm. The frontal bone was deeply keel-shaped, and the sutures were almost entirely obliterated.
As regards the great development of the superciliary process, in the lower jaws ascending forehead, and the depressed and elongated form of the cranium, both these skulls present a more brutal appearance than any human skull known up to the time of the Java discovery.

According to Mr. Fratantoni, the entire anatomical characters of the Spy skeleton are in harmony with the same lowness of type shown by the skull. The jaws are deep and powerful, the chin slopes away from the teeth downwards and backwards, while the teeth and alveolar border have a striking prognathic appearance. The last molar teeth are not smaller than those immediately in front of them. The long bones are materially different from those of the normal Belgians of the present day, being generally shorter and stouter.

It is, however, only to note that the pithecosid characters of the other Spy skull appear to be less pronounced, the cranial vault being more lofty and the cephalic index at least 74.

It has already been surmised that the individuals to whom the Java and Neanderthal skulls belonged had prognathic profiles, on the ground that this feature is more frequently observed in the most primitive men. It is, therefore, particularly interesting to note that the jaws of these Spy men are highly prognathic—a fact which greatly strengthens the inference to be drawn from the former.

(4) Naulette jaws.—Among isolated cranial bones, occasionally discovered, the lower jaw, being merely attached to the skull by muscular and ligamentous tissue, is more frequently met with. Perhaps the most instructive of these jaws is the Naulette mâchoire, discovered in 1885, in the Trou de la Naulette, by M. E. Dupont, Director of the R. N. H. Museum at Brussels. The cave known under the above name is situated on the left bank of the river Lesse, near Dinant, and contains much débris and remains of the Quaternary fauna, among them being this jaw, at a depth of 4·50 metres beneath its final or modern floor. Though in a fragmentary condition, it presents certain peculiarities which strongly differentiate it from the corresponding bone in modern civilized man. Its characteristics, according to M. Dupont (La Recherche anthropologique des âges de la Pierre, p. 90), may be thus stated:

(a) Its small height, in proportion to the thickness of the body, gives it an exceptionally stumpy appearance.

(b) The chin, instead of projecting forwards, slopes backwards; and the 'genial tubercules' (apophyse génital) on its inner surface are wanting.

(c) The posterior molars are larger than the others, and have a proportion of having five roots, as shown by the size of the sockets, all the teeth being absent from the mandible when discovered.

Dr. Broca came to the conclusion that the Naulette jaw, in its anatomical characters, approached the simian type more than any previously known.

'Nous avons autorités à conclure,' he writes, 'que cette mâchoire, dont l'antiquité proclame remonte au temps du mammoth, est de tous les restes humains que fon connaissent justement le plus rappelant ceux de la grotte des singes (Congrès International, etc., Paris, 1887, p. 405).

With respect to the retreating slope of the chin and the character of the teeth, he considered that the individual who owned the Naulette jaw held an intermediate place between man and the anthropoid apes; and in support of this view he exhibited a sketch of a number of human mandibles showing a regular upward gradation from the extremely sloping chin of a chimpanzee up to that of a modern Parisian (ib. p. 399). These facts go far to establish the generalization that, as men advanced in intelligence, the prognathism which they inherited from their simian-like ancestors became gradually suppressed, until the retreating forehead straight and classic profile of modern times. This view is further strengthened by evidence derived from a comparison between the skulls of modern civilized peoples and those of the same variety inhabiting the globe.

This method of inquiry has yielded some striking results as regards the degrees of gnathism and frontal development which they respectively exhibit. The extent of this difference is well illustrated by Professor Owen (Comparative Anatomy, vol. ii. pp. 558, 560), in a comparison which he makes between the cranium of a native Australian and that of a well-formed European, from which it will at once be seen that the former has a low retracting forehead and a highly prognathic profile. The characters of the European skull, which present a very marked contrast to the former, are thus described by the Professor:

'In more instances the skulls of Cro magnon and Lyariacus are relatively larger, especially lothier and wider. The fore parts of the upper and lower jaws, concomitantly with earlier wearage, are less produced, and the contours descend from the longer and more prominent nasals. The ascending rami of the mandible are shorter. The molar is less protuberant, and the mandible more.'

(5) That other crania supposed to be of great antiquity have been recorded whose anatomical features do not, apparently, harmonize with these views so well as to be the type of the Java, Neanderthal, and Spy specimens, need not cause any surprise, considering the difficulty which sometimes occurs in correctly estimating their antiquity. Thus, the famous skulls of the Grotte Lantier, near Montblanc, long regarded as originally belonging to one of the hunter-artists of the late Palaeolithic period, shows a decided approach in all its characters to the normal type of civilized man. Its cephalic index is 72·8 and its capacity 1500 c.c. The height of its original owner was 1·82 metres. The lower jaw has a long ascending ramus, behind which, on both sides, the third molar is partly hidden. These two teeth are also smaller than the other molars, being in this respect more allied to the dentition of Neolithic and modern races. For these reasons, as well as for the fact that the Cromagnon skeletons were found on the surface of the Palaeolithic debris of the rock shelter of Cro magnon, lower Palaeo- anthropologists maintain that this old Cro magnon man belonged to the early Neolithic period. But between the latest phase of the life of the Palaeolithic artists of middle Europe and the earlier Neolithic people there was probably no great interval of time. Although the Cro magnon human remains were lying over the true culture débris of the Mousterien period, the amount of superimposed talus under which the skeletons lay shows that they could not have been much later than the transition period. Moreover, there are other human remains with regard to which no such doubts have been raised, such as those of Chevrette, Enfants, and Louviers, both found in the Dordogne district, which show equally advanced cranial characters.

(6) The recent discovery of two skeletons in the Grotte des Enfants near Mentone, which Dr. Verneu describes as belonging to 'a race inter-mediate between the Neanderthaloid and Cro magnon races, marks an important addition to fossil craniology. They belonged to a young man and an aged female of small stature, and lay on a hearth-layer at a depth of 7·75 metres. The cephalic index of the former is 69·72 and of the latter 68·58, and both have prominent prognoid jaws. But the interesting feature of the discoveries in this cave was that, a little more than 2 ft.
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higher up in the débris, another skeleton of the Cromagnon type was found, measuring 6 ft. 3 in. in height and with a cephalic index of 70-20 (L'Anthropologie, vol. xlii. p. 263). That these two distinct races should be thus brought nearly on the same chronological horizon by no means dis- credits Dr. Verneuil's theory, as it is not improb- able that, while a higher race could be developed on an older and lower race still survived in Europe. In corroboration of this we have the record of two skulls, of a distinctly negroid type, having been found among Neolithic remains in Brittany. By V. S. O. (Bulletin de l'Académie de Besançon), he even accepting the Cromagnon race, whose skulls indicate a great stride in mental capacity over those of Spy and Neanderthal, as belonging to the latest phase of the Neanderthal period in France, it does not appear to the present writer that they dis- close a greater brain-case than would be expected of a people who displayed such artistic feeling and mechanical skill as the authors of the art gallery of the Neolithic period (see § III.).

(7) Some forty or fifty human skulls, more or less imperfect, and supposed to date back to Quater- nary times, have been recorded up to this date from almost as many places. Andries throughout Europe, often in alluvial deposits, but more frequently in the accumulated débris of caves and rock-shelters. Some years ago (Ortus Alpinus, 1873-1879), M. Hany and de Tréfouët care- fully examined all the fossils remains then known, and classified them under the names of the localities where the most typical specimens were found. Among dolichocephalic, or long-headed, they de- scribed two distinct races, one represented by a portion of a skull found at Canstadt and the other by the skull of the old man of Cromagnon. The brachycephalic, or broad-headed, were made to represent four races, under the generic designation of Furfooz, the name of a cave in the valley of the Lesse, thus:

1. The race of Canstadt, Cephalic index, 72
2. The race of Cromagnon, 72-76
3. The race of 1st Furfooz, 76-93
4. The race of 2nd Furfooz, 73-92
5. The race of 3rd Furfooz, 72-93
6. The race of 4th, La Trachère, 84-92

It was subsequently ascertained that these Fur- fooz skulls were the osseous remains of Neolithic interments, which shows both the difficulty and the danger of making chronological classifications on imperfectly observed data.

As the outcome of this short review of fossil cranology, perhaps the most important outstand- ing feature is that the three skulls above described as typical examples are all dolichocephalic. The race of Cromagnon was, in all probability, separated from the Neanderthal and Spy troglodytes by an interval of time which can be only approxi- mately measured by the duration of the larger part of the Glacial period. The appearance of brachycephalic races in Central Europe only at the beginning of the Neolithic period is an anthropological problem not yet satisfactorily explained. It has been abundantly proved, by the contents of dolmens and other sepulchral tombs, that two races, one dolichocephalic and the other brachy- cephalic, lingered contemporaneously with each other in the South of France (Rénth, 1873 ; Motevieux pour l'histoire primitive et naturelle de l'homme, vol. xii. 1877, etc.). From the remains in the artificial sepulchral tombs, investigated and described by Baron de Baye (Archéologie Pré- historique), the two races seemed to have more or less coalesced. From the amalgamation of these various populations in the highly mixed populations of modern Europe, and partly isolated sections of it; but whether the brachycephalic were developed from the dolichocephalic people at an earlier period still remains a controverted problem. These passing glimpses of the early races of man in Europe sup- port the hypothesis that two peoples widely separ- ated had come into contact, and perhaps elsewhere in Europe, at the close of the Reindeer period. Of these the dolichocephalic appear to have been long indigenous to the locality, and probably the direct descend- ants of the Paleolithic men whose skeletons were found in the caves of Spy and Neanderthal.

III. MAN AS A TOOL-MAKER. — Man may be differentiated from all other animals by the fact that he is a skilled mechanic, and manufactures a great variety of objects which he largely utilizes instead of the organs of offence and defence with which nature originally endowed him. In lieu of the specially developed teeth, claws, horns, hoofs, etc., used more or less for these purposes by other animals, man has provided himself with a multi- plicity of knives, axes, swords, spears, arrows, guns, etc., through the instrumentality of which his self-preservation is more efficiently main- tained.

(1) Looking at the accumulated products of man's mechanical ingenuity, which have been gathered and arranged in dignified galleries, it is an impossible task, from the primeval life, from an archeological standpoint, there can be no doubt that they are characterized by successive increments of improvement, both in technique and execution, from the rudest forms up to the most perfect modern tools. That, during the transition period, broken pieces of wood and natural stones would be used as missiles, without being fashioned into any par- ticular shape, may be as well argued as the theory that man passed from a state of existence in which tool-making was unknown; also that, in the course of time, such missiles would give place to stones so slightly worked as not to be readily distinguished from the accidental oc- currences of nature. Objects which come under this category are named coliths (χιλή, 'dawn,' and λίθος, 'stone'). They are recorded as having been found among gravels on chalk plateaus in various parts of the South of England, notably on the Kent plateau. Mr. Read, who describes and figures some of these coliths in his Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age in the British Museum, thus refers to this class:

'It is not the province of this Guide to enter into the arguments which have been brought forward against or in favour of the artificial nature of coliths, but it is only necessary to say whether their claims can be substantiated or not, the existence of implements of a ruder kind than those of the drift is in itself not improbable. For no invention reaches perfection suddenly, and each stage of advance is attained by an infinitely slow progress from the simple to the complex. The majority of the drift implements are clearly something more than the first efforts of an unpractised hand; they show, on the contrary, signs of a comparatively long development, and it may be fairly argued that their ruder prototypes must exist somewhere. It was only to be expected that they should have escaped notice for a longer time than the typical Palesoliths, it only because they must necessarily be more difficult to distin- guish from naturally fractured flints.'

(2) The recognition, even among anthropological savants, that some peculiarly shaped flints, now known as palaeoliths, were manufactured by man and used as implements, is scarcely half a century old. A fine pear-shaped flint of this type was found along with an elephant's tooth at Gray's Inn Lane, London, about the end of the 17th century; but, though described in the Sloane Catalogue and preserved in the British Museum, its antiquity remain- ed unknown until Sir W. Pranks pointed out its identity with those found in the Valley of the Somme (Ancient Stone Implements, p. 251). Also, as early as 1757, a Mr. La Motte, a member of the Society of Antiquaries some flint 'weapons' found, associated with the bones of extinct animals, at a depth of 12 feet in
brick-earth at Hoxne, in Suffolk. He was so much struck with the situation that he gave a precise account of the circumstances, and he regarded the implements as belonging to 'a very remote period indeed, even beyond that of the present world'. (J. de B junker de Perthes.) Freeman, a descendant of the Hoxne implements, was so struck with the report that he presented specimens of the Hoxne implements to the Museum of the Society; yet here they lay, unheeded and unsuggestive, till 1859, when Sir John Everett Millais, the painter, and a fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, recognized them as similar to those in the collection of M. Boucher de Perthes.

(3) It was about the beginning of the second quarter of last century that Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, first became a subject of archaeological interest, owing to the researches of the Rev. J. MacEnery, who asserted that he found in it flint implements, associated with bones and teeth of extinct animals, beneath a thick continuous sheet of stalagmite. But the legitimate inference from these facts, viz. that man was contemporary with these animals and lived before the deposition of the stalagmite, had little chance of being accepted, with the works of the river, equally typical and authoritative of so famous a geologist as Dr. Buckland, author of Religion Delineate and of the Bridgewater Treatise on Geology and Mineralogy. But, in 1847, MacEnery based his conclusions were verified by fresh excavations made by Mr. Godwin-Austen, F.G.S., in 1840, and subsequently by a committee appointed by the Torquay Natural History Society in 1846. Papers embodying the results of these investigations were read at the Geological Society of London and at the meeting of the British Association in 1847. But, according to the late Mr. Pengelly, F.R.S., the reception of the results was at Brixham, in September 1858, at the meeting of the British Association, then held at Leeds, in which it was announced that eight flint tools had already been found in various parts of the cavern, all of them implements, and that a variety of implements, varying from 9 to 42 inches in the cave-earth, on which lie a sheet of stalagmite from 3 to 8 inches thick, and having within it and on it relics of the bison, beaver, mammoth, rhinoceros, and reindeer. This paper, to use the phraseology of Mr. Pengelly, produced a decided 'awakening,' besides indirect results of the highest importance.

(4) Another discovery of a similar character was the Windmill-Hill Cavern at Brixham, explored in 1858, under the auspices of a committee appointed by the Royal and Geological Societies of London. The first paper on the result of this investigation was read by Mr. Pengelly in September 1858, at the meeting of the British Association, then held at Leeds, in which it was announced that eight flint tools had already been found in various parts of the cavern, all of them implements, and that a variety of implements, varying from 9 to 42 inches in the cave-earth, on which lie a sheet of stalagmite from 3 to 8 inches thick, and having within it and on it relics of the bison, beaver, mammoth, rhinoceros, and reindeer. This paper, to use the phraseology of Mr. Pengelly, produced a decided 'awakening,' besides indirect results of the highest importance.

(5) The discovery by M. Boucher de Perthes of rude flint implements, associated with bones of the mammoth and other extinct animals, in the ancient gravel beds of the valley of the Somme, at various levels considerably above the present highest flood-marks of the river, is absolutely unique. Nor can there be any doubt that the ultimate recognition of the importance of his discoveries was one of the indirect results of the less sceptical tone prevalent in scientific circles in Britain in consequence of the exploration of the Brixham Cavern just referred to.

Excluding theoliths as too controversial a subject to be discussed in this brief review, it would appear that certain flint implements found at various depths in the higher gravel systems of the present river systems are the oldest evidence of man's handicraft in Europe. These gravel had been left high and dry long before the rivers had excavated the winding valleys at the bottom of which they now flow. The Hoxne implement, as above referred to, is probably the earliest type of hand-implement known, which came to be widely imitated among the earlier races of barbarians. Implements of the coup de poing type vary considerably both in size and in shape, the degree of variability being, however, strictly compatible with their function as hand-tools. They have been discovered in widely separated localities in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and nearly all possess the peculiarity of being made by chipping a nodule so as to convert it into a suitable hand-tool—the flakes struck off being apparently of no use.

The original manufacturers of the Palaeolithic tools are supposed to have entered Europe from Africa at a time when there was easy communication between the two continents by several land bridges across the lesser or Mediterranean. The climate being sub-tropical, these naked nomads appear to have inhabited the wooded banks of rivers, living on fruits and the smaller fauna, till the advent of the Glacial period forced them to take shelter in caves and to protect their bodies by skins of animals. It was difficult to realize how much the severe climate which then supervened contributed to the improvement of their physical and mental attributes. It roused their dormant energies to the pitch of being able to adapt their mode of life to the changing conditions of their environment—for the adage that necessity is the mother of invention held then to be true.

The natural food productions of a warm climate gradually disappeared, until finally there was little left but wild animals,—mammoth, reindeer, chamois, horse, bison, etc.—of which we now have a list of scientific names. To procure necessary food and clothing in these circumstances greatly taxed the skill and resources of the inhabitants. The difficulty was ultimately solved by the manufacture of special weapons of the chase, with which they successfully attacked the larger wild animals which then occupied the country. The coup de poing, which for a long time served all the purposes of primitive life, gradually gave place to spear and other perforating and cutting tools, together with a great variety of minor weapons and tools, made of stone, bone, horn, and wood. When the Palaeolithic people finally emerged from this singular contest with the forces of nature, they were physically and mentally better than ever equipped for the exigencies of life. A greater power of physical endurance, improved reasoning faculties, an assortment of tools adapted for all kinds of mechanical work, and some experience of the advantage of housing and clothing, may be mentioned among the trophies which they carried away from that long and uphill struggle.

Of the kind of life which the people of Europe led we have remarkably precise evidence in the food-refuse, and the lost, broken, and worn-out implements, weapons, and ornaments which have been discovered by excavating the caves and rock-shelters they had from time to time inhabited. The result of these investigations has disclosed a steady progress in the manufacture of industrial implements, weapons of the chase, and personal ornaments. When it was ascertained that the larger flakes could be utilized as sharp cutting tools, attention began to be directed to the art of producing them for teleological purposes. After some experience, it was found that a skilled workman could produce a flake of any required size and
shape. By subjecting these flakes to secondary chipping, implements of great variety and efficiency were in the course of time abundantly produced. This was indeed an important step of advance in flint industry, evidence of which is to be found in the fact that henceforth flakes were the useful products, while the residuary core was rejected as waste. The worked flints found in the earlier inhabited caves of France and Belgium, such as Mouster and Spy, show that secondary flaking was already in progress—thus proving that their habitation was later than the formation of the river-drift gravels containing worked flints.

From a careful inspection of the handiwork of these troglodytes, it will be seen that it is characterized by a gradual development from simple to more complex forms. Implements, tools, and weapons were slowly but surely made more efficient, thus evincing on the part of their manufacturers a progressive knowledge of mechanical principles. Art and ornament, too, had taken deep root among these primitive hunters, and before the end of their civilization they evinced a remarkable artistic taste and power of execution. Hence G. de Mortillet classified their industrial remains in chronological sequence into Moustérien, Scamóchetien, and Quaternario-Magdaléen, the last of which he founded upon the names of the most typical stations then explored. The earliest of the Palaeolithic stations was Le Mouster, situated on the right bank of the Vézère (Dordogne). During its habitation by man the climate was cold and damp, and among the contemporary fauna were the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, cave-bear, and musk-ox. The special features of the industrial remains of Le Mouster were some of the typicality of the coup de poing—which was so characteristic of the older river-drift deposits—and the splitting up of flakes into smaller implements, such as scrapers, trimmed flakes, etc. The next typical station in ascending order was the open-air encampment of Solnérté (Saône-et-Loire).

The stage of culture here disclosed was characterized by great perfection in the art of manufacturing flint Implements, especially spear- and lance-heads, and the form of a laurel leaf, and by the abundance of horses and reindeer used by the inhabitants as food. The climate was mild and dry, the great glaciers of the north and the rhinoceros and harpox seem to have disappeared from the scene. The third and last of the typical stations was the well-known rock-shelter of La Madeleine, characterized by the abundance of objects made of bone and horn, the development of a remarkable artistic talent, the predominance of a northern climate and fauna, and the extinction of the mammoth towards the close of the period.

The civilization thus developed represents the outcome of a system of human economy founded upon the application of natural laws to mechanical purposes, but little affected by the principles of religion or ethics. The mysteries of the super-natural had not then been formulated into the concrete ideas of gods and demons. The notions of good and evil, right and wrong, were still dominated by the cosmic law that might is right. Neither gods nor devils, nor magic, nor superstitious fear, seemed to have disappeared from the scene. The third and last of the typical stations was the well-known rock-shelter of La Madeleine, characterized by the abundance of objects made of bone and horn, the development of a remarkable artistic talent, the predominance of a northern climate and fauna, and the extinction of the mammoth towards the close of the period.

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debatable question. At any rate, it was emi-
ently successful, and may be regarded as the
starting-point of Neolithic civilization. In
the course of time these Neolithic people cultivated
a variety of fruits, wheat, barley, and other cereals;
they bred and domesticated cattle, horses, asses, and
dogs; they became skilled in the ceramic art, and
in the manufacture of cloth by spinning and weav-
ing wool and fibrous textures; the flint industry
continued much the same as in the later stages of
the Palaeolithic period, but in addition to chipping
they now ground stone implements so as to give
them a sharp cutting edge; in hunting the forest
fauna of the period they used, besides spears, lances, and
daggers, the bow and arrow; they built houses, for both the living and the dead—
thus showing that religion had become an active
and governing power among them. But of the
artistic taste and skill of their predecessors they
had scarcely a vestige, and what they did by way
of ornament consisted mainly of a few scratches,
arranged in some simple geometrical pattern. The
fundamental principles of the two civilizations are
reconcilable. This being so, we have to admit that
man's appearance as a species may be regarded as
a direct development from that of the Palaeolithic
people in Europe, although there are
several instances on record in which their
evolutionary progress was probably super-
imposed, without any apparent break in con-
tinuity, as at Campigny, Reilhac, Mas-d'Azil,
etc. The probability is that, while the reindeer-
hunters were still in existence, people beyond this
area, possibly of the same stock as some of our
 progenitors, passed through the evolutionary stages which connected
the two civilizations.

IV. MAN'S MENTAL ENDOWMENTS.—The great
success of man, like other animals, is a product of
the ordinary organic forces of the Cosmos, it may
well be asked why, and by what means, he has so
far out-distanced all other beings in the struggle
of life. The attempt to minimize this remarkable
day and to show that he is a unique brute with
much support from any class of investigators.
Anti-Darwinians have no object in discussing
this question, their argument being that no speculation
founded on materialism can account for it. Accord-
ingly, various hypotheses have been formulated by
way of explaining this psychological enigma, which
now fall to be noticed.

That there is a physical stratum, common to
man and some of the higher mammals, which
brings them both within the domain of organic
evolution, has already been advanced in these
pages (§ 1), and may be accepted as beyond con-
troversy. This being so, we have to consider man
as the two following propositions: (1) What are
the mental faculties common to both?; and (2) What
psychological phenomena are peculiar to man?

On these problems Mr. G. J. Romanes thus says:
"If we have regard to Emotions as these occur in the brute,
we cannot fail to be struck by the broad fact that the area
of perception of the sublime. Therefore I think we are fully
entitled to conclude that, so far as emotions are concerned, it
cannot be said that man is the only species that is capable of
any difficulties against the theory of descent. On the contrary,
the emotional life of animals is so strikingly similar to the emo-
tional life of man that it is not at all surprising to find that
there is the same degree of intensity, the same kind of
hair and necessity of expression; the same degree of
interaction between them" (Mental Evolution in
Man, p. 7).

Similarly, Mr. Romines deals with Instinct, Voli-
tion, and Intellect, and strongly argues that there
is only a difference between the organic and the
intellective manifestations in man and other animals.
So far these views have been more or less accepted by
leading psychologists; but at this stage a serious
divergence of opinion crops up among them, some
holding that the intellectual capacity of man is
adequate to account for the origin and working of
the higher faculties of man. But these dissentients
are seldom in agreement as to the precise nature of
their conclusions. The eminent French anthropologist, Professor de Quatrefages,
regarded man's entire organization, physical and mental, with
the exception of the faculties of conscience and
diligence, as the work of evolution. Others extend the
range of vital adonnance of their adequacy to
to the intellectual faculties. Mr. St. George Mivart,
while denying that the principles of evolution are
applicable to man, makes the following admissions as
to the relationship between the mental actions
of men and animals:

'I have no wish to ignore the marvellous powers of animals,
or the resemblance of their actions to those of men. No one
can reasonably doubt the fact that many of them have
emotions, and sense-perceptions similar to our own; that they exercise voluntary
motion, and perform actions grouped in complex
ways for definite ends; that they to a certain extent learn
by experience, and combine perceptions and reminiscences
so as to draw practical inferences, directly apprehending
objects in different relations one to another, so that, in a sense,
they may be said to have apprehensive relations. They will show
hesitation, ending apparently, after a conflict of desires, with
what looks like choice or volition: and such animals as the dog
will not only exhibit the most marvellous fidelity and affection,
but will also manifest evident signs of shame, which may seem
the outcome of incipient moral perceptions. It is no great
wonder, then, that so many persons little given to patient and
considerate inspection, should fail to perceive any radical
distinction between a nature thus gifted and the intellectual
nature of man.' (Presidential Address at Biological Section,
British Association, 1875.)

Professor Huxley thus expresses his views on
this phase of the subject:

'I have endeavoured to show that no absolute structural line
departing the animal from the vegetable, and that between
us and the vegetable kingdom, immediately we reached the
animal world and ourselves; and I may add the expression
of my belief that the highest among the animal species are
equally full of the same experiences, and that even the highest faculties of feeling and
of intellect begin to germinate in lower forms of life. At the same
time, no one is more strongly convinced than I am of the
vastness of the gulf between civilized man and the brutes; or
is more certain that whether from them or not, he is assuredly
not of them. No one is less disposed to think lightly of the present
dignity, or disparagingly of the future hopes, of the only
consciously intelligent denizens of this world' (Man's Place in

On the other hand, Mr. Alfred Wallace, F.R.S.,
who holds such a distinguished position in this
special field of research, has promulgated a most
remarkable theory. This careful investigator, an
original discoverer of the laws of natural selection,
and a powerful critic of the investigator's views
about the evolution of the entire organic world, even
including man up to a certain stage, believes that
the cosmic forces are insufficient to account for
the development of man in his civilized
capacity.

Natural selection,' he writes, 'could only have endowed
savage man with a brain a few degrees superior to that of an
ape, whereas the brain of man is several times larger, and
that of a philosopher' (Natural Selection and

The present writer has elsewhere made the follow-
ing comments on Mr. Wallace's position with
regard to the application of the doctrine of evolu-
tion to man:

This deficiency in the organic forces of nature he essays to
That mind in its higher psychical manifestations has often been looked upon as a spiritual essence, which is distinctly differentiated from the purely physical, basic need, not be a matter of astonishment, when it is considered how ignorant we are of the machinery of thought—how the pleasing abstractions of the poet, the fascinating creations of the novelist, and the profound speculations of the man of genius come forth as from a hidden cavern, without exciting any suspicion of having behind them not only a physical equivalent of brain matter, but also a laboratory in which thought is produced. It is this marvellous power of volitional reflexion in summoning ideas from the materials stored up in the various localized portions into which the brain is divided, and utilizing them in the formation of new mental or mare animal, that gives a prima facie plausibility to this theory. From this point of view abstract reasoning, imagination, conception, idealization, moral sense, altruism, etc., may be regarded as by-products of mental operations which are due to the ordinary reasoning faculties, and which have their chief stimulus in the external environment.

Leaving, however, the field of speculation aside, and reverting to the opinions of the four eminent authorities quoted above, it is manifest that they all recognize the magnitude of the psychological gulf which separates humanity from the rest of the animal world. Nor does Professor Huxley himself give any clear ideas as to how it is to be bridged over—certainly it has never been shown that this is possible on the Darwinian principle of the 'survival of the fittest.'

Such were some of the leading opinions on this particular phase of the evolution theory, as applied to man, when the present writer ventured to refer to the subject in his Presidential address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1898. In that address (Preliminary Problems, ch. ii.) he advocated the hypothesis that one of the main factors in the production of the higher brain-development of man was the conversion of the upward-looking hands to an efficient tool. The first moment that the being recognized the advantage of using a club or a stone in attacking his prey, or defending himself from his enemies, the direct incentives to a higher brain-development came into existence. He would soon learn by experience that a particular form of club or stone was more suitable for his purposes; and if the desired object were not to be found among the natural materials around him, he would think of some new way of procuring it. Certain kinds of stone would be readily recognized as better adapted for cutting purposes than others, and he would soon learn to select his materials accordingly. If these were to be found only in a special locality, he would visit that special locality whenever the prized material was needed. Nor is it an unwarrantable stretch of imagination to suppose that circumstances would lead him to lay up a stock of tools for future use. The power to make and wield a weapon was a new departure in the career of man, and every repetition of such acts became an effective object-lesson, and an ever-accumulating training force for the development of a stock of these primitive tools, once fairly in operation, afforded frequent opportunity of comparing the merits and demerits of their respective mechanical products—thus supplying a fruitful medium for the development of an abstract reasoning faculty.

In this way the function of the hand and the formation of the brain became intimately correlated, the conjoint result of their long-continued action being a larger brain, greater intelligence, and a more highly specialized nervous system proving a breakwater against the ever incoming tide of the organic world.

That there is an amount of cortex cerebri in the human subject, corresponding to his greater mental powers, cannot be seriously controverted, as the size of the human brain, relatively to the rest of the body, is enormously greater than in any other animal. According to Sir William Turner, the cranial capacity of an average European is about 1500 c.c., while that of the gorilla, which is a larger animal, does not exceed 590 c.c. (J. Am. Med. and Physiol., vol. xxix., p. 436). That the largest portion of this increase in the substance of the human brain is to be correlated with the higher mental powers of man, as cause and effect, seems therefore to be indisputable; nor, in our opinion, can there be any doubt that its chief stimulus, and in no small degree, development, was the function of the hand.

That subsequently there were other powerful factors working in the same direction is not denied, as will be seen from the following remarks on articulate speech.

Next to the invention of mechanical appliances, the use of articulate speech was, undoubtedly, the most potent factor in the mental evolution of man, especially when accompanied by its offshoot, the art of writing. By articulate speech is meant the faculty of uniformly associating certain words or sounds with definite ideas, so that these ideas can be understood by those previously instructed in the process. Of course, the members of a family or tribe would be conversant with it from birth. Spoken language is virtually an extension, or rather a concentration, of the power which many of the more intelligent animals possess, in common with the Hominidae, of giving expression to emotions and simple sensations by various ejaculatory sounds, grimmaces, and gestures. The acquisition of full human speech was, unquestionably, the result of slow growth; for there is no known race, however low and savage, but has an articulate language, carried on by a whole system of sounds and meanings, which serves the speaker as a sort of catalogue of the contents of the brain. To be true, the savage in the main views himself as, taking in every subject he thinks about, and enabling him to say what he thinks about it.' (Tylor, Anthropology, p. 132).

Of the importance of articulate speech in the intellectual and social development of man it is unnecessary to produce detailed evidence, as its elaboration must have proceeded pari passu with the higher development of the brain almost since man entered on his human career. 'A complete train of thought,' writes Mr. Darwin, 'can no more be carried on without the aid of words, whether spoken or silent, than a long calculation without the use of figures or symbols.'

As to the stage in the evolution of man to which articulate speech is to be assigned, there is little agreement among anthropologists. Darwin regarded it as having an early origin in the stem line of humanity, while Huxley is inclined to the view that the art of manufacturing flint implements came to an
end, and the human dynasty, endowed with all its intellectual powers, begins.

Professor Haeckel, in describing the evolutionary stage of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, thus writes:

The brain is considerably enlarged. Presumably it is still divided into specialized areas. This is indicated by the fact that children have to learn the language of their parents, and the impression is given that comparison of the brain declares it impossible to reduce the chief human languages to anything like one common origin" (Leidenschaft, 1882, p. 72).

There are two well-attested general observations which we have now to throw some light on this obscure point, viz.—(1) that none of the apes of the present day have even the rudiments of articulate speech; and (2) that languages (as quoted above from Mr. Thomas Huxley) are why not the hominids.

The present writer's interpretation of these facts is that the origin of articulate speech was subsequent to the separation of the genus *Homo* from the simian stem, but prior to the development of the races of man--of which we may trace it subsequent to the attainment of the erect posture and the development of the human hand.

V. Man's Social Evolution.—It has now been amply shown that, from whatever standpoint we may contemplate the great drama of human life, it stands forth as a unique development in the organic world. Starting, possibly as early as the Miocene period, with a progenitor whose physical and mental attainments were on a par with those of existing anthropoid apes, his successors, the *Hominidae* of to-day, have gradually forged their way into what is virtually a new world—the world of volitional and articulate speech. Almost from the very beginning they acquired manipulative methods, with latent capabilities which (as we can now realize) were tantamount to a new force in evolution. Thus, in the art of tool-manufacturing and using them for the advancement of their own welfare. Unlike the more helpless creatures around them, who were largely at the mercy of a fickle environment, these implement-using animals soon learned to accommodate themselves to all its vicissitudes. With a knowledge of the use of fire, the skill to manufacture garments, and, ultimately, the art to construct houses, they braved the rigours of frost and snow with comparative impunity. As they became more and more conversant with the laws and forces of nature and their own power over them, they laid a usurping hand on the reins of cosmic evolution itself, by the cultivation of selected plants and animals, and the destruction of others which were found unsuitable for their own purposes.

The far-reaching consequence of securing food supplies, and of cultivating the domestication of animals, led to more social and sedentary habits. The appearance of large communities concurrent with the development of various trades and manufactures but in a matter of time, the outcome of which is now a vast and intricate international commerce. Already the greater portion of the earth capable of being cultivated is converted into gardens and fields, whose choice productions are readily conveyed to all the chief towns of the civilized nations of the globe. Flesh diet is everywhere abundant, but it is no longer necessary to hunt the animals in their primal haunts. Skin-coats, dug-out canoes, and the *coup de poing* are now linearly represented by woven fabrics, At present, we may suppose, the whole of the world of our ancestors is nowhere to be found, not only in works of art, architecture, engineering, electricity, etc., but in constructive philology, religion, ethics, altrusism, and the sense of honour, all of which may be said to be still in process of development, though their sources reach far back into pre-historic times.

Some of the lower animals have accompanied man so far on the road to reasoning intelligence as to be able to associate certain natural results with their natural causes, as cows for instance, by keeping at a safe distance from a man with a gun. But none has ever reached the stage of being able to adjust the circumstances so as to produce the desired effects. Man, like the higher animals, has found the waters the field should the fickle environment refuse the seasonal showers. No other animal in a state of nature has attempted to do anything comparable to this simple act of practical ratiocination.

It is probable that religion came first to the front as a modifying influence to the stern decree of the survival of the fittest. Some grounds for this are: (1) that man has at this suggestion that we may contemplate the great drama of human life, it stands forth as a unique development in the organic world. Starting, possibly as early as the Miocene period, with a progenitor whose physical and mental attainments were on a par with those of existing anthropoid apes, his successors, the *Hominidae* of to-day, have gradually forged their way into what is virtually a new world—the world of volitional and articulate speech. Almost from the very beginning they acquired manipulative methods, with latent capabilities which (as we can now realize) were tantamount to a new force in evolution. Thus, in the art of tool-manufacturing and using them for the advancement of their own welfare. Unlike the more helpless creatures around them, who were largely at the mercy of a fickle environment, these implement-using animals soon learned to accommodate themselves to all its vicissitudes. With a knowledge of the use of fire, the skill to manufacture garments, and, ultimately, the art to construct houses, they braved the rigours of frost and snow with comparative impunity. As they became more and more conversant with the laws and forces of nature and their own power over them, they laid a usurping hand on the reins of cosmic evolution itself, by the cultivation of selected plants and animals, and the destruction of others which were found unsuitable for their own purposes.

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cessive increments of reasoning on which their respective injunctions were originally founded have more or less lapsed in the course of time.

But perhaps the most important form of all, which has been evolved from the laboratory of ethics is altruism (which see), which may be described as a product of conscience and the acquired sense of equity. Its object is the relief of the weaker and community, and for this purpose it has received the support of the civilized world. Many regard the motives of all such good deeds as having been instilled into the Cosmic mind by a revelation from heaven; but this is an unnecessary assumption; for in the accumulated deliberations of wise men during long ages we have an adequate pabulum for its birth and maturation. But whether heaven-born or earth-born, altruism has become a sine qua non in human civilization. So long as the laws of our wisest Solons are liable to error, and the environment contains a residuum of unexplained forces, there will be a certain proportion of failures among youth which safety-guarding the future can be secured only by altruism. Under this category come the deaf, the blind, the lame, the poor, the friendless, and, in short, all who are ushered into the world without the means of the safeguarding on the struggle of life. Our original interference with Cosmic methods by living in large communities under the most imperfect sanitary arrangements, has greatly increased the number of such weaklings. Hence their immediate relief as far as that is possible, is a moral obligation on all who derive benefit from the social government under which they have inherited or acquired wealth, power, position, or political influence, to bear any part on their part. On this phase of the subject there is a conflict between Cosmic methods and those of the ethical code of humanity. The influence of the one is directed to the survival of the fittest; that of the other to the ‘fittingness of nature, as much as possible to survive.’ The former has left man with the garb and qualities of a savage; the latter has endowed him with mental culture, the refinement of civilization, and moral responsibility for his actions towards his fellow-creatures.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS.—The Hominide of the present day not only possess more highly developed brains than those of their early ancestors, but also the ability and safeguards guarding the human life, struggle from the accumulated experiences of their predecessors in the form of all sorts of mechanical inventions, organized institutions for scientific research, altruistic laws, and other ethical enactments acquired as results of their progressive culture. Thus they at once start on a higher rung in the ladder of human life. It is by these means that they have come to hold such a predominating position in the organic world and it is through the general diffusion of such attainments that further progress can be expected. Among the more urgent reforms by way of rectifying past mistakes and safeguarding the future interests of the race, may be mentioned the eradication of obsolete doctrines and pernicious superstitions, the enforcement of just and equitable laws, the prevention of crime, the popularization of scientific methods, and especially strict attention to sanitary improvements. There is, however, a limit to human powers over the laws of environment, for occasionally the most learned communities find themselves helpless amidst the operations of nature. The fact reveals it is in this direction alone that prospects of future betterment lie.

From various data advanced in the previous sections it is evident that two distinct lines on which investigations into the past history of mankind may be profitably conducted. The first relates to man as a biological entity, and comprises, in addition to his ontogenetic and phyleogenetic development, a few fragments of skeletons by his predecessors which by some circumstances have to this day resisted the disintegrating forces of nature. This department is generally known as Physical Anthropology. The evidential materials to be gathered along the second line of investigation consist of the works of man’s handicrafts, which, being simply preserved impressions of his skill in the different stages of culture through which he has passed, may be characterized as Historical Anthropology. The successive modifications which these respective materials have undergone during a long series of ages, though different in kind, are found to bear a decided ratio to the progress of human intelligence. Thus, taking the human skull at the starting-point of humanity as comparable to that of one of the higher apes, we know, as a matter of fact, that during the onward march of time it has undergone some striking changes both in form and capacity, before reaching the normal type of modern civilized races—changes which can be classified in chronological sequence. Similarly, the products of man’s hands show a steady improvement that is in direct harmony with his progressive knowledge of the laws of nature and his ability in applying them to practical and utilitarian purposes. Indeed, the trail of humanity along its entire course is strewn with the discarded weapons and tools which, from time to time, had to give way to others of greater efficiency. Between these two departments, though separated by a strong line of demarcation, there is a striking modification in the methods of Mr. W. H. Holmes (Report of United States National Museum, 1901, p. 256), is thus stated: ‘If the physical phenomena of man include all that connects him with the brute, his culture phenomena include all that distinguishes him from the brute.’

These remarks will give some idea of the interesting and profound problems embraced by the science of Anthropology. Not since the material world became an object of human study and reflection has there been accomplished such a complete and far-reaching revolution in current philosophical opinion. From the standpoint of evolution, the entire organic world, not excluding man, reveals a unity, a harmony in the struggle, as yet unascertained, of these diverse forms, which is a truth and is disclosed under no system of speculative philosophy.

What may be the outcome and destiny of humanity on the lines of modern civilization lies within the darkest shadow of futurity. One thing alone appears certain—that since human government on the anthropo-cosmic principles of ethics and altruism became a matter of real concern among the civilized nations of the world, there is no turning back from its behests, no alternative but to strengthen the ethical fabric by every means that human ingenuity can suggest. Above all, a national esprit de corps, with the motto ‘Honour bright,’ must be fostered among the members of each community; for if the steersman once relaxes his hold on the wheel, he and his freight may again be swept into the vortex of cosmic destruction.

LITERATURE.—Owing to the number of works more or less bearing on the natural history of man, all that can be attempted here is to make a selection of a selection of authorities of the most recent. In the French: Broca, Les Anciens Hommes des Ages de la Pierre, 1872; Sir J. Evans, The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain, 1863; Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries, 1872; Falconer,
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ROBERT MUNRO.

ANTHROPOMORPHISM. — Generally, and perhaps always in the past, man has believed that there are powers other and greater than he. He has felt it not only desirable, but possible, to enter into a certain accord with them; that is to say, he has taken it as a fact that they can understand him when he addresses himself to them; that he can more or less understand them; that he can win their sympathy and assistance, if he sets about doing so in the right way. Further, he has believed at some times that these powers possess the shape of man; at other times, that their shape is that of beasts or of plants; at others, that they are visible in and as the sun, moon, or stars, or audible in the storm, the earthquake, or the rustling of leaves. That deities have been supposed in all stages of human development, from the very beginning of the first Greek society, to possess human form is a truth which needs neither demonstration nor illustration. Indeed, Xenophanes (frag. 17, ed. Bergk) even went to the length, whether in jest or earnest, of supposing that even the oxen and horses, the most sensible, would make the gods in their own likeness. It is also obvious that deities originally thermomorphic tended to become anthropomorphic: the Egyptian gods which have gained human bodies and limbs, but retained their animal heads, are an obvious instance of this tendency. And the human form given by Greek sculptors to Helios suffices to show that that form, if not one conceived in human form, tend eventually to take it.

1. Physical anthropomorphism. — The belief, then, that deities have bodies and limbs like those of men is a belief which has had a beginning and an end, and has passed through its development; and though it is impossible to prove that before its appearance religion was, it is in the same way impossible to prove that religion then was not. We must not, however, be misled by the fact that though thermomorphic deities become anthropomorphic, as in Egypt, the reverse process never takes place; anthropomorphism is in some cases preceded by thermomorphism, but thermomorphism is never preceded by anthropomorphism. We may then, perhaps, assume that there was a pre-anthropomorphic stage in the history of religion. But if we make that assumption, we can do so only by limiting the term 'anthropomorphism' to the sense in which it means that deities have bodies and limbs like those of man, and by deriving from the content of the term the sense in which it implies that deities have thoughts, emotions, and wills like those of men, though transcending them. Further, it may be said that to limit the meaning of the term to the first of the two senses which may be put upon it is to break, or rather to ignore, the continuity which is characteristic of—indeed, essential to—evolution in all its forms, whether evolution of the species, or growth of man, or growth by including in the meaning of the term the second sense as well as the first, we are enabled to grasp the principle which underlies and runs through the whole evolution of the idea of God.

2. Psychological anthropomorphism. — From this point of view, then, man has always ascribed, and does now ascribe, to Deity thought, emotion, and will. He may originally have worshipped animals, or even stones and stones, as the fetish-worshipper does; but if he did so, it was because he ascribed to those objects thought, emotion, and will; and the characteristics so ascribed were none the less human because they were ascribed to the deity in a transcendent sense. For from the epoch of the invention of evolution, not only did aniconic objects become iconic, not only did pictures and statues of the gods in human form supplement, and more or less displace, the stocks and stones which were the object of the older cult, but the very conception of the god, as it existed in the mind of the worshipper, became more and more definitely human—and did not in the process become more divine, as the exanthroponomist wielded his sceptre; for Homer will show. The third stage in the process of evolution is reached when religion comes to denounce the idea that the deity has a body or limbs like a man or an animal; but though religion in this stage becomes iconoclastic, and ceases to be anthropomorphic in the narrower of the two senses of the word, it continues to believe, in this stage as in the previous stages, in a personal deity. In this stage of evolution the same impulsion that leads religious minds to deny that the deity can be conceived, or ought to be portrayed, as possessing bodily form, also leads to the conclusion that some sort of mind and spirit, or rather of spirit and mind, it would be degrading, if it were not unmeaning, to ascribe to deity the temperance or the courage which Ares ought to have possessed—the reason being that those qualities, and others of the same kind, imply defects which have to be overcome in the persons of whom they are predicated; and such defects are ex hypothesi excluded from the concept of a perfect being. This line of argument may, however, be continued, apparently in the same direction, until it brings us to a fourth stage in the evolution of the idea of God. It was, indeed, so continued in one of the arguments considered in Ciceronianus de Natura Deorum (iii. 15), where it is argued that knowledge of good and evil cannot be ascribed to a good God, 'for he who can do no evil requires no such knowledge'; and in the same way reason cannot be ascribed to Him—'shall we assign reason which would do things plain? But to a god nothing can be dark.' In modern times the same feeling finds expression in the doctrine that the cause of all things is the Unknowable, to which we are essentially self-contradictory, or will. If we seek to ascribe to them, we land ourselves in self-contradiction. In the interests of clear thinking, therefore, we must abstain from so ascribing them. Power, indeed, must be ascribed to this Unknowable cause—but not personality. The anthropomorphism which has characterized religion from the beginning charac-
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3. Origin of anthropomorphism.—Looked at from the point of view of evolution, the fate of the belief in anthropomorphism was determined from the beginning. If it is seen in the end to be logically incoherent and impossible, it is because it has carried with itself the seed of its own destruction from the very beginning. We have only, it is argued, to consider its origin in order to grasp it. The tendency to personify objects is exhibited by children—and even by animals—at play. Such personification, indeed, in the case of both children and dogs, may be involuntary and a source of terror; and the terror may be removed when the object personified is shown not to be a living thing. The same tendency is shown by the African negro, who, starting out on some business, happens to have his attention arrested by some object, say a bright pebble, and immediately associating it with the business he is engaged on, picks it up as a fetish, regarding it as a personality which has the power, if properly treated, of understanding what he wants and of giving him assistance. The same tendency to personify objects and to associate them with the fortunes of the man who discovers their personality, will account for the fact that an object thus personified by the father of a family or the most influential member of a clan comes to receive the worship of the whole family or clan, and thus becomes not a personal fetish but a family god or a tribal god; and may possibly survive and eventually become a national god. But the African negro may find out that he gets no assistance from the object he picked up; and then, though he may cast it away as not being really a fetish, still he usually keeps it, even though its propitiousness has disappeared. It may be, perhaps after all turn out to be an operative fetish. In the same way, amongst the African negroes and elsewhere, we find traces of gods who, though the names and the memory of them linger on, receive no worship, because they are no longer believed to do good or evil. The belief in such gods, and in such fetishes, evidently has a lessening degree of validity; or perhaps it never was really valid at all.—Its want of validity has merely grown more and more patent. That is to say, the origin, as well as the history, of the belief shows that it has no validity; the tendency to personify objects—whether objects of sense or objects of thought—which is found in animals and children as well as in savages, is the origin of anthropomorphism, which is peculiar therefore in character, and an origin of the idea of God, on the assumption, is simply the process by which a childish error is developed slowly to its fullest extent, and now that its inherent inconsistencies and self-contradictions are considered to be finally found is not only excusable but cast off. It is a case in which the psychological ‘projection of the self’ into the world is made the basis of an attempt to explain all things, and is ultimately found to afford no explanation which is satisfactory, morally or intellectually, of the tendency to provide the gods more and more definitely and precisely with human limbs and bodies; but that tendency is eventually defeated by its own realization—when fully realized, it becomes intolerable, as it was to Plato, and then is doomed. Next, the tendency is for religion to insist on investing the deity with the mental and moral qualities of man; and that tendency too—on this theory—eventually realizes itself in self-contradictions. When this, like the previous form of anthropomorphism, comes to be felt untenable and intolerable, religion, in any ordinary sense of the word, becomes impossible.

4. The method of science.—From this point of view, the self, the world around us, must be accepted on its own terms, so to speak, and must be studied objectively; we must not make the mistake of supposing it to be a subject, or the expression of a subject’s reason or will. We must not assume its ways to be our ways or to be explainable by them or by analogy with them. We must take them as they are, without presuppositions and without assumptions. In a word, we must take as our method that of science, the objective method. So we shall escape from the error of foisting on the facts an anthropomorphic explanation which they will not tolerate.

Now, the object of science is to understand the world; and it may fairly be said that any attempt to explain the world assumes the course of the world to be explicable. It is assumed not only that the course of things is or may be to some extent intelligible to the human reason, but also that it is fundamentally rational; every problem of the self or to see the world, there is the firm conviction that there is a solution. Such a problem is a challenge to science; and the challenge is never declined on the ground that the problem is insoluble. The challenge is presented itself; the problems submitted are continually being solved. The course of the world is continually being exhibited by science as more and more intelligible; and science is perpetually being confirmed in its fundamental assumption of the rationality of things. The world becomes daily more and more intelligible, on the assumption that the reason of things and the reason in things is intelligible to the human reason.

5. Objective rationality.—Are we then to say that science also is anthropomorphic, or are we to deny it? In the one case we shall say that science, like religion, starts from the human reason, and persists in interpreting everything in conformity with it. In that case, if we hold that anthropomorphism is eventually breaks down in the hands of religion, and proves in the long run to be a puerile projection of the self into the external world, then the anthropomorphism of science, its assumption or presumption to read reason—human reason—into things, may, like the anthropomorphism of religion, persist for a while only, but cannot be found untenable and intolerable. Indeed, it may be said, science as well as religion has already come to that pass. It is vain to deny the ‘possibility that being may be rational only in a very narrow sphere, and that it might some day turn towards us another side, about which we could build no structure of connected and practical thought’ (Höfding, The Problems of Philosophy, p. 114). Not only does the reason in things cover only a very narrow sphere, but its hold on that sphere is wanting in security. With the same right with which we reason from the possibility of rational knowledge to a unifying force in Being, in a cosmological principle that prevented the elements of Being from standing in a rationally determinable relation to one another (16, p. 130). If Being is a unifying force, the explanation of things is purely anthropomorphic. If, on the other hand, the reason which science professes to discover in things is really found there, and not put there, by science, then we are no longer faced with the fact that it is intelligible to man avail to prove that it is human. It is intelligible because it is reason, not because it is human. Science, therefore, in post-
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lating that the world is intelligible to man is not guilty of anthropomorphism; it does not assume that the reason which it strives to understand is human, and it does not make the reason which it finds human, or the external world, to some extent, so far as it has gone, science finds in things a reason which it does not put there—the possibility remains that Being may any day turn to us another side, displaying no reason, but irrationality. To possibly follow the reason and remain, but science ignores it; or, perhaps we may rather say, faith in science forbids us to acknowledge it. No unsolved problem in science is admitted to be insoluble. In other words, the rationality of things, so far as it has been discovered by science, is a fact and not an assumption, still it is an assumption so far as it has not yet been discovered. It is not, of course, discredited by the fact that it is an assumption, for we must begin with an assumption—by assuming either that things are or that they are not, or that they partly are and partly are not, rational. And the assumption that things are not, man's reason, if a man means, though it is not man's, is intelligible to man, is at any rate harmonious with the discoveries which science has thus far made, even though it be an assumption based on faith.

But, granting that we make the assumption and show the faith which science demands, we have only got thus far, viz., that the power which displays itself in things is rational in the sense that it is logical. More, indeed, we could not expect to get than this, for science aims at nothing more: its position is that things are logically comprehensible; its coherence is a logical coherence which it finds in things and does not put into them. Even then, if we take it that reason and logic are possible only to a mind, and that a mind must be self-conscious, the utmost that we can get out of science, or hold to be implied by science, is that there is a self-conscious mind whose power acts logically; and even if we grant that there is nothing anthropomorphic in this,—on the ground that the reason and logic in things are found in them and not imparted to them by science,—still the mind or power thus revealed as superhuman is revealed as merely logical. It is distinctly not revealed as moral, or as reeking aught of man. Its laws extend to, just as its rain descends on, the unjust as well as the just, and it is the first to shape the slightest ground for holding that the ultimate working of the laws which it discovers favours the just rather than the unjust.

If then, man can discover and does discover in things a logic and a reason which he does not put there, if the logic and reason so found are objective, and not created by him, are not images of his own making,—are not, in a word, pieces of anthropomorphism,—can we go further and discover in man's experience anything else which is similarly given to him and not created by him? The fact that a thing is comprehensible by man is no proof that it is the work of man's reason; partially intelligible to man's reason, is found in things by science,—which looks only for logic and reason,—can man and does man, when he looks for more, find more than mere reason? Does science exhaust objectivity, or does the realm of objectivity include other things than reason? Is man's experience of the universe that it discloses reason alone to him? Man's experience has been that he has found something more in it than a reason, partially intelligible to him; he has found in it the workings of a power which awakes in him a sense of gratitude, of duty, of awe, and of fear.

But the experience in which these workings of this power are thus disclosed or felt is distinguishable, if not distinct, from the experience, or from the aspect of experience, of which science is the interpretation or the expression. Whether we term the aspect of experience with which science has to do sense-experience or experience of the physical or external world, it is, however defined, at any rate marked off from the rest of man's experience, as being but a part and not the whole of human experience. Or, if we go so far as to say there is nothing in which science concerned, that can be investigated scientifically, we still indicate by the adverb 'scientifically' that the point of view of science is only one point of view, and that the aspect of reality which science confronts is not the only aspect which human experience presents to man. One and the same set of facts, for instance, may be viewed psychologically by science, may be pronounced valid or not valid from the point of view of logic, may be estimated right or wrong from the standpoint of morality, holy or sinful in the eyes of religion. The scientific aspect is not the only aspect of our experience. The scientific is not the whole account of that experience.

6. Ethical basis of science—The reason science finds in things is not the creation of science, is not made after the image of human reason, and is not put into things by science, but is found in them and is to be partially intelligible to man, then the same experience, which was studied by science reveals a reason which is not man's, may, when regarded in its entirety, or even when regarded from other points of view than that of science, reveal yet other aspects of that reason in things which is studied by science. If that power when studied by science is seen more and more clearly, the more it is studied, to be rational and self-consistent, it may, when regarded from other points of view, appear to be other aspects of logical rationality. It may disclose ethical qualities. It may disclose qualities, in the apprehension of which by the heart, and not merely by the intellect, religion consists. Whether it does, as a matter of objective fact, disclose such qualities is not the question now before us for discussion. The point is that, in this interrogating experience, we are no more guilty of anthropomorphism than is science when it interrogates experience. The question, in the case both of religion and of science, is what experience discloses when interrogated. Science discovers in things the operations of a reason which is not man's, reason which is not in the experience of man the operations of a power whose ways are not the ways of man. Above all, religion discovers the operations of a personal power. The personality of that power is only partially disclosed in those of its operations with which science concerns itself; and it is disclosed only partially, because science is concerned with only a partial aspect of its operations. Even when we attempt to view its operations from a more comprehensive point of view than science pretends to offer, the conception we then form of it is, doubtless, shaped to some extent by our human limitations, and may be, nay, has been, generally distorted by those limitations. Of course, every apprehension must, to whatever extent, be so shaped, but it does not follow from this that nothing is apprehended. A thing to be misapprehended, even, must be apprehended; and, to be apprehended, it must be there. Will it, then, be said: Granting heartily that it must be there, still it can be apprehended only by being anthropomorphized? The statement, then, must, first, that the power which operates be there, and next, that, owing to the infirmity of the human mind, it can only appear, or be conceived, as personal. In other words, the religious experience of God as a person is alleged to be not experience, but an interpretation of experience—a conception, a construction, and an interpretation which, from the nature
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of the case, must be false. What, then, are the grounds on which we can say, a priori, that this interpretation, if it is an interpretation, must be false? They can only be that we know something which proves that it is false; that we know, to start with, that the power is not personal. But that is precisely what we do not know. It is precisely the question at issue. The allegation, on the one side, is that in religious experience God is known as personal. If, on the other side, that is denied, then the dispute is as to the nature of religious belief, and the dispute may be settled only by reference to that experience; it cannot be settled by assuming the point at issue, by begging the question. The question, then, becomes whether the personality of God is a fact of experience, or an inference—possibly a false inference—from experience. Now, those who have not had a given experience—for instance, a blind man who has not had experience of colour—are, obviously, on unsafe ground if they allege that other people have not had that experience, e.g., of colour, but have had some other experience, e.g., such as touch, which the blind man also enjoys, and from it have drawn the inference that they see. No blind man is justified in arguing, on that account, that we cannot accept the fact that he sees nothing as a reason for disbelief, or for arguing that sight is not an experience, but an inference—a false inference—from experience.

7. Testimony of experience. We are, then, told that we need the necessity of interrogating experience, of asking what is found there. A person who is not accustomed to a microscope will not see what is undoubtedly to be seen through it; and we cannot accept the fact that he sees nothing as a reason that nothing is to be seen. So, too, in the interrogation of religious experience we must accept what is found there, and not deny that it is objectively there because some of us fail to see it. The position that religion rests on the existence of God as a fact given in experience, and not reached by a process of inference, which may or may not be correct, is a position which this article assumes and has not to prove; here we have to consider simply in what sense, if any, religion is anthropomorphic. Now it is undeniable that the existence and the personality of God may be, and in many or most of the stages of religious development have been, imputed to the mind of a man. He has been made to fit a number of confused human forms, and, in a form as well as in animal form; and, when this misrepresentation has been cast aside, He has been depicted as having passions which are specifically human. But though this is perfectly true, it is equally true, and philosophically more important, that this process of anthropomorphism has also been conveyed by the highest religious minds as incompatible with the personality of God as revealed in the religious consciousness; and its incompatibility, when thus pointed out, has been recognized by others as true to the facts of that religious consciousness. Thus, as a matter of historical fact, it is true that anthropomorphism has been, and is recognized to be, a limit and a hindrance to the comprehension and realization of the personality of God as revealed in the religious consciousness. That being the case, the attempt to make it a perfectly valid proportion as a producing condition of this Personality is manifestly at variance with the facts; it is not a producing condition, but a distortion of the personality of God. That is, it is the least mature minds and the lowest forms of religion a point which it is easy to recognize, and the recognition of which is compatible with—indeed assumes—the recognition that there is something there to start with which can be distorted, that is to say, anthropomorphized. That misinterpretation precedes recognition of the facts as they really are is illustrated by the history of science quite as fully as by the history of religion. But that can be true only if the beginning, to be recognized is a position which neither science nor religion can take up. If it be said that science, starting from things as they appeared to the mind of primitive man, has eventually come back to produce the very same results that the primitive man pronounced to be settled, it is also true that we are discovering how to be false. It has been discovered that the things which are interpreted as facts by the science which eventually discards their right relations. So, too, the growth of religion would have been impossible if there had not been at least one fact the personality of God—which it not merely started from, but to which it constantly returns, and in which, properly understood, it finds its constant touchstone of truth. From this point of view, the proper understanding of the personality of God is a test of religious truth; and that personality is not properly understood so long as it is interpreted on the analogy of human personality—so long, that is, as it is interpreted in a way that is as far as it is thus interpreted, or rather misinterpreted, the limitations of the finite are necessarily, and self-contradictorily, imposed on the Infinite. Escape from the self-contradiction is possible so far as we reverse the process, and recognize, with Lotze, that 'perfect Personality is in God only;' to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof. When that is recognized, anthropomorphism is seen for what it is—a vestige of what is given in consciousness, leading necessarily, if slowly, to the assertion that God is not revealed in consciousness for what He is, but is given either for what He is not—the Unknowable—or is not given at all.

It may perhaps be said that human knowledge, to be human, must be contained in human minds, and, being so contained, it must be shaped by that which contains it; in fine, that in admitting it to be human we are asserting it to be anthropomorphic; in denying it to be anthropomorphic we are denying that it can be known to man. Thus, whatever knowledge is poured into human minds must be shaped by the mould into which it is poured, and so must be anthropomorphic. But this argument seems to assume both that the mould is shaped before anything is poured into it, and that the mould is pictured in human form, in human form, in human form, in human form; and, even when this misrepresentation has been cast aside, He has been depicted as having passions which are specifically human. But though this is perfectly true, it is equally true, and philosophically more important, that this process of anthropomorphism has also been conveyed by the highest religious minds as incompatible with the personality of God as revealed in the religious consciousness; and its incompatibility, when thus pointed out, has been recognized by others as true to the facts of that religious consciousness. Thus, as a matter of historical fact, it is true that anthropomorphism has been, and is recognized to be, a limit and a hindrance to the comprehension and realization of the personality of God as revealed in the religious consciousness. That being the case, the attempt to make it a perfectly valid proportion as a producing condition of this Personality is manifestly at variance with the facts; it is not a producing condition, but a distortion of the personality of God. That is, it is the least mature minds and the lowest forms of religion a point which it is easy to recognize, and the recognition of which is compatible with—
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of rising above ourselves, and a fact, fortunately, is expressed thereby; in morality and in religion we may rise above ourselves, even as, from the metaphysical point of view, we may 'transcend self.' These facts, or rather the metaphorical expression of them, may serve to reminds us that we do not merely receive facts and shape them into our own likeness, but that we go forth into a world of reality and there encounter things which we have not made, which are not in our likeness, but on which we may not model ourselves.

8. Testimony of feeling.—We have considered the question of anthropomorphism thus far, rather from the point of view of knowledge than of feeling. But no answer will afford permanent satisfaction which appeals to knowledge only and not to feeling. Practically, the question is one of feeling rather than of knowledge; it is: Are we to doubt the goodness and love of God, and to suppose that it is by the fallacy of anthropomorphism that we ascribe them to Him? To that question the only answer is that we do not doubt God's love; we know it. But the 'knowledge' is not purely or primarily or exclusively, however, on the ground that then His love is not a matter of knowledge but of feeling, the simple and sufficient reply is: How else is love to be known? If it were a matter of knowledge, it might be a matter of inference; and the inference, we may believe, would have been too uncertain to doubt. It might be represented as an inference from the love of man for God, and so as anthropomorphic, as a human quality ascribed to Him. But an essential quality of it—without and known without it would not be what it is—is that it is experienced as His, and not as something which remains as it is, whether ascribed to Him or not. As a fact of experience, it must be accepted on the evidence of those who experience it, and it must be the evidence of those who accept it. The appeal to doubt is, and is so felt. Beyond that, or behind it, it does not seem possible to go. Feelings, after all, are facts.

9. Testimony of action.—Feeling and knowledge issue in action. Omens, love must, from the religious point of view, be the source from which all God's actions flow. From the religious point of view, therefore, nothing can be ascribed to Him save that which is manifested by Him. Human actions, on the other hand, have other springs; and anthropomorphism is exhibited when actions are ascribed to God, or to the gods, which cannot with any propriety, and with a love, be called human. This is, however, as we shall see, a mere difference of degree, and not a love, that is omniscient. Human actions proceeding from human passions are essentially characteristic of anthropomorphism—more essentially indeed than are human parts. The gods of Greece were as anthropomorphic in their passions and actions as in their forms; and only in their forms were they typical of human beings at their best. The cowardice of Ares, the incontinence of Aphrodite, the lusts of Zeus, were doubtless a bequest to Greek civilization from barbarous or savage times; and they were a damnosa hereditas. If the bequest was not rejected but tolerated, with more or less acquiescence, by many of those who received it, the reason doubtless was that the philosophy summed up in the sentence, 'Man is the measure of all things'—πάντων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος—was characteristically Greek; even the gods were made in man's image, and they did not exist in the mind. Xenophanes spoke bitterly when he said that the gods of men were anthropomorphic, just as the gods of animals, if animals believed in gods, would be theriomorphic. He failed to note, apparently, that anthropomorphic gods do not always even imagine anthropomorphic, but revert to theriomorphism and to bestial conduct. Where a plurality of gods is believed in, the gods are necessarily conceived as objects, as items in the world of objects, and therefore as limited and circumscribed in their action and reaction. The action of any one of them is liable to be frustrated by the action of the rest; and behind and over-topping them all there tends to rise the vague figure of destiny or fate, to which all are subjected and of which fate would be stronger, though not. On reflection, however, it is manifest that science, as well as religion, has had that fallacy to contend with; in the animistic period of man's history, the tendency is to account for the action and behaviour of all—even inanimate—things by the assumption that their action is anthropomorphic, and to influence their behaviour by proceedings based on that assumption. Only when that assumption is discredited or ignored does it become possible to study the interaction of things scientifically—rerum cognoscere causas—to discover in them a reason not modelled on man's, though intelligible to it, provided that we reject the fallacy of anthropomorphism. Anthropomorphic, as well as religious, also, as well as science, has to throw off the fallacious tendency to anthropomorphize God's action. Polytheism is rendered by its very structure impossible of rejecting the fallacy. Monotheism escapes the precept only where it is vengeance the Lord's, but the worshipper may pray Him of His goodness to 'slay mine enemies.' The tendency to assume that God's ways are as are the ways of men, that He does things as we do, is, of course, justified in the first time clear of anthropomorphism when the prayer goes up from the heart, 'Thy will be done.' Then, and not till then, does the will of God become a fact presented to the religious consciousness, a fact which for the religious mind possesses as much objectivity as for the scientific mind. From the actions of God, from the acts of God, the Scriptures, the laws of religion, the facts, the events of the ages are to be deduced. From God's action we may be able to deduce, from the Scriptures, the fact that God is the Lord of the universe, from the events of the ages we may be able to deduce, from the facts which record them, that He is the Lord of man's actions, and of man's history. The one is the a priori method of interpreting God's action, and the other is the method of deducing the fact of God's action from the events of which it is a part.
which will be followed by him so far as God's will operates through him, does it become an objective fact possessing the same objectivity for him that the facts of science have for the scientific mind? It is, of course, the same thing is presented to the religious and the non-religious mind and produces different effects in the two cases: it is that the will of God is accepted by the one and rejected by the other for himself. This is the real reason why things become new—God is no longer anthropomorphic. To allege that religion is necessarily belief in an anthropomorphic god is to close our eyes to the fact that the point on which the fate of practical religion turns is whether God's will shall be done or man's. In the one case God—a belief in anthropomorphized; in the other, man is conformist to God. If he be so conformed, God's will acts in him and through him. So far as he is thus conforming, God's kingdom comes, His will is done. It is in his action, when it is directed to doing God's will, that man shows the likeness to God.

10. In conclusion, the view that religion is anthropomorphic seems to be based on an assumption, viz., that reason and love, because they occur in man, are limited to man. If that assumption be correct, then the reason and love elsewhere is a piece of pure anthropomorphism; the reason and love thus projected on to the clouds are, ex hypothesi, merely phantasмагoric, whether they be the reason proclaimed by science or the love proclaimed by religion. The reason thus projected is human reason; the love, human love. We may have soared for a while into the clouds, but the string of anthropomorphism all the time was round about, and brings us back to the facts we started from,—there they are just as they were when we started. We never have got clear of human limitations, never have lost ourselves in the Divine Love. We may have lost sight of self; but we come down to earth, and recognize that it was the self who imagined that self was transcended or lost. We have simply seen ourselves, our form, our human project, projected on to the clouds and then back and projected on to the facts we started from.—there they are just as they were when we started. We never have got clear of human limitations, never have lost ourselves in the Divine Love. We may have lost sight of self; but we come down to earth, and recognize that it was the self who imagined that self was transcended or lost. We have simply seen ourselves, our form, our human project, projected on to the clouds and then back and projected on to the facts we started from.—there they are just as they were when we started. We never have got clear of human limitations, never have lost ourselves in the Divine Love. We may have lost sight of self; but we come down to earth, and recognize that it was the self who imagined that self was transcended or lost. We have simply seen ourselves, our form, our human project, projected on to the clouds and then back and projected on to the facts we started from.—there they are just as they were when we started. We never have got clear of human limitations, never have lost ourselves in the Divine Love.

2. In fact it is very probable that the roots of the conception of Antichrist are even more widespread. We shall have to assume that the idea of the battle of God with the devil was closely intertwined with man's belief in the coming of an earthly Superman and of the battle of God with a dragon-like monster.

Traces of these ideas, which probably take their rise from the Babylonian battle of Marduk with Tiamat, are already to be found in all parts of the OT (cf. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, 1896). In this way the figure of the devil and the dragon-like monster of chaos are connected into one (cf. Rev 12). Thus we need not be surprised if the figure of the devil incarnate, the figure of Antichrist, here and there bear similarities of features that of the mythical monster, and manifests a ghastly superhuman character which cannot possibly be explained from the definite history of the battle. But in the Old Testament the devil, as even in his type the figure of Antichrist was depicted with the supernumerary features of the monster, which in its battle with the little horn raised itself against the host of heaven and cast down some of them to the ground. In the same way Pompey in the song of triumph over his death (Ps. 21) is described as the dragon of Chaos, whom God destroyed because he rose up against him in the character of a significant type that Antichrist in a series of later passages receives the name which in the older sources (Test. Patr., etc.) was applied to the devil—Beliar (see for example all in the Book of Daniel, which belongs to the Maccabean age. The historical figure whose features have in the first place been attributed to Antichrist is the Syrophrene of Epiphanius, who was the persecutor of the Jews. In particular, the representations of Dn 7, 19-22; 12-13 have been of lasting influence. That Antichrist ("the king of the North," 114) will appear as a mighty king with great armies, that he will destroy kings (the "three horns," 20-29), that Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites are to be spared by him (114), that Libyans and Cushites will follow in his train (115), that he will persecute the saints (72), that he will reign 34 years (77 etc.), and that he will set up in the Temple the 'abomination of desolation' (bavlOpta tira wmrpo, 29; 44-29) all belongs, from this time onward, to the standing requirements of the Antichrist legend. The end predicted by 'Daniel' did not come, but his book received a place in the canon; and thus the faithful still expected the fulfilment of his predictions in the future, and handed them on to their descendents. It is the generation of the Book of Daniel that was the process of the figure of 'Antichrist' came to be separated from the historical figure of Antiochus IV, and became the type of the God-opposing tyrant who was to appear now in this and not the historical character.

Antichrist. 1. The name ἀντίκροσος occurs for the first time in Christian literature (Jn 20-4; i. 11) in a somewhat idealized way. This is the name, in particular the conception of a God-opposing tyrant and ruler of the last days, reach back with certainty to the most flourishing period of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. The most likeliest idea that they had behind was not only a definite historical phenomena and experiences, but in a mythological and speculative idea, namely, the idea of the battle of God with the devil at the end of the world. This conception seems to have arisen in the Jewish eschatology (the battle of Ahura Mazda with Angra Mainyu; cf. Bousset, Rel. d. Judentums, 238 ff.) to have penetrated into the Jewish Apocalyptic literature. The opposition between God and the devil, who is introduced under the names Belial, Samael, Eden, the devil is the chief protagonist of the Jewish source of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which undoubtedly formed the basis of the Christian idea. Beliar appears as the enemy of the last times. It is said of the Messiah (Lev 18:3): "And Beliar shall be bound by Him, and He will give His right hand to trample on his kingdom for ever." In the same way, the description of the last great battle in Jerum, Mos., (210) begins thus: "And when this God shall hold over all creatures be manifest, then will the devil be brought to naught." The same thought is also to be found in the Gospels (Mt. 24:12). In the book of Daniel, 7:25, 34, 38; 11:45; 12:3, 4; Bousset, Rel. d. Judentums, 238 ff., this seems likely that 'Antichrist' is originally nothing else than the incarnate devil, and that the idea of the battle of God with a human opponent, in which all devilish wickedness would become incarnate, arose under the influence of definite historical conditions.

2. It is very likely that Antichrist is essentially something else than the evil incarnate, and that the idea of the battle of God with a human opponent, in which all devilish wickedness would become incarnate, arose under the influence of definite historical conditions.
4. Christianity took over from Judaism this whole cycle of ideas, and we meet numerous traces of these conceptions in the NT. In the eschatological chapters (Mt 13, Mt 24) we have in all likelihood, as has already been indicated, a small apocalypse of Antichrist, interwoven with the latter his description in which we are enabled to interpret the βιβλία τῆς ἐρωτών (Mt 24:23, Mk 13:9), which stands in the holy place, in terms of 2 Thess 2. In particular, the predictions of the Revelation of John have been interpreted, in the fancies of the manifold conception of Antichrist. The eleventh chapter, with its prediction of the beast rising from the abyss (a mythical idea), who, as a hostile tyrant, surrounded by great armies, appears in Jerusalem and kills the witnesses of God, is entirely on the lines of the Jewish Apocalyptic prophecy. Finally, if the beast, who is called up by the devil (Rev 13:12), and who rises out of the sea, is regarded as indicative of a new Roman empire, or, more particularly, a Roman ruler, we have here, too, the character of the Antichrist, the God-opposing tyrant, preserved.

5. A strongly marked transformation of the whole idea, from a specifically Christian standpoint, is indicated by the discussion in 2 Th 2, which the present writer, in spite of renewed and energetic opposition on the part of Wrede (TU, new ser. I.x.), prefers to ascribe to St. Paul himself. Curiously here, too, the figure which controls the Jewish Apocalyptic thought forms the fundamental conception, as is proved by the names (2nd) ὁ ἄνωταρος τῆς ἀνωτάτου (perhaps Beliar; cf. the OT) and the same idea, as the play upon Dn 11:43, which is found here. But, on the other hand, the Antichrist is no longer the God-opposing tyrant, but a seductive agency, which works by signs and wonders, and seeks to obtain Divine worship. Antichrist here is a false Messiah, a prophet who, it is assumed, will call forth the faith of those Jews who have rejected the true Messiah. At the same time the idea is raised still further into the realm of the superhuman (2nd ἀσκενάσθαι ἄνωτα, ἐν τούτῳ δέδοται). Accordingly, this false Messiah is now for the first time in a real and proper sense regarded as the opponent of the true Messiah. By means of this he will destroy himself utterly accomplished, and this is described in 2 Th 2:11 as the words of Is 11:4 (καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄνωται ἐν τῇ ἀνωτάτῃ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὁ θεός τῆς ἐρωτών. . . . The Targum on the passage, too, interprets the "lawless one...") A logical step in this development is the "sitting" of the ἄνωτας τῆς ἀνωτάτου in the temple of God—probably, as we saw above, a reminiscence from the time of Caligula. But this truth is fitted into the new comprehensive picture of the seductive personality. If this be so, then the enigmatic reference to a power which still keeps the appearance of Antichrist in check (τὸ κάρακα ὁ κάρακας) be correctly interpreted as referring to the Roman empire, then the separation of the idea of Antichrist from the political tendency, which up to this time adhered to it, comes more clearly to the front. Accordingly the significant change, which 2 Thess. has effected in the idea of Antichrist, consists in this, that here out of the God-opposing power that stands in the service of the adversary of the last times has been developed, so that, while the original idea led to the proclamation of the Roman empire or of a Roman emperor as Antichrist (Revelation of John), here the figure of the ἀνωτατος obtains a non-political, purely ecclesiastical character. The reason is the revolution of re-moulding, which has become of world-wide historical importance, the genius of St. Paul is in all probability manifested, or in any case the genius of youthful Christianity, freeing itself of Judaism and planting its foot in the world of the Roman empire.

This new conception seems to have found acceptance in wide-spread Christian circles. The author of the Fourth Gospel, too, appears to give expression to the thought that the Jews, because they have not believed on the true Christ, who was sent of God, will place their faith in the false Messiah, who will come in the form of a false Prophet (25). From this point of view we are enabled to understand how, in the Epistles of John, Antichrist is connected with false teaching (1 Jn 2:18, 24, 2:7, 2 Jn 7), and how in general the appearance of false teaching is thought of as one of the fancies that are connected with the Antichrist— as the crowning point of Satanic malice (1 Ti 4, 2 Ti 3, 2 P 3).

The ΑΝΤΙΚΗΡΙΟΙ, (in its description of Antichrist, manifestly borrowed from 2 Th. (cf. the παρασκευή της συναγωγῆς, the Jewish synagogue). In the Christian Sibylline Oracles, John 164, probably of a late date (of Bousset, art. "Sibyllin. Par. 167"). In the conception of the Satanic power the figure of Simon Magus has been influential, 'Beliar' is in the first place a wonder-worker endowed with Satanic power. But even the author of the Revelation of John has paid his tribute to the new conception! In the second beast, which comes from the land (ch. 13), he has introduced into his prediction the figure of the anti-Christian false prophet (16), which perform signs and wonders to seduce the world. Of course he could not give the latter any independent significance; so he made it the servant and assistant of the first beast, the anti-Christian Roman emperor (Bousset, Kom. zur Offenb. Joh. ad loc.).

6. But this anti-Jewish conception, which corresponded better with the position of Christianity in the Roman State, was prevented from obtaining exclusive predominance in the Christian tradition. This was due to the acceptance in wide circles of a remarkable combination of the Antichrist legend with the popular expectation of the return of Nero, prophesied already by the Jewish Apocalyptic writers. While the author of the 4th (Jewish) Sibylline (9 A.D.) takes it over simply without any special tendency (iv. 137-138), the author of the (Jewish) original basis of Rev 17 (Bousset, 411; cf. also the return of Nero with the Parthians to take vengeance on Rome, because she had shed the blood of the saints (17), destruction of Jerusalem) (cf. the Sibylline, which is a later addition). In the 4th Sibylline, which
for the most part (with the exception of vv. 1-51) was written by a Jewish writer at the end of the 1st cent. (J. Geffcken, ‘Komp. u. Entstehungszeit der Orac. Sibyll.,’ Tu, new ser. vii. 1, p. 22 ff.), the source from which it is specially mentioned by the author no fewer than three times (137-154, 214-227, 361-385). Here the figure of Nero is already distorted into a ghostly demon; his return and the terrible war, which will then consume the world, will then precede the coming of the Antichrist as well as the Jewish Apocalyptic thought took possession of the Nero legend, and on this soil the figure of the returning Nero was quite identified with that of Antichrist. Then we have to take into account the additional circumstance that the longer the period from the death of Nero became, the less could a simple return of the living Nero be expected, and the more did the expectation of his return from the outer world grow. In this way, too, his figure became more and more hellish and ghostly: the relation to the Parthians is lost sight of, and instead of an adversary of Rome he becomes an opponent of God and Christ.

In particular, this is the form taken by the legend of Nero in the mind of the joint redactor of the Book of Revelation, who composed it between A.D. 61-66 (ibid. ch. 17 above) worked over a more ancient document. Here Nero is the object of the figure of the abyss (Rev. 11:7), and, in the next chapter, shall again be, in order that it may go into perdition (17:3); he is ‘the head as it had been slain’ (13:14), the cruel adversary of the Lamb, and his Parthian, as it were, is the Antichrist; the ‘terrible sight’ (13:4), and ‘he who usurps the power of God’ (13:12), It is the tyrant who receives worship over the whole earth (13:4, etc.), and the terrible opponent of the Lamb in the last decisive battle (17:14). Therefore the ‘number of the beast’ (13:8) refers to him (according to the great majority of manuscripts, 560-577; the other reading, however, leads to the Latin form: 016-002). In the small apocalypse in the ascens. Is. 3:9-4:1, which dates from the second, or perhaps only from the third, decade of the 2nd cent. (Harnack, Gesch. d. Christl. Lit., iii. 1, 573), we clearly see the final combination of two figures originally quite foreign to each other, when we read that Beliar, the king of this world, will descend from the firmament in the form of a man, who is depicted as the matricidal tyrant Nero. The beginning of the 5th Sibyline (vv. 1-51), too, probably a Jewish composition inserted by the redactor in the time of Marcus Aurelius, identifies Nero as the figure of the Antichrist (vv. 29-34; cf. Ps. 111:4-5). In the 5th Sibyline (vii. 68 ff., 140 ff., 151 ff.), dates from the period immediately preceding the death of Marcus Aurelius, only faint reminiscences are to be found. But the long period, which has been furnished for the Antichrist in the Apocalypse of Ephesus (Rev. 13:7), in which he becomes the ‘Weltmeister,’ still knows the relation of the writing to the legend of Nero (Boussert, 33 ff.). The apologist Commodian, who probably did not write his Carmen apologeticum till the beginning of the 4th cent. (A. Harnack, Chronol. ii. 433-442), is acquainted with two figures of Antichrist, one of which he still identifies with Nero redirens.

7. But even in the 2nd cent. the legend of Nero lost its influence on the minds of men, and in the same degree the anti-Jewish conception, borrowed from 2 Thess. 2, which was free from historical and political limitations, gained the upper hand, his death the ground of exegetical combinations, in particular, under the influence of a renewed use of the predictions of Daniel, and by the help of other strata of literature. It could be opposed to a world-confederation, a world-conflagration, earth, which in all probability arose from the Persian apocalyptic, is specially to be mentioned—the conception was filled out in detail, and continued to exhibit in all its particulars a remarkable persistency.

Antichrist is to come from the tribe of Dan (cf. Rev. 7:1; also Boussert, p. 232). He shall appear in Jerusalem as a mighty ruler (Is. 21:8; 22:2; Dan. 9:27; Ezech. 28:2). It is the fate of the world around him, perform signs and wonders, and demand Divine worship. Edip and Enoch, who both appear as witnesses against him, shall be subdued and slain. The Jews shall believe on him, and he shall rebuild the Temple. He shall persecute the Jews who refuse to worship him. These, however, shall be saved by a miraculous interference of God (the angel). He will put his seal upon his faithful, so that only he who has this seal can enter the city (Rev. 3:36). Finally, the famine of the last times shall overtake him, from which he will not be able to escape. Then at last he shall be subdued and destroyed by Christ, and the general confusion follows. These are the ever recurring features of the Antichrist in the future, which is described throughout the centuries (cf., for the proofs in detail, Boussert, Antichrist).

The same ideas are already to be found in broad outline in the eschatological portraits of Irenaeus (adl. Heres., v.), and in Hippolytus (Refut. Haer. and Comm. in anticipation of political excitement during the course of the following centuries, men always turned a fresh to the prophecy regarding Antichrist. The external features of the prophecy change, and special historical prophecies come to the front, but in the background the figure of Antichrist, connected with no definite time, remains pretty much unchanged. Thus we find in the beginning of the Testamentum Domini, lately edited by Rahmani, an apocalyptic of the type of Deucalion, although it has undergone a later redaction (Harnack, Chronol. ii. 514 ff.). In this work the description of the ancient Antichrist is of interest (cf. also the Coptic and the Jewish Apocalypse of Elypish; cf. also Tertullian, C. Marc. 140). There occurs the time of Aurelius and Gallienus, with its embittered struggles between the Romans and the Persians as well as between the Roman emperors and pretenders, secular and religious, of which the author gives a new food description. From this time, in all probability, dates the Jewish Apocalypse of Elypish, a restoration of the first and latest, according to which, if Buttenwieser’s conjectures (Vinea, d. Ephesii, Leipzig, 1897) are correct, Odhenas of Palmyra appears as an Antichrist, and the same period starts with a new generation to the prophecy of the 13th Sibyl, which ends in a glorification of Odhenas, but does not belong to the Antichrist predictions proper. It is also possible that the special Antichrist passages in the 3rd Sibyl, v. 63 ff., and at the end of the 2nd Sibyl, belong to the same period. Finally, it seems as if the puzzling Coptic Apocalypse of Elypish, which has just been mentioned, and, on the other hand, with the Carmen apologeticum of Commodian (belonging to the first decades of the 4th cent.).

8. A new turn in the history of the legend is represented by the so-called Apoc. Antichrist. By means of the investigations, which all point to the same conclusion, undertaken by Sackur (Sibyll. Texte und Forschungen, p. 114 ff.), by Kampers (Die deutsche Kaiserzeit, p. 18 ff.), and by Boussert (Antichrist), it has been settled that the Tiburtina Sibyline, which appears in various editions and revisions of the Middle Ages, goes back to an original document which was composed in the 4th century. Since Basset published in the Revue de l’histoire des religions, xiv. 3-4 (1897), the ‘Wisdom of the Sibyl’ (Sibyll. Sibyllinae), x. 3-4), from the Middle Ages, which in itself is closely connected with the Tiburtina, but is enlarged by predictions which go down to the date of the previsions of Harun al-Rashid, it has become still more easy to re-construct the original of the old Tiburtina. This Sibyline, dating from the 4th cent., and celebrating the Emperor Constans as the last ruler, becomes in it 1021 the first time the prophecy regarding the last emperor, who, before the advent of Antichrist, shall obtain dominion over the whole world, and at the end of his reign shall pass to Jerusalem, and shall be destroyed in the place called Golgotha. From this time onwards the last ruler of the world before Antichrist becomes a standing requisite of the legend. In the treatise on Antichrist preserved in Latin under the title De anti-Christo, which probably dates from the 4th cent., and which has been published by Caspari (Briefe und Abhandlungen, 1890, pp. 268 ff., 429 ff.), this change in the legend is also already indicated in the form orum impiorum scripturis Fatrecio et veteri urbi et civi triumderum 27-28, 329, iii. 134-147; related treaties are to be found among the most "corrupt ones" (cf. Dict. d. Bibliogr., s.v. Antichristus; also Procop. Brev. de moribus, iv. 15, 18; Euseb. Hist. cit. 7.16.19; Suidas, s.v. τετελεσθεις, τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τετελεσθεις ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ παροῦ καὶ τοῦ παρακτοῦτος τοῦ Αντικριστοῦ).
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Ephraim's works in Bossuet, Antichrist, 224; further, a Syrian homily (Th. J. Loisy, lvi. 187), which—it is true—is in its present reading predicts the rising of Islam. Closely related to the Greek and Syrian traditions are the speeches of pseudo-Hippolytus and a pseudo-Johannes Apocryphon (Tischendorf, Kirchengesch., 1872, p. 378). For the alternative apocalyptic of Cyril of Jerusalem should also be mentioned here.

9. Antichrist Apocalypses flourished again in the age of Islam. In the very beginning of the 10th century and the first quarter of the 11th century, two of the most curious and one of the most notable of these prophetic books, viz. the pseudo-Methodius, which is extant in no fewer than three Greek recensions, a Latin translation, and various Greek and Latin recensions (cf. the original Greek version found in St. Istin [see below], the Latin text in Saczkur, op. cit.). Here the emperor of the future, who shall miraculously rise out of sleep, overcome Islam, and obtain the kingdom of this world, has already become the most striking figure in the picture of the future. Then a number of Byzantine prophetic, which accompany the reign of the Byzantine emperors and their fates, are influenced by pseudo-Methodius.

One prophetic composition, written in verse and adorned with pictures, which is ascribed to Leo v. the philosopher (Olographia, II, 1870, p. 381), predictions, e.g., of the house of the Comneni, and celebrates the emperor of the future, who, to whom the ancient church will rise out of his grave. The legend of the sleeping emperor of the future is everywhere closely interwoven with the tradition of Antichrist. We have finally a Greek prophetic work written with the name of Daniel (alongside of a probably more ancient Armenian Daniel prophecy, which, in the period of the Latin empire, restores the destruction of the Greek rule (Bossuet, Zitmer, J. Kirchengesch., xx. 299.

The book which is written by Istin, the age of Islam and the Crusades was exceedingly productive of prophetic anticipations. To this period belong the Apocalypses which are contained in the so-called Liber Clementinorum (St. Istin, Pietas apostolica apocalypsis per Clementem) in the period of the Latin empire, and probably in the Saracenic time (Bossuet, Antichrist, 85 ff.), the Coile (14th) Vision of Daniel (in Karl Weil's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, Oxford, 1595), also the above-mentioned Egyptian-Arabic Wisdom of the Slab, and finally the later Syrian Apocalypse of Ezra (Bossuet, Antichrist, 45 ff.). In the age of Islam we have also a revival of Jewish Apocalyptic literature, probably to a large extent caused by the Christian prophetic writings. One of the most interesting of the books written in this period is a particular work of the Jewish history of Daniel which is handed down in the Persian tongue (Msv. Archiv fur Erforschung des AT 1, 1.). Alongside of this work there is a series of other writings: the Mysteries of Nisam-Sen-Jochat, the Mophax Vaqja, the Samsa of the Mesians, the Book of Zornblabete, etc. (cf. Buttenwieser, Nea-Neoplatonische Apocryphische Literatur 1903).

10. This whole type of predictions came to the West in the book of pseudo-Methodius, which was early translated into Latin. The Tiburtina, too, with its numerous recensions, accompanying the latter, it is defined as a pious legend, but also with political content and influence.

Finally, great influence was exerted by the letter which the monk Ado (954) wrote to the queen Gerberga de Ortu et Tempore Antichristi (cfr. Saczkur, Sibyll. Texte und Forschungen, ii.). Then the legend of Antichrist passed through its classical period in the West, in which it even made history.

Since the beginning of the 2nd Christian millennium a strong increase in the eschatological direction can be observed. This was intensified by the excitement which was produced in the lands of the West by the Crusades. All these fantastic eschatological tendencies found their intellectual focus in the person and activity of the abbot Jacobus de Voragine. In particular, the intellectual movements which he originated found ready acceptance in the Franciscan order, and especially among those Franciscans who were living in the Latin West, and the time came when people saw Antichrist, or the fore-runner of Antichrist, in every ecclesiastical, political, national, or social opponent, and the catchword ‘Antichrist’ sounded on all sides in the struggle between the Emperor and Pope, between King and Chancellor, between the German and the Swiss, between the Church, repressive social movements and the ruling powers opposed to them (Reformatorische Sittenrecht, Own Ecclesiavit of Berthold of Chienues), in sculpture and painting (e.g. cf. Signorelli's picture in the cathedral of Orvieto), in lyric, epic, and dramatic poetry (cf. esp. Ludus de Antichristo, ed. W. Meyer), the motives were suggested by the prophecy of Antichrist. In particular, the belief that the Pope of Rome was Antichrist, or at least his fore-runner (antichristus minor, mysticus), became of world-wide historical importance. This view was nascently developed and endorsed by the Fitchian concept of the Antichrist, who had remained true to the original ideal of poverty. From them the conviction passed over to the pre-Reformation sects; the Bohemians Milic of Krenesir (Libellus de Antichristo) and Matthias of Litomysl, who condemned the papacy in a way which can quite easily be traced. Wycif and his follower Michael Parvey (the probable author of the work edited by Luther 1528), Conv. in Apocalypsin ante centum annos edidit, as well as Huss on the other side, are firmly convinced of the anti-Christian nature of the Papacy.

In a particularly instructive monograph, H. Preuss has shown how the idea of Antichrist has influenced political theory, and especially the Age of Luther among the widest classes of the people—the how idea generally dawned on Luther's mind, and became fixed, that the Pope was Antichrist. This conviction led him to more keen and daring opposition to the Papacy, and was thus associated with all the other political and religious movements of the time. Thus in the Articles of Schmalkald, which were composed by Luther himself, the proposition that the Pope is Antichrist and the place occupied by this concept of the Antichrist in the life of Luther, and the political reasons prevented this conviction from being expressed.

In the centuries that followed the Reformation, the doctrine that the Pope was Antichrist gradually receded into the background, and it is still resolutely held by Protestant scholars, particularly by commentators on the Apocalypse even in our own times. But it came to be more and more only led by learned pedantry, and the belief no longer possessed the power of formity. With this last phase the interest in the legend entirely disappeared, and it is now to be found only among the lower classes of the Christian community, among sects, eccentrics individuals, and fanatics.


W. Bossuet.

ANTINOMIANISM. — Antinomianism (avri ‘against,’ and hov ‘law’), as a distinct theological phenomenon, is first recorded in the lives of James and John of的方式来 (1492-1566), who was an early conditator of Luther in the Reformation. It is the counterpart of modern political anarchism, being directed towards the destruction of the Moral Law of the OT in the
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interest of the new freedom of Christians and the testimony of the spirit. Antinomianism, as John Wesley defined it, is the doctrine that 'makes void the Law through faith.' Art. 203.) Christians are free from the Law. The terms primarily referred to was the Law of Moses. Agnolo denied that Christians owed subjection to any part of this law, even to the Decalogue.

In any wide sense the term is used to designate the doctrines of extreme fanatics who deny subjection to any law other than the subjective caprices of the empirical individual, though this individual is generally characterized as the witness and interpreter of the Holy Spirit. It is uncertain just how far Agnolo went towards this wider capriciousness of the individual. For we get from history the usual exaggerations of theological controversies, when we read the debates between Luther and Agnolo on the subject. Agnolo began, and intended to remain, true to the great Reformation principle of justification through faith alone, without works. It was the fear of work-righteousness that led him to argue against the Moral Law—at least that of the Decalogue. He wished to establish Luther's condemnation of the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works, or work-righteousness, on some distinctively Reformation lines. Refusing to become a secretary for some ten years, he maintained, in a public disputation at Wittenberg in 1537, that works are indifferent, and that a man is saved by faith alone without any regard to his moral character. He said: 'Art thou steeped in sin, an adulterer or a thief? If thou believest, thou art in salvation. All who follow Moses must go to the devil. To the gullows with Moses.'

Luther further characterized the teaching as being antinomian, and identified it, in principle, with the anarchism of the Anabaptists. Agnolo retrenched and was reconciled with Luther, but the controversy was carried on by others. One of the followers of Agnolo, a certain Anusmus, said that good works imperilled salvation. Agnolo claimed that he was only expounding the teachings of Luther and Melanchthon. Indeed we find Luther (Works, xx. 290) saying: 'We do not wish to see or hear Moses. For Moses was given to the Jews, not to us Gentiles and Christians. We have our Gospel and New Testament. They wish to make Jesus the old of Rome, shall not. And Melanchthon says (Loci communes, 1st ed. by Augusti, p. 127): 'If it must be admitted that the Decalogue is abrogated.' But the controversy with Agnolo was only the occasion for Luther to give the definite term 'antinomianism' to a view far older than the German Reformation. This view showed itself even in NT times. Luther himself characterized the Epistle of St. James as 'an epistle of straw,' because of its emphasis upon good works. Then we find the Apostles (Ro 3: 31 6, Eph 5, 2 P 218, 19) warning Christians against perverstions of their doctrines as an excuse for licentiousness, or antinomianism. The Gnostic sects, hyper-spiritual in doctrine, were separatist in their morals. They held that the spirit (σωφρονία), as part of the eternal Divine energy, existed absolutely separate and apart from the soul (ψυχή) and the body. Hence, every soul and body were things indifferent to the spirit. Hence, soul and body might swallow in licentiousness without detracting from the salvation of the spirit (σωφρονία). Here we find with the Valentinian Gnos- tics, the most famous of the antinomian sects, a sort of dualism, a conflict between loneliness and antinomianism in its widest and most immoral form.

A tract of Augustine (contra adversarium legis et prophetarum) seems to indicate the existence of this dualism among the Gnostics. There are traces of it to be found during the Middle Ages. It comes out strongly among the Anabaptists of Germany and Holland. During the Commonwealth, it existed in England among the high Calvinists. These argued that, if a man was elected and pre-destined to salvation, he was free from the law, and that the moral conduct of a man might be, his salvation was sure if he was one of the elect; the wicked actions of such a man were not sinful, and he had no occasion to fear that he might commit his sins or to break them off by repentance. Saltmarsh, Cromwell's chaplain, was among these 'sectaries.' But they never became an independent sect. Antinomianism existed in the 18th century in England and among the Dissenters. Again, it appeared in England among the followers of John Wesley, who made earnest protest against it. This gave occasion for John Fletcher to write a strong book, entitled Antinomia.

It is not in place to carry the discussion of this term beyond its proper theological role. We may only add that the principle of the thing—opposition to law—is found in every sphere of the organized or institutional activities of humanity. All who advocate doctrines subversive of the Family, the State, or the Church, are antinomians. All moral sophists are antinomians. All who pervert the principle that 'reason is the sum of all our moral law, on which the disregard for established moral laws, so that some personal or finite end be attained, are antinomians. And every individual who pleads special exemption from obedience to the common law of morality is an antinomian.

We may cite Epiphanes, the sensual son of the Gnostic Carpocrates, as one of the lowest types of antinomians. He died at the age of seventeen from the effects of debauchery, after having written a work on Righteousness, in which he advocated the generous antinomian—"Follow your own nature, against all established laws."

J. MACBRIDE STERRITT.

ANTINOMIES. — The term antinomia in the New Testament (Acts xvi. 3, 3) is derived from the Greek ἀντινομία—"the unваluing of all values, the illegalizing of all laws."
standing, he turns to it to prove the idea of reason. But it is limited to the conditioned, and therefore can never reach to knowledge of the unconditioned. An unconditioned condition is absurd. And yet this is what reason demands.

The idea of reason is too large for the capacity of the knowing understanding, and the definite knowledge of the understanding is too small for the idea of the reason. Hence the hopeless back and forth sliding between the dicta on laws of the two faculties.

Kant gives four antinomies or pairs of theses and antitheses.

The first is the antinomy of quantity. Two mutually exclusive propositions can be proved with equal force in regard to the quantity of the world:

**Thesis.** The world had a beginning in time, and is limited also with regard to space.

**Antithesis.** The world had no beginning, and has no limits in space, but is infinite in respect to both time and space.

He then shows that the denial of either member of both the thesis and the antithesis involves an absurdity.

The second is the antinomy of quality, and relates to the divisibility of matter.

**Thesis.** Every composite substance in the world consists of simple parts, and nothing exists anywhere but the simple or what is composed of it.

**Antithesis.** No composite thing in the world consists of simple parts, and there exists nowhere in the world anything simple.

Here the same reductio ad absurdum is applied to both the thesis and the antithesis. These first two antinomies are styled the *universal*, and considering the world quantitatively and qualitatively. The next two he styles *dynamical*, as considering the world, not as a total of dead things, but consisting of things dynamically and organically related to each other.

The first of these is the antinomy of relation, dealing chiefly with the relation of causality.

**Thesis.** Causality, according to the laws of nature, is not the only causality from which all the phenomena of the world can be deduced. In order to account for these phenomena, it is also necessary to admit another causality, that of freedom.

**Antithesis.** There is no freedom, but everything in the world takes place entirely according to the laws of nature.

Here, again, Kant's reasoning is to the absurdity of the opposite of both thesis and antithesis. For the *thesis* it is argued that if free causality be allowed, then it must itself be held to be uncaused, and thus contradict the law of causality—that everything must have a cause.

The next is the antinomy of modality, and relates to 'the unity in the existence of phenomena,' or the ultimate nature of the universe.

**Thesis.** There exists an absolutely necessary Being belonging to the world, as a part or as the cause of it.

**Antithesis.** There nowhere exists an absolutely necessary Being, whether within or without the world, as the cause of it.

Kant claims that no dogmatic solution of these antinomies can be given. His own critical solution follows from this theory of Knowledge. Knowledge is only of phenomena. We must think noumena. But we cannot know them as phenomena.

It is the attempt to do this that gives rise to these antinomies. His critical solution is that these antinomies arise (necessarily too) only from a confusion between knowable phenomena and unknowable (but real) noumena. It is this that constantly leads one's reasoning on either side to involve a *perdura* c*α* d*ι* ο*ν* o*μ* e*ν*.

Besides these four antinomies, there is the *Pure Reason* of Kant stating one antinomy of the *Practical Reason*, that is, an *ethical* antinomy. It is that between perfect virtue and perfect happiness. *Du sollt also du kannst* is Kant's bed-rock of morality. Unconditional obedience to the categorical imperative is the *summum bonum*. But the *bonum consummation* includes perfect happiness. What bridge can there be found between perfect virtue and perfect happiness? Here comes the antinomy. Virtue demands happiness as a mere *Virtue demands happiness as a mere*.

Here we find Kant saying that the *thesis* 'is absolutely false.' He really goes on to make a *thesis* and an *antithesis* out of the antithesis. His real antinomy, therefore, is this:

**Thesis:** There is no causal of virtue.

**Antithesis:** Virtue is not causal of happiness.

To take the antithesis first, it is easily shown that virtue is not causal in the world of experience. Fire burns and poison kills the virtuous as well as the vicious.

Then as to the *thesis*, it is false so far as virtue is considered as a cause in the sensible world. But it is true so far as I am a denizen of a super-sensuous world. But even there it is true only because I must have a indifferently prolonged life in which to approximate to a virtuous mind, and because, finally, there must be a God as the cause adequate to equalizing or proportioning happiness to virtue, that is, a cause adequate to effecting this union of virtue with happiness.

In Kant's Third Critique, *The Critique of Judgment*, we find two other antinomies—the aesthetic and the telological antinomies.

First, the *antinomy of taste* ([§ 56]):

**Thesis.** The judgment of taste is not based on conceptions; for otherwise de gustibus non disputandum.

**Antithesis.** The judgment of taste is based on conceptions; for otherwise we could not argue about it, and there would be no norm of taste.

Second, the telological antinomy ([§ 70]):

**Thesis.** All products of material things and their forms must be judged to be possible according to merely mechanical laws.

**Antithesis.** Some products of material nature cannot be judged to be possible according to merely mechanical laws.

Hegel (Encyclopædia, [§ 48]) blames Kant for his small list of antinomies. He holds that antinomies 'appear in all objects of every kind, in all representations, conceptions, and ideas.' It is this view that is the vital element of the dialectical forcing thought onward to ever higher and more concrete forms till it reaches the Absolute Ideal in which all contradictions are forms of self-relation. "The true and comprehensive meaning of scientific progress is this: that every actual thing involves a co-existence of contrary elements. Consequently, to know, in or in other words to comprehend, an object is equivalent to being conscious of it as a unified group of contrary determinations" ([§ 48, Zusatz]). Hegel's whole Logic is an exhibition of the antinomical dialectic of all finite thought, in its indwelling tendency to absolute and final thought, as 'the life and soul of scientific progress, the dynamic which alone gives an immanent connexion and necessity to the subject-matter of science' ([§ 81]). Of every thing and every conception we say it is and is not, because it is more than what it is in its immediate form. With more
identity, $A=A$, there can be no progress. But

All things by a law divine

In one another's being mingle.

The truth of any thing or thought is always a unity of identity and difference, of thesis and antithesis. Synthesis is the truth of both. But all finite syntheses develop antinomies on the way to the ultimate synthesis of thought and reality, where antinomies are no more.

J. MACBRIE STERRETT.

ANTIOCHENE THEOLOGY

[J. H. SAWLEY].

The title 'Antiochene' has been applied to a school of Church teachers, all connected with Antioch, whose activity covers the latter half of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century. Its most famous representatives were Diodorus, bishop of Tarasus (+ 394); John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople (+ 407); Theodoret, bishop of Mopsuestia (+ 429); and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrillus (+ 457). But the theology of these Fathers has its roots in an earlier period. We reproduce the traditions of a school of Christian learning at Antioch, the history and characteristics of which form a necessary introduction to a study of the later writers.

THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH: HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTICS.—The city of Antioch, founded by the Seleucid kings and made by them the capital of their dominions, was the metropolis of the East and the third city of the Roman Empire. It was a centre of Greek culture, and was noted for the pursuit of art and literature. The Church of Antioch had played an important part in the early spread of Christianity, and from early times had been the centre of important movements in the region of thought. It was the home of the early Gnostics, Manander and Saturnilus, while the writings of Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, in the latter years of Marcus Aurelius and under Commodus, attracted the notice of the West, and show that the attention of the Church had been directed to the statement and defence of Christian truth. The earliest reference to anything like an organized Christian school of instruction occurs in connexion with the condemnation of the heresy of Paul of Samosata in the year 399. At the council of bishops, which met at Antioch in that year and condemned Paul, the latter's teaching was expounded by Malchion, a pupil of Paul of Samosata, in a school of Antioch. From Eusebius' description (HE vii. 29) it has been argued that the Church of Antioch already possessed some institution resembling the Catechetical School of Alexandria, in which sacred learning was combined with secular studies, and the pursuit of rhetoric and dialectic found a place (ερωτησά των ἐν 'Αντιοχείᾳ ἐλεγμάτων παιδεύσεως διατριβής προκείμενος). How far the teaching of Paul himself is representative of the true distinct school of thought at Antioch it is difficult to say, but there are features in it which are reproduced by the later Antiochene theologians (e.g. his appeal to the historical Christ and his rejection of metaphysics). See below, II. 6.

It is, however, in the time of Lucian (+ 311-312), the presbyter and martyr, that the school of Antioch first comes clearly to light. He is said to have studied at the school of Origen, and at the school of Cessare. From the latter he probably acquired that interest in Biblical studies which was due to the influence of Origen, and for which the school of Jerusalem was celebrated. In the days of Dorotheus, who combined knowledge of Hebrew with Greek learning (Euseb. HE vii. 32), he completed a revision of the LXX, and to him has also been attributed the early Syrian revision of the text of the NT (on these see Swete, Intro. to NT in Greek. C. H. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort., Intro. to NT in Greek, p. 138). There is also a fragment of his Commentary on the Book of Job (Routh, Rel. Sacr. iv. p. 71). But equally important with the Biblical labours of Lucian was the influence exercised by him on the theology of the Eastern Church. In what way he was connected with Paul of Samosata is uncertain (see, however, Harnack, PREP xi., art. 'Lucian der Martyrer'), but the influence of Paul's teaching upon him is unmistakable, and between the years 270 and 299 he appears to have been outside the communion of the Church (Theodore, HE i. 3). His teaching represented a compromise between the Alexandrianism of Paul and the Logos Christology of Origen (see below, II. 6). At the same time he taught the idea of a created Logos, and in this respect he handed on to his disciples a tradition which formed its most logical expression in Arianism. The school of Lucian was 'the nursery of the Arian doctrine' (Harnack). The Arian leaders, Arius and Eusebius of Nicomedia, were pupils of Lucian, and the title Σωκάστος πατέρας of Arians is still in use. The influence of Paul's teaching upon them is a common bond of union. Our sources of information as to the teaching of the more prominent Arians exhibit two characteristics which re-appear in the later history of the school of Antioch: (1) the use of the dialectical philosophy of Aristotle; (2) the grammatical and literal exegesis of Scripture. On the former of these see Harnack, Hist. of Doctrines (Eng. tr. 1899), vol. iv. p. 6. The latter characteristic is illustrated in the commentaries of Eusebius of Cesarea, a disciple of Lucian, and a moderate Arian in doctrine, who had studied in the schools of Edessa, Cesarea, and Alexandria, as well as at Antioch, and who, according to Jerome, exercised an influence upon the exegesis of Diodorus (Jerome, de Vir. Illust. c. 119).

Harnack has pointed out the close parallel which exists between the principles of the school of Lucian and those of the earlier Roman Adoptianists, whose chief representative was Theodotus. In both alike we find the same use of Aristotle, and the same methods and critical exegesis of the Bible. Both schools opposed the dominant mystical and allegorizing tendencies of the Old Testament, and full use of them and critical methods (Harnack, Hist. of Doctrines, vol. ii. p. 23 f., vol. iv. p. 6).

It was not the Arians alone who handed on the traditions of the school of Antioch. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch (exiled in 341), in his de Evagri-

mytho attacks the allegorical interpretation of Origen, and defends the literal sense of Greek Scripture. Flavian, the colleague and friend of Diodorus at Antioch (Theodore, HE iv. 22), and Meletius, the patron of Chrysostom, constitute links between the earlier and the later school of Antioch.

The history of the later school of Antioch really begins with Diodorus (bishop of Tarasus, 378-394). A fellow-student of Basil at Athens, and later on the colleague of Flavian, he had upheld the unorthodox cause at Antioch in the days of Meletius' exile. His friendship with Basil (Basil, Ep. 135) is important as marking the union between Cappadocian and Antiochene orthodoxy (Harnack, PEP iv., art. 'Diodorus', O. F. Sterrett). All his fragments and unprinted writings are extant, but they appear to have included treatises on philosophy and theology, and commentaries on the Old and New Testaments. In his opposition to Apollinaris he published a tract on the Person of Christ which in later times caused him to be regarded as a precursor of Nestorianism. In his exegesis of the Scriptures, the principles of which he expounded in a tract Τὸ διακόπτων τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ ἀληθίνῃ και ἀπόκρυφῃ he contested the Alexandrian method of interpretation, and, while affirming the need of insight into the inner spiritual
meaning of Scripture, he asserted the importance of grammatical and historical methods of exegesis. Lastly, Diodorus’ importance consists in the fact that he was the innovator and teacher of the two most famous representatives of the school of Antioch—Theodore and Chrysostom.

**Theodore**, bishop of Mopsuestia (†429), developed on bold and original lines the teaching of his master Diodorus. As an independent thinker and systematic theologian, he was the most prominent representative of the Antiochenes. His theology contains a fully thought out system, embracing the nature and destiny of man and the Person and work of Christ. He has points of contact with the Pelagians in his teaching on sin and the Fall, free-will and grace; and in his Christology he was the immediate predecessor of Nestorius. No less important were his contributions to the study of Scripture. In his subjective criticism of the Canon of Scripture, his insistence on the primary meaning of OT prophecy, and his endeavour to bring out the full historical meaning of Scripture, he represents the climax of Antiochene teaching.

He also represented in the Persian and Gnostic schools of Antioch during the period of its greatest fame call for notice, though none of them carried out so fully as Theodore its essential principles.

**John Chrysostom**, bishop of Constantinople (†407), was the disciple of Diodorus and Flavian, and shows the influence of his Antiochene training alike in his doctrinal teaching and in his exposition of Scripture, though in both respects he was in closer accord than Diodorus or Theodore with the teaching of the Antiochene school. Theodore was, however, the popular teacher and preacher rather than the exact theologian, and his commentaries on Scripture, which are marked by profound insight into human nature, are the work of a homilist rather than a critical scholar.

**Theodoret**, bishop of Cyrrhus (†457), was a disciple of Theodore, and played an important part in the Christological controversies of his time, in which he exercised a mediating influence between the conflicting principles of Antiochene and Alexandrian theology. He exhibits, alike in his theological and Biblical works, the Antiochene tradition. But he modified in several respects the teaching of Theodore. He, however, as he exhibits learning, judgment, and terseness of expression, though he is inferior in originality to Theodore and Chrysostom.

On the later history and influence of the school of Antioch, see below, III.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH. — 1. Holy Scripture and Revelation. — With the Antiochenes the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments held a foremost place as the source of Christian doctrine. In their Canon of Scripture they followed the tradition of the Antiochene and Syrian Churches (which is generally referred to the so-called Syriac Version), and did not include in the NT the Apocalypse, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, or Jude. Theodore, on subjective grounds, also rejected the Gospels and the NT are equally to the OT books, Theodore recognized degrees of inspiration, and submitted them to a rigorous subjective criticism. The Book of Job he regarded as the production of a pagan Eloite and a work of dramatic fiction, which was lacking in higher inspiration. Similarly, he denied inspiration in the higher sense to Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

The Song of Songs was merely the marriage-song of Pharaoh’s daughter, and lacked the authority both of the synagogue and of the Church. He assigned little value to Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, partly owing to doubts as to their acceptance in the Jewish Canon, and partly because they seemed to lack the prophetic insight which marked the NT historical books (see below, Theodore, p. 521). He also rejected the inscriptions of the Psalms, and assigned to them a historical meaning. He was, however, more given to criticism than rejection of the doctrine of the inspiration of many of the Psalms, placing some in the period of Hezekiah, others in that of Zerubbabel, and others again in Maccabean times. These views, however, were rejected by Cyril, a few later, and Theodo- ret, who adhered to the general sentiment of the Church.

The Antiochenes held the LXX in the highest repute, and appear to have used Lucian’s recension of its text. But Theodore and Chrysostom were unacquainted with Hebrew, and none of the teachers of the later school took up Lucian’s textual labours or interested themselves in such studies (see below, Chase, Chrysostom, p. 921). In their treatment of the inspiration of the Scriptures, while recognizing a real influence of the Holy Spirit upon the writers, the Antiochenes maintained that the individual character of the various books was preserved on the whole. They recognized, too, the principle of accommodation to the time and circumstances of those who were addressed (Chase, op. cit. p. 42). Revelation is progressive. The OT has a preparatory character, and is the foreshadowing of one Divine purpose, which reaches its culmination in the Incarnation and the Christian dispensation. In their exegesis of Scripture the Antiochenes exhibit a pronounced opposition to the allegorical school of Chrysostom and the Alexandrian school. Eustathius, Diodorus, and Theodore all wrote works against the allegorists (see also Theodore on Gal 4 and proem. in Ose.). Against Origen they maintained that the historical books contain true history, and are to be interpreted historically. But the history contains spiritual lessons, which, however, are to be deduced from it, and not arbitrarily imposed upon it. The moral difficulties of the OT histories and of the inpropriate Psalms presented obstacles to them, which they do not always satisfactorily overcome. Chrysostom often minimizes them, or occasionally resorts to allegory (Chase, op. cit. p. 533). The historical character of the OT narratives is fully recognized. The incidents, persons, and objects mentioned are types of realities found in the NT (Theodore, proem. in Jhn.). This harmony between type and antitype was foreseen and foreordained by the Divine purpose in order to assist men in recognizing the truth (Theodore in Ose. 1; proem. in Ann., Migne, lxvi. 125, 141). Hence the obscurity of the OT is due to the fact that it contains shadows and imperfect images of the truth, but is not the truth itself (Chrys. Hom. 61 in Genec.). The language of the OT is often also hyperbolic and figurative, if referred to its original object, and finds its full content only in the higher realities of the gospel (Theodore, in Joel 2). The principles of the interpretation of prophecy which were based on literalism were sought by manner by Theodore. He starts from the historical standpoint of the school, and maintains that, with the exception of a few passages which are directly Messianic, it is only by way of accommodation that the language of the Psalms and Prophecies can be applied to the Christian dispensation (in Rom. 3, Eph. 4). He distinguishes three classes of prophecies:—(1) Those which have a primary application to the Messiah, Christ, and no other doctrinal reference. These were few in number;
ANTIOTHESE THEOLOGY

e.g. Theodore recognized only four Psalms (2, 8, 45, 110) as directly Messianic. (2) Prophecies which have a primary reference to OT events, and, referred back, to the Spirit of Christ, i.e., such prophecies as are quoted in the NT. (3) Prophecies which have no Messianic reference, but refer only to the OT (e.g. Mic 4:1-3, Zec 11:12; Hag 2:9-10, Mal 3:5-17).


Theodore has a profound appreciation of critical methods to the OT, though often arbitrary and vitiated by his ignorance of Hebrew, exhibits at times an acumen and insight which were far in advance of his age. In his subjective criticism of the OT books he found no successors, but through the later Antiochenes—Chrysostom and Theodoret, who followed in the main his methods, while modifying his conclusions—the science of exact and literal exegesis gained a foothold in the Churches and exercised a far-reaching influence both in the East and in the West. See below, III.

2. Doctrine of God and of the Trinity.—The Antiochenes exhibit little interest in metaphysical speculation, concerning the definition of God's essence of His existence. Photius, however (Bibl. Cod. 229, see esp. p. 209b; Migne, PG ciii, p. 833), gives an account of Diodorus' work Against Fate, in which the latter propounds the cosmological argument for the existence of God. The world, Diodorus maintains, is subject to change. But change itself is a condition which implies a beginning, and requires us to assume something constant behind it. Moreover, the things which are displayed in the very process of change point to an underlying unity of origin, and suggest a Creator and a Providence. Both Chrysostom and Theodoret wrote works upon the providence of God, in which they endeavoured to show that this providence extends to particulars.

Diodorus and Theodoret were staunch supporters of the Nicene theology. Accepting its conclusions, Theodore set forth the doctrine of the Trinity by the help of careful exegesis of Scripture, rather than by speculative arguments. From the baptismal formula in Mt 28:19 we may learn that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three self-subsisting Persons of the Divine Being. In the OT the distinction of Persons was not yet revealed (in Hag. 2:4). But when the OT speaks of the Divine nature, its language may be applied not only to the Father, but to the Son also, by reason of their community of nature (in Heb. 1:10). The Holy Spirit is a Person (ιδιωτας) of the Trinity, and has His subsistence (εσπερηθη) from the 'being' of the Father (in Matt. 18:14). Chrysostom's treatment is similar to that of Theodore. Careful exposition of the language of Scripture takes the place of metaphysical speculation upon the Trinity. Theodoret expounds in his Exegetes (Dial. i. p. 33f, Migne) Basil's distinction between the terms 'being' (ονωσια) and 'person' (ιδιωτας), but, like Theodore and Chrysostom, he contributes little to the subject.

One respect, however, Theodore and Theodoret occupy an important place in the history of the doctrine of the Trinity. Theodore's teaching upon the Holy Spirit exhibits a clear conception of the essential Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father. In his concentric circle diagram he affirms that the Holy Spirit's 'going forth' (εναποστελθησα) was no mere external mission, but 'a natural procession' (φυσικη σπρωση). But in the Creed put forth by him (Hinle, Bibliothek der Symbolen, p. 392) he denies that the Holy Spirit was received through the Son (ον ιδιωτα του ξανθηναι οντος). This position was attacked by Cyril of Alexandria in the ninth of his anathemas against Nestorius, and the Spirit was declared to be the 'very own' (θυρων) of the Father. In his concentric circle diagram he affirms that the Holy Spirit's 'going forth' (εναποστελθησα) was no mere external mission, but 'a natural procession' (φυσικη σπρωση). But in the Creed put forth by him (Hinle, Bibliothek der Symbolen, p. 392) he denies that the Holy Spirit was received through the Son (ον ιδιωτα του ξανθηναι οντος).

From the first, God made man's nature liable to mortality. As a result of this mortality, man is subject to passion and liable to change. Theodore distinguishes between two stages (καταστασις) in the history of created beings, a present stage, in which the creature is subject to change and death, and a future stage, in which all will be saved from mortality and immortality (in Genes., Migne, lxvi. 634). God exhibited the
beginning of this second stage in the narration of the fall (cf. Jer. 31:31; Mic. 5:3), but it was His purpose that man should first pass through the earlier stage, in which he is subject to conflict, temptation, and mortality. In thus creating man mortal, however, there was a beneficent purpose, for it made him susceptible to the possibility of actual death (as distinguished from the liability to death) to disobedience, in order to deter men from sin. (c) Man’s mortal condition rendered it possible for ‘the body of sin’ to be destroyed along with the dissolution of his body. Had man sinned, being immortal, his fall would have been irremediable (in Gen. 3:1; there is a somewhat similar treatment in Methodius and Gregory of Nyssa). Hence the purpose of the command to Adam, and later on of the Law, was to call forth the knowledge of good and evil, to provoke sin, and to show man his inability to attain perfect righteousness. It was only through the struggle and the constancy out of this failure to attain his need of the Divine principle of life revealed in Christ, in order that he might attain his true end (in Rom. 7, in Gen. 3, in Gal. 3). But the teaching of Theodore that by man’s disobedience the liability to mortality became an actual fact, for God had not said, when He threatened man with death as the penalty of disobedience, ‘Ye shall be mortal’, but ‘Ye were to die’ (Marius Mercator, ed. theol. Orig., p. 340). Death came by sin, and the result of death was the separation of soul and body in man. Thus, too, the bond of the Universe, which had held together the visible and invisible parts of creation, was broken; for Adam gained an entrance into the world, and in Adam’s descendants the same experience was repeated. As each of them sinned in turn, he became subject, like Adam, to death (so Theodore in Cat. Ro 5:12). A further result of the actual mortality which resulted from sin was that it increased the tendency to sin, by fixing man’s thoughts upon the present order of things and by ministering to his passions (in Bibl. 714, 718, in C. 295, 30). 5. Original Sin.—The summary which has been given above of Theodore’s teaching shows that he allowed no place for the idea of inherited sin. Every soul, whether in the beginnings of men’s existence as regarded as the result of man’s own transgressions, not as the result of Adam’s sin. In the fragments of Theodore’s work, Against the Defenders of Original Sin, preserved by Marius Mercator (ed. Baluze, p. 340 f.), his attitude towards the standpoint of Jerome and Augustine is clearly shown. He affirms that Adam was created mortal, and he repudiates the idea that Noah, Abraham, David, Moses, and other righteous men should be subject to punishment for Adam’s sin. Such a view he regards as inconsistent with the Apostle’s words (Ro 5:12), that God will render to every man according to his deeds. Thus, too, in speaking of baptism, he emphasizes the forgiveness of the sins of the individual, and the sinless state which will be fully revealed only at the general resurrection of all things, and he maintains that in the case of infants as well as of adults the baptism of Water is the necessary introduction to the kingdom. Such teaching made Theodore a valuable ally to the Pelagian leaders, and in 418 Julian of Eclanum and his companions sought refuge with him after their banishment from the West. The points in which Theodore differed from that of Pelagius are: his insistence that man was created mortal, his emphasis on free-will, his denial of inherited sin, and his treatment of man’s growth in knowledge and obedience through the discipline of the commandments and the law of God. On the other hand, his idea of redemption is different from that of Pelagius. For, according to Theodore’s teaching, the original constitution of man as mortal and mutable rendered it impossible for him to attain his own complete deliverance apart from the deliverance which came through Christ. Again, as we have seen, Theodore’s conception of free-will is more profound than that of Pelagius, with whom freedom is simply the indifference of the will to good or evil (death). Chrysostom in his teaching on human nature exhibits the same practical bent and absence of speculative interest which appears in other writers. Besides the distinctive ideas of Chrysostom’s treatment of man’s history, his conception of the Divine image in man, which he regards as the effect of the fall, recalls Diodes and Theodore. He regards the Fall as resulting in a privation of gifts which were not a part of man’s natural constitution. He does not teach a complete loss of the Divine image. He agrees with Theodore in insisting on free-will and denying original sin. But in both cases this was probably due to his practical bent of mind, and to his association with that side of Eastern thought which, while emphasizing free-will, had not yet embraced the ideas found in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa, which approximated to Western teaching on Original Sin. As a good preacher, Chrysostom saw the danger of any form of teaching which seemed to lessen the sense of responsibility or encourage the idea of human freedom. He says that man was given, “...a free-will to be free for evil or good” (ib. 5). To deny free-will was to take the virtue out of goodness (1 Cor. Rom. 2). It is the bad will which is the root of evil (1 Cor. Rom. 3). Thus, he was determined that mortality shall continue (ib.). Chrysostom, in fact, realizes far less than Theodore the weakness of man’s inability to attain his own perfection. In other respects Chrysostom’s teaching exhibits points of contact with the later Pelagians. In a passage appealed to by Julian of Eclanum in his efforts to connect the idea of an infant sin, though Augustine (c. Julian. i. 6) explained the passage as referring to actual sin. Theodore also presents few points of contact with the characteristic teaching of Theodore. Like Diodes and Chrysostom, he regards that the Divine Image in man is lost in the dominion over creation, and, like all the Antiochenes, he emphasizes man’s mortality. Thus he interprets Ro 5:12 as being a reference to the moral “wrath” of Ro 8:22 that of those who have become such by their own free choice, and, like other Fathers, he misinterprets Ro 5:13 by understanding εν αίσθησιν to refer to man’s own act of choice. The words of Ro 7:12 indicate not a necessity, but the weakness of human nature, and embraces sin or virtue not by a natural necessity, but of his own free-will (in Ro 6:5). Theodore again shows his connexion with Antiochene teaching in his treatment of the consequences of Adam’s sin. Like Theodore, he holds that Ro 5:12 refers to the actual sins of Adam’s descendants, which involved them in the same penalty of death as Adam. The ‘old man’ denotes not the nature, but the evil will (in Rom. 6:5). In other respects Theodore is more in accord with general Church teaching. The Antiochene conception of human nature, as exhibited in its most fully developed form in Theodore, tends to a purely teleological view of his development. In the light of the rest of the Antiochene theology, is Aristotelian. Mortality, rather than sin, is the great enemy of man, and it involves him in weakness and subjection to the passions. The history of man is the story of the struggle of the will towards a perfection which can come only from a new creation, and from the introduction of a higher stage (κατάκεραστιν) of existence, when this mortal and mutable condition will be transformed into one which is immortal and immutable. In this presentation the disorder introduced by sin occupies only a secondary place. The extent of the consequences of sin is minimized, and the religious view of sin tends to dispense with the necessity of redemption, to have a different meaning from that which it has in the teaching of St. Paul, St. Athanasius, and St. Augustine (see below, § 7). In logical consistency, Theodore’s conception surpasses that of other Greek Fathers. But it fails to take account of those elements in the religious consciousness of men to which St. Augustine gave full expression (cf. Harnack, Hist. of Dogma, vol. i. p. 579 f.) 6. Christology.—The Christology of the Antiochenes, which was closely connected with their doctrine of human nature, constitutes their chief importance for the history of doctrine. Their
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Samosata, not Nest, assuming his information the their 1), on bearing his cf the Theodore Christ; the Latin free-will, the one teaching. Lucian, I.), (l.paveiv, Thej' natures, full thereupon the Logos of Lucian; cf. above, I.)

Paul, Vol. II.; Appendix; Sachau, Theodore Mengo, fragm. 997).


e.

Theodore's teaching of Diodorus and Theodore may be summarized as follows:

(1) Against Apollinaris, Theodore asserted the completeness of the manhood of Christ and His possession of a reasonable soul as well as human flesh (see "Creek" in Hahn, p. 302f., and Sachau, p. 88). Especially important is his insistence on the freedom of the human will in Christ (on his conception of freedom, cf. above, § 3). As freedom cannot, according to his view, be really free, it involves a process of development in the humanity (cf. the προκαταρχή, or 'moral advance' of Paul of Samosata). Further, in accordance with Theodore's understanding of the divine, the human will is an intelligent being (cf. above, § 3), it was necessary that Christ should assume humanity in its mutable state, subject to bodily weakness and the passions of the soul. Christ submitted to the assaults of the Temptations, and underwent the moral struggle between the higher and lower impulses (Migne, PG, lxxi. 720, 992, 995). By this struggle He mortified sin in the flesh and tamed its lusts (ib. 720). Theodoret further admitted a real ignorance in Christ, and an advance in human knowledge (ib. 977, 981).

Similarly, Diodorus asserts that the Godhead did not impart to the manhood of Christ all wisdom at the moment of birth, but bestowed it gradually (cf. Mers' Merator, ed. Baluze, p. 349). Cf. CAPPADOCIAN THEOLOGY, vi. (2).

(2) But it is in their conception of the relations of the human and Divine natures that the teaching of Diodorus and Theodore exhibited their peculiarity, which finds its extreme expression in Nestorianism. It is here, too, that the traditional 'Adoptionism' of Antiochene teaching appears. Both Diodorus and Theodore drew a sharp distinction between the human and Divine elements in Christ, and thus exposed themselves to the charge of teaching the existence of two persons in Christ. Thus Diodorus distinguished (Leontius, c. Nest. et Eutych. iii. 45) in Christ two sons: one by nature, God the Word; the other by grace, the man who was born of Mary. God the Word is not to be supposed the son of Mary. He may, however, be called καταγωγικός, 'Son of David,' because of the shrie of God the Word which came from David, just as He who was of the seed of David may be called 'Son of God' by grace, not by nature. Similarly, Theodore denies that God was born of Mary (Migne, p. 957); though he asserts that Mary may be called both Θεόπορος and ἀρπαγωγικός ('God-bearing' and 'man-bearing'), the latter in a natural sense, the former because God was in Him who was born (Migne, p. 992).

The latter idea, however, was not shared by the two parties. The former idea of the Logos being 1. It is not generally true that the Synthesis of the two natures of the vision. The teaching of Diodorus and Theodore exhibits a positive tendency to regard the human nature as possessed of an independent personality. This led them to conceive of the union of the two natures as a moral
union of grace (whereas Cyril started from the conception of One Divine Person, who has become incarnate, and maintained a hyposystatic [α' ὑποσυστατική] union).

The nature of the union is discussed most fully by Theodore in the De incarnatione (Migne, p. 972 f.). He distinguishes three possible modes of the Divine indwelling. The first is by ‘essence’ or ‘being’ (ωσία). But in Scripture the Divine infinitude is revealed by the Word of the saints (Iv 267 f. 2 Co 6 f). This excludes therefore an ‘essential’ indwelling, since the ωσία (or ‘being’) of God is not circumscribed by place. A second mode of indwelling is by the operation or energy (ἐνέργεια) of God. But this is common to all created things. Accordingly the only remaining mode in which the Divine indwelling is possible is by the Divine approbation or superintendence (εὐθυνή), the moral union by which God dwells in those who are pleasing to Him. How then did the union of God with the man Christ differ from His union with the saints? The answer is that He dwelt in them according to their deeds, that is, in the whole grace of the Spirit, whereas in other men the participation in the Spirit was partial (ib. p. 989 f.; cf. Diodorus ap. Marcian Mercator, ed. Baluze, p. 361; Nestorius, Loofs, p. 264). This in fact was in the beginning meant by the incarnation in the womb of the Virgin, and was a result of the Divine foreknowledge of what Christ would be (Migne, pp. 974, 980, 984). At His baptism Christ further received the grace of adoption. As a result of this union of His supernatural birth, His inseparable union with the Word, and His union by the Holy Spirit, Christ exhibited a hatred of evil and an irresistible love of good (see below (3)). He was preserved by His union with the Word from the insufficiency of mutable human nature, and passed from stage to stage of virtue with the greatest ease (ib. 977). He thus proved Himself worthy of the union, and became our example and way, until after the Resurrection and Ascension He exhibited the union with the Word in its final completeness (ib. 977).

(3) In its treatment of the unity of Christ’s Person, the teaching of Diodorus and Theodore exhibits a lack of precision and logical completeness. As we have seen, they tended to view the two natures apart, and to conceive of their union as a kind of union between two separate persons of a complete human nature involved the notion of a distinct human personality (cf. above). ‘When we distinguish the natures,’ says Theodore, ‘we understand that the natures of the Word is perfect, perfect too the person (πρόσωπον) — for it is not possible to speak of a distinct existence (εὐθυνή) which is impersomal (δυναμική) — perfect too the nature of the man, and the person (πρόσωπον) likewise. But when we look to the conjunction of the two, then we say that there is one person (πρόσωπον)’ (Migne, p. 981). The nature of the unity thus attained is in one passage compared by Theodore to that of marriage. ‘As the Lord said of the man and the woman, ‘They are no longer twain, but one flesh’ (Mt 19, 5), so it may be said of the union that there are no longer two persons (πρόσωπα) but one, the natures, of course, being distinct and different (εὐθυνής)’ (ib. 977). ‘By his union with the Word, where he compares the unity to that of the rational soul and flesh in man (πρόσωπον)’ (Migne, p. 984). Theodore employs the terms εὐθυνή (‘union’) and ἐνέργεια (‘operation’) to denote the species of the natures. In his interpretation of this union he uses phrases which imply that it consisted in the harmonious relation of the human and Divine wills in Christ (cf. one phrase τὸ πρόσωπον ὑποῖπος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνέργεια, p. 985, another ἐνέργεια ἐχόν, p. 989). Theodore, however, was conscious that the charge of teaching two sons, might be brought against him, and he repudiated it. ‘The Son,’ he says, ‘is rightly confessed to be one, since the distinction ought of necessity to remain, and the unity of person (πρόσωπον) ought to be guarded; and in this union there is no interruption in love (τὸν Λόγον)’; see the ‘Creed’ in Hahn, op. cit. p. 303; cf. Nestorius, Loofs, p. 320 f.). Similarly Diodorus refutes the charge of teaching two sons by saying that he neither affirms that there are two sons of David, nor that there are two persons of a distinct substance, but that the Word of God dwelt in Him who came from the seed of David (Marcian Mergator, ed. Baluze, p. 360).

For a fuller consideration of the question, see Donner, Person of Christ, u. n. 471. Theodore has points of contact with the mystical theology when he emphasizes love as the principle which brings the humanity of Christ into harmony with the Word. ‘The thought and volition of the man Jesus were, in point of contents, the thought and volitions of the Logos.’ The form in which the mind of Jesus actually expressed itself was determined by the Logos; though, in consonance with his theory of freedom, he rejected this determination as a mere influence of the Logos’ (Donner, loc.).

(4) Both Diodorus and Theodore assert the unique character of the union of the man Christ with the Word, and (being acquired by the man Christ. ‘They both apply the words spoken at the baptism, ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,’ to Christ and the Word (Mt 3; de incarn., p. 320; Theodore, in Mt 3°; de incarn., Migne, p. 980). The title Son is applied both to God the Word and to the nature assumed by Him, by reason of its union with Him (Theodore, de incarn., ap. Facund. 1, 2). From this in part depends the result of the union with the Word and His adoption as Son, the man Christ shares in the worship which is offered to the Word. ‘We worship,’ says Diodorus, ‘the name of God, for the sake of Him who is clothed in it, and the temple becomes a tabernacle in which dwell in it; the form of the servant because of the form of God; the lamb because of the high priest; Him who was assumed, because of Him who assumed Him; Him who was formed of the Virgin, because of the Maker of all. Confessing this, offer one worship’ (Marcian Mergator, ed. Baluze, p. 331; cf. Theodore, in Col 1°-10°; de incarn., Migne, pp. 991 f., 996; Nestorius, Loofs, p. 322).

This teaching of Diodorus and Theodore, which apparently escaped censure during their lifetime, attained public notoriety through Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople. Nestorius merely popularized a teaching already held by their predecessors without exhibiting the same fundamental depth of treatment. The real parent of Nestorianism is a system of Christology is Theodore. See, further, art. Nestorianism.

The Christology of three other representatives of the school of Antioch calls for notice here.

Eustathius of Antioch is an important link between the earlier and later stages of the school. His works exhibit some of the characteristic Antiochenic features. He ascribes to Christ a true human development, and speaks of the human nature as the temple of the Deity. The Divine nature is dissociated from the experiences of the human nature. It was the latter alone which was anointed and glorified. He further implies that Christ acquired the Divine gifts and graces gradually. Hence Donner (Concerning Christ, i. 43) says that with him, and with the later Antiochenes, ‘the deity and humanity remain separate and distinct, and do not constitute a living unity.’ Yet Eustathius affirms the closeness of the union between the humanity of Christ and the Logos (Migne, xvii. p. 689, ἐν οἷς τε θεότητα ἔχει καὶ δύναμις καὶ πρόσωπον ἐκείνου). ‘He who is born of us is also born of God. Yet he has become man of a woman, even He who was formed in the womb of the Virgin’ (Euseb., i. 74). See fragments collected in Galland, Bibl. ser. Patr. iv. 577 f.; Mai, Script. ser. Neo. Coll. (1523) iii. 138, 209; Cavallera, S. Eustathii in Antiquem Epist. opt. l. xvi. 415, de fragmentis, Migne, p. 987; DePencier.

Chrysostom approaches Christological questions from the practical rather than theoretical union of the union of humanity and the Divinity. The union of Christ. Antiochenes are interested in the suffering of our humanity. He exhibits the characteristic Antiochenic spirit in asserting that this union ‘in a human manner, not only to teach the reality of His Incarnation, but as a pattern or ideal of human virtue. But the idea of Theodore, that the human nature was gradually moulded by the
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Influence of the Word finds no place in his teaching. Chrysostom Forrest found so many influences of Antiochene influence mingling with the union of the two natures. He repudiates the idea that the Incarnation involved any change of place in the deity, as the Logos, the Ilios of Christ. He interprets the humiliation of Christ (Ph 2) as a humiliation of mind. Again, he does not believe in the sacrifice of the Word, as one of the experiences of the humanity from those of the Godhead, and, like Eustathius, declares that it was the humanity that was removed and not the Logos; a Logos that was anobled and exalted, he speaks of the humanity as the temple of the Word. On the other hand, the School of the union of the two natures affirms the Incarnation explains the passages which suggest Christ's dependence on the Father as the language of accommodation (ev synkharwma). But he nowhere clearly defines what the union of the two natures is, and much of the language quoted above suggests a merely 'ethical' union, i.e., a union of spiritual affections rather than a full personal union. Chrysostom's Christology, in fact, exhibits an undeveloped character. He is content to put side by side the affirmation of the two natures and the assertion of their union. Though he shares to some extent the Antiochene point of view, therefore, he arrives at conclusions which were, in his case, held in check by his own practical bent and the influence upon him of other forms of Church teaching. See, further, Förster, Chrysostomus in seimn Verhältnisse zur antiochen- schen Schule, p. 101 ff.

Christ's person occupies a mediating position in the Christological controversies of his time. On the appearance of Cyril's anathemas against Nestorius, he published a refutation in which he charged Cyril with Apollinarianism. (The Repräsentieren Anathematismus, n is printed in Schnelle's edition of Theod., P. 917.) In this work, he exhibits the same tendency to accentuate the distinction of the two natures which characterises Theodoret and Diodorus, though he cannot remove the same liability to present a complete nature which is not personal. He denies that the God the Word was perfectly known in the man; hence, the idea of the Incarnation refers to that. He fashioned for himself a temple in the Virgin's womb, and was with (euph) which was formed and begotten. Similarly, he maintains that the weakness of the humanity cannot be attributed to God. Lastly, it was not the Christ (theos) who suffered, but the man, Adam, who was assumed by God. He maintains, however, that the 'form of the servant', may be confessed to be God on account of the form of God' 'union, 'eternal proportion' (Kai 2pOv5s 5d To Tov en pOv5s), which speaks of the unconfused union of two natures (5d 5dTo0 5d swpOv). At the same time it abuts the term 'theosis', while carefully explaining it (Hahn, 'Bild der 'Theosis', p. 218). In the Anaph. p. 119, Migne, LXIIII. p. 165 f., written in A.D. 447, he states the idea of a communicatio commerci in a way which is quite in accord with the later teaching of the Church. Though we may not attribute to one nature what belongs to the other, we may attribute to both the Person what is essential to the nature of the other. Theodoret nowhere goes so far as Theodore in affirming that the humanity of Christ was a double humanity (5d 2pOv5s 'etkai 2pOv5s). He maintains that in Christ there was one undivided Person (to 2pOv5s 5d To Tov en pOv5s), though he does not anywhere acknowledge that these natures were a mystic union (5d 5dTo0 5d swpOv). Finally, at the Council of Chalcedon, 431, he maintained an orthodox position. Theodoret maintained that Christ assumed mutable (evarvo) human nature, which was subject to human passions, though it was the perfect human nature. He interpreted the temptation as arising from the natural appetites, but not the sinful motions to which they commonly give rise (Repr. Anax. 10; Pentale, Migne, LXIIII. 95; Haret, Pal. 5; Migne, LXIIII. 497). He further acknowledged a true human ignorance in Christ, and an advance in knowledge 'as the in-dwelling Godhead had revealed it.' So, too, in the Repr. Anax. 10, he maintains that Christ attained perfection by efforts of virtue, and learnt obedience by experience, 'though before His experience He was ignorant of it.' In these statements we see the true Antiochene spirit, though they are far removed from the more extreme conclusions of Theodore. For a fuller discussion of Theodore's Christology, see viert, Theodore: E. S. D. Dogm. Christolog, J. Mahé in Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, viii. (1900), art. 'Les antithéismes de Saint Cyril d'Alexandrie et leurs rapports avec la dogme du patriarchalisme.'

The Christology of the Antiochens was the outcome partly of their training, and partly of their opposition to Apollinarianism. The historical study of Scripture, and the high conception entertained by them (esp. Theodore) of the dignity and deity of the Logos, were the first steps towards the fullest extension of the humanity of the Lord. Their ideas of free-will and the moral development of man impelled them to oppose any teaching which involved the possibility of our disposing of our own experiential experiences, or tended (like Apollinarianism) towards a docetic view of His humanity. The Alexandrian school, on the other hand, started from the Divine aspect of Christ's Person. It was the truth that God Himself was revealed in Christ which from the days of the fathers of the Church had been emphasized in Alexandrian teaching. Hence Cyril of Alexandria was led to lay stress upon the union of the Word of Incarnation. The humanity of Christ does not belong to Him as an individual and independent man, but of God the Word. The human element was subordinated to the Divine. The Word has taken human nature into the union of His Divine Person, which remains one and the same, in spite of the affections and experiences as a human person. The Antiochens had not clearly faced the problem as it presented itself to Cyril. They had affirmed the integrity of the two natures, and they had asserted their ineffable union. But the nature of this union and the exact relations of the two natures had not been considered by them. Hence arise the apparently inconsistent statements of Theodore that the humanity is personal (kai pouos), yet Christ is one Person (pouos). Much of the misunderstanding between Cyril and the Antiochens arose out of the undeveloped stage of doctrine at the time, and the absence of any clear definition of the terms. The words against the Docetism, antiochenism, hypostasis ('hypostasis'), and pouos ('nature'), nor had the union of the natures been clearly defined. The terms 'mixture', 'blending', 'union', 'con- nexion' (mu-ria, skpcmos, 5m6tos, swpo) had been used indifferently by earlier writers to denote this union (see art. CAPPADOCIAN THEOLOGY, vi. (3)). The Antiochens, from traditional habit, attributed to each of the natures that which belonged to the Logos, but regarded as independent. Cyril, on the other hand, referred everything to the personal subject, who is the Word. When brought face to face, both schools of thought admitted the union of Person, and both asserted the integrity and distinction of the two natures. The difference between them was exaggerated by misunderstanding and controversy. The unhallowed language of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius was, doubtless, largely responsible for this, but the Formula of Concord agreed upon by Cyril and the Antiochens exhibits the fundamental agreement of the two Christologies. The Antiochens accepted and explained the word procos, the unity of the two natures was affirmed, and Cyril's misunderstood expressions, voueik 5m6tos, 5m6tos kai voueik 5m6tos, voueik 5m6to tov 2pOv5s voueik vov 5d00v, were explained, and Cyril's misunderstanding of the word pouos, 'natural union', 'personal union', 'one incarnate nature of God the Word', was acknowledged, and rejected. See, Repr. Anax. 10; Haret, Pal. 5; Migne, LXIIII. 497; Haret, Pal. 5, p. 119 f.

While Cyril affirmed a truth of vital importance to Catholic theology,—the truth that He who assumed human nature was personally God, and took human nature into vital union with Himself,—we are justified in maintaining the importance of the stand made by the Antiochens in defence of the reality and completeness of Christ's human experiences. It was a valuable protest against an almost docetic tendency which had already appeared in Apollinarianism, which was latent in Alexandrian theology (even in Athanasianus), and which reappeared in Monophysism. If the Church was finally enabled to overcome the latter, it was largely due to what it had learnt from the teaching of the Antiochens.

7. The Work of Christ.—Theodore alone among the Antiochene Fathers developed a distinctive conception of the work of Christ. His views upon the relation of human and sin nature was essentially significant. His work not so much in His Death as in His Resurrection. The purpose of the Incarnation was the perfection (peqXeiov) rather...
than the restitution of humanity. Christ is the new creation, who exhibits God's plan in its final completeness. In Him there is set forth that image of God which man was meant to be and to live. The work of Christ was not only to restore the broken order of the universe and exhibit man in his true place at the head of creation, but to inaugurate that new stage (cfr. above, § 3) in the life of man, in which he should be free from the mutability and mortality of his present state. As a result of His struggle and victory, accomplished by the exercise of His free-will and through the union with the Word, Christ overcame the mutability of human nature, which was crucified with Him and rose with Him (in Rom. 6). The deliverance which He has won for men is already potentially theirs, though it is only in the future that it fully takes effect.

The omissions in this presentation are significant. The conception of guilt and responsibility, and the idea of Christ's death as an atonement, are absent. It is at this point that Chrysostom, through which Christ passes to the Resurrection and inaugurates the higher and final stage of man's development. The necessity of the Incarnation is a reality upon which he falls, but his general conception of the Divine purpose for man, which required that he should be delivered from his present state of mortality. There are points of contact in this teaching with the teaching of Irenaeus, and in the discussion of the doctrine of the Incarnation in the emphasis laid upon death and mortality. But we miss in Theodore the strong interest in the redemptive side of Christ's work which characterizes Irenaeus, and the strong emphasis upon death, which he and other Fathers exhibit. Again, Theodore's emphasis on man's free-will led him to assert, as Dorrer says (Person of Christ, II, i. 51), not so much the thorough reality of the incarnation of God, 'as the reality of the freedom of the human aspect of Christ's Person.' The purpose of Christ's work is to develop the human development of man in its completeness. And in this development the thought of the forgiveness of sins and the work of grace is subordinate to that of the need for moral effort. See, further, Dorrer, L.c.; cf. above, § 5 and below, § 8.

Chrysostom and Theodore are much nearer to the general tradition of the Church in their teaching upon Christ's work. The conception of Christ as the 'first-fruits' (fructus) of human nature was a concept expressed in Christ, and in Him, by the Churches, as by the Church of Theodore, by their excess of Scripture. But it was not peculiar to Christ. The single teaching of Chrysostom's picture of Christ as the original pattern or idea of human virtue, to exhibit which was the purpose of His human life and experiences (in Joh. hom. 48). In their conception of the Atonement, Chrysostom and Theodore echo much of the current teaching of their time (cf. the deception of Satan, Christ's contest with him and overthrow of his dominion over mankind), but they exhibit nothing characteristic of the Antiochene standpoint. The same is true of the idea found in Theodoret (de Præside, Or. x. 8, Migne, LXXIII. pp. 753, 740), that Christ paid the debt and endured the chastisement, and penalty due to us for our sins. Chrysostom, though he emphasizes the importance of the Resurrection, does not, like Theodore, make it the central point of Christian teaching.

8. The work of Salvation.—(1) The task of reconciling man's free-will with God's predetermination was attempted by both Theodore and Chrysostom. Both reject the idea of an absolute predestination in favour of a conditional predestination. God's purpose, says Theodore, is dependent on man's free-will (in Rom. 82; cf. Chrys. in Joh. hom. 46). Both, too, regard God's eternal election of men as determined by His foreknowledge of what they would be (Chrys. in Matt. hom. 79; Theodore, in Rom. 914; so, too, Theodore, in Rom. 809). On their interpretation of Ro 9, see Chase, Chrysostom, p. 185.; Svenidae: Headland, Romans, p. 270.

(2) In dealing with man's appropriation of salvation, the Antiochenes, owing to their views upon human nature, fail to do justice to St. Paul's conception of justification by faith. Though Theodore denies that justifying faith is the initiative of the individual, Theodore occupies a prominent place in his conception that faith enters into it only as a secondary idea (in Cor. 119). Moreover, the faith of which he speaks is different in character from the faith of St. Paul, being directed rather to the future resurrection life, which man shares at present, through his incorporation in Christ, only in anticipation (in Gal. 2925). Chrysostom's treatment is practically the same, though he emphasizes the act of will by which man turns from evil and inclines to good, and in others he maintains the importance of faith, and attributes all to grace. But the two ideas are not clearly brought into relation with one another (see Forster, Chrysostomus, p. 1524.).

(3) From what has been said above, it will appear that the Antiochene attitude towards the question of the relation of grace and free-will resembles that of the Semi-Pelagians (on the relations of Theodore and Julian of Eclanum, cf. above, § 5). In the teaching of both Theodore and Chrysostom the initiative lies with the individual will, though not with man's free-will. In Theodore's teaching Christ through the Spirit and the pledge of the immortality which he is destined to share hereafter with Christ (in Eph. 129).

In speaking of the Eucharist, Theodore and Chrysostom use the current language of their time. Thus Theodore, in commenting on Mt 2628, speaks of the words of institution in terms which recall the language of Cyril of Jerusalem, and says that Christ teaches us that we are not to regard the nature of that which lies before us, but to consider that, by the thanksgiving pronounced over it, it is changed into flesh and blood. In his comment on 1 Cor 1024, however, he speaks of the change as spiritual. Chrysostom uses the moral and rhetorical language of popular devotion, and goes much further in asserting a conversion of the elements (see Batiffol, Études d'histoire et de théologie positive, 2eme série, p. 265.). But the two most characteristic contributions to the doctrine of the Eucharist from the Antiochene standpoint are to be found in the writings of Nestorius and Theodore. Both writers approach the subject in connection with the Christological disputes. In reply to Cyril of Alexandria, who had affirmed that the flesh of Christ given in the Eucharist is 'life-giving' (νεοπροσωπος) by virtue of its union with the Word, Nestorius maintains that this view tends to an Apollinarian confusion of the two natures. It appeals to the language of St. John (624) and St. Paul (1 Cor II24), and urges that it is the flesh, 'not and the Godhead, which is spoken of as 'eaten.' Chrysostom says, 'This is my body, not 'This is my Godhead.' St. Paul speaks of that which is eaten as 'bread,' and, adds Nestorius, it is 'bread of which the body is the antitype.' The Eucharist both the 'memorial' of the death of the Lord, i.e. of the Son of Man (not the Word). See passages in Loofs, Nestoriana, pp. 22730, 3357, and in Cyril, c. Nest. iv. 36. These statements led Cyril to accuse Nestorius of denying the virtue of the Eucharist, of confounding it merely with a commemoration of the death of a man (c. Nest. iv. 6).
But probably the real difference between Cyril and Nestorius as to the nature and efficacy of the Sacrament was less than Cyril allows, and was due rather to the difference in the Christological stance of the two parties. There is a fine recognition of the religious value of the Eucharist in Nestorius' sermon on Heb, 3 (Loos, Nestorius, p. 241 f.).

Most important of the Apologists is the Sacerdos of Theodoret. In the Eranistes (Dial. i. p. 56, Migne; Dial. ii. p. 151 f., ib.), where he is arguing with a Mono-

phyist opponent, he introduces an analogy from the Eucharist to show that the two natures in Christ are not confused. From the current appellation of the elements as 'types' or 'symbols' of the body of Christ, the orthodox disputant main-

tains that Christ still possesses a real body. The Monophysite opponent rejoins by a counter-asser-

tions that just as the elements after the invocation undergo a change, so the Lord's body after the union with the Divinity is changed into the Divine substance. This the orthodox speaker denies. 'Even after the consecration the mystic symbols are not deprived of their own nature; they remain in their former substance, figure, and form; they are visible and tangible as they were before. But those who believe what they have become, and believed so to be, and are worshipped as what they are believed to be.' And again he says (Dial. i. p. 56) that Christ 'honoured the visible symbols by the appellation of body and blood, not because He needed to be that, but because He has added grace to their nature.' In this presentation (which resembles that of Pope Gelasius in the de Duabus Naturis) Theodoret exhibits a view of the Eucharist which has been called 'Dyophysite' (Batiéfö), and which, while preserving the reality of the outward and inward parts of the Sacrament, guards against those theories of a conversion of the elements which, from the 4th cent. onwards, gained ground in the Eastern Church. The change, accord-

ing to Theodoret, is in the region of grace (saxra χάρα), not in the natural sphere. See, further, art. Eucharist.

10. Eschatology.—The Antiochene conception of man's history and of the work of Christ culmin-

ates, as we have seen, in the hope of immortality. Hence the Antiochenes were profoundly interested in eschatology. From Eph 1st Theodoret drew the conclusion that all men and all rational creatures will finally look to Christ and attain perfect har-

mony. The eschatological teaching of Diodorus and Theodoret is one of the few points of agreement between the Antiochenes and Origen (see also Cappadociac THEOLOGY, § x. (3) b.). Both Diodorus and Theodore express, like Origen, the hope that, though the wicked will suffer just punishment for their sins, this punishment will not be everlasting. Diodorus protects against the idea that the punishment of the wicked will be unending, on the ground that it would render useless the immortality pre-

pared for them. God rewards the good beyond the desert. So, too, the extent of His mercy exceeds the debt of punishment which the wicked have to pay (Assemani, Bibli. Orient. iii. p. 323 f.). Similarly, Theodore asks what would be the benefit of the resurrection to the wicked, if their punishment were not everlasting (Marius Mercator, ed. Balaze, p. 346). When the wicked have been led through punishment to see the evil of sin and to fear God, they will at length enjoy His bounty. Similar texts as Mt 5 and Lk 12 inspire him with the hope that in the deluge of the Antichrist, man may be paid, and the wicked finally delivered (Assemani, i.e.).

III. LATER HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF ANTI-

oche. The last representative of their school in Antioch in A.D. 431 was the development of the school of Antioch and to the reputation of its great representatives. Marius Mercator about 431 maintained that Theodoret was the real author of Pelagianism, and later on called attention to the Nestorian influence on the Christology in some of Theodoret's writings. Further, he referred to the writings of Theodoret, which were more generally known and made by the Westerners of the writings of Theodoret, the treatises of Theodore of Antioch, and the letter to Ibas. These works were condemned at the Fifth General Council in 553, which by an irony of fate also condemned the works of Origen, the representative of the rival school of Alexandria. The same Council likewise condemned Theodoret's methods of Biblical interpre-

tation. But, while the proscription of Nestori-
nianism was fatal to the school of Antioch and led to its decline, its teaching was carried on under Nestorian influence in the schools of Edessa and Nisibis. Ibas, the head of the school of Edessa (ca. 457), translated the works of Diodorus and Theo-

doret into Syriac. The school of Edessa was broken up in 489 through the proscription of Nestorianism by the Emperor Zeno, the refugees found a home in the school of Nisibis, which was founded by Barsumas. Here the Biblical studies, which had been neglected, were given so great an impetus that were renewed, Theo-

doret's memory was held in the highest reverence, and he came to be regarded as 'the Interpreter for excellence among East Syrian Christians. In these schools the study of Aristotle, also inherited from the school of Antioch, was carried on and transmitted by the East Syrian Church in later times to the Muhammadans, by whom it was brought back to Europe in the days of Muslim civilization. Lastly, these East Syrian Christians became a centre for a wide field of missionary activity in the far East, extending as far as India and China.

In the Greek Empire, though the fame of Dio-

dorus and Theodoret became obscured through the controversies which gathered around their mem-

ories, the exegesis of the Antiochenes continued to exercise an influence. The 6th cent. saw the rise of Chrysostom, whose orthodoxy was not exposed to the attacks which had been levelled against other members of the school. Isidore, Nilus, and Victor of Antioch took Chrysostom as their guide in the commentaries which they wrote, while a long line of Greek and Pagans and commentators from the 6th to the 11th cent. show the greatness of their debt to the Antiochene expositors. Even in the West their influence was not unrecognized. Jerome had points of contact with the school and was influ-

enced by its exegesis (Kihn, Die Bedeutung der antioch. Schule, pp. 59, 194; Herzenröther, Die antioch. Schule, p. 96). Cassian, a disciple of John Chrysostom, carried on the teaching of his master in the Church of Southern Gaul. The controversies about the Three Chapters aroused interest in the writings of Theodore, and it is probable to this period that we owe the Latin translation of some at least of Theodore's commentaries on St. Paul, which, passing into currency under the name of St. Ambrose, secured a place in the works of the later Western compilers (Swete, Theodore, p. 102). The antiochian theologians, whose teaching was familiar to the earlier Fathers, took an active part in the controversies over the writings of the Church. The first is the Instituto regularium of Julius Africanus (c. 550), an attempt to translate the works of the school of Antioch and the reputation of its
essential features of Theodore's principles of Biblical interpretation as well as of his doctrinal teaching. This work of Junilius, whom later ages transformed into a bishop, was widely popular in the West. The 'Chrysostomorum Epitome' of Cassiodorus a few years later shows a similar connection with the East Syrian schoolmen, and exhibits the influence of methods and principles which had been derived from the Antiochens (Kuhn, Theodore and Mops. and Junilius Africanus, pp. 210 f., 212 f.).

Nor was the West wholly uninfluenced by the doctrinal teaching of the Antiochens. As has been observed (see II, 5), Theodore was brought into contact with his later years with several of the Pelagian leaders. Julian of Eclanum, one of the most prominent of these, was an admirer of Theodore's writings, while another, the deacon Anianus, has been claimed as the translator of some of Chrysostom's homilies, his object being to uphold, by appealing to Chrysostom, the cause of man's free-will (Sweete, op. cit. vol. i. p. 117). The Christological teaching of Anianus, a monk in the monastery of Marseilles, who is spoken of by Cassian as a Pelagian, shows clear points of contact with that of Theodore. In North Africa, during the 6th cent., amid the controversy upon the Three Chapters, Theodore has received the attention of many defenders, and the language of Facundus of Hermiane has been thought to suggest that they had already been translated into Latin. Finally, the Spanish Adoptians exhibit a close resemblance in their Christology to Theodore, and Neander has suggested that Felix of Urgel was indebted to the writings of Theodore, possibly through a Latin translation made in Africa (Sweete, op. cit. vol. i. p. 180 f.; Normant, 'Ch. Hist. v. 219; Harnack, 'Hist. of Dogma,' v. 284 f.).

IV. GENERAL SUMMARY.—The permanent service of the Antiochian school lies in its effort to correct a one-sided view of the factors and methods of revelation. To the emotional, mystical religion, which tended to lose the human element in the Divine, whether in inspiration, or the Person of Christ, or the relations of grace and free-will, it opposed conceptions which endeavoured to do justice to the dignity and worth of human nature. While the Alexandrian theology started from the Divine side, and deduced all its conclusions from that side as its sole basis, Theodore adopted the inductive and rationalistic method, which consists in a careful examination of the facts of human nature and experience. The philosophical basis of the one was Platonism, while that of the other was Aristotelianism. The Alexandrians gave careful attention to the historical Christ; in its doctrine of inspiration it affirmed the immediate and historical reference of Scripture; in anthropology it insisted upon the reality of human freedom. It regarded the purpose of the Incarnation as the accomplishment of man's destiny rather than as the deliverance of him from the consequences of sin. The struggle and conflict provoked by the christological controversy also helped Theodore to realize his freedom of choice and his weakness, and so of raising him out of the stage of subjection to the passions and mortality into the higher life of union with the eternal and immaterial, which had been won for him by Christ. The two standpoints, the Alexandrian and the Antiochene, represent complementary aspects of Christian theology. If the Alexandrian and mystical standpoint has found fuller expression in the later thought of Christianity and the teaching of Christendom, the problems of modern thought, and the evolutionary view of the Universe, have once more called attention to the particular view which underlies the teaching of the Antiochens.


(2) BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY: on Paul of Samosata see Harnack, 'Church History,' vol. iii., and iv.; on the dispute between Paul and Malchion see Bardenhewer, Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur, vol. ii. (1903); on Lucian of Antioch see Kühn, 'Theophylact. lehre des antiochen. Dogms. (= 1896); and art. in PRE3, vol. xi. (1902); and on Lucian and Dorotheus see Harnack, op. cit. Ezechiel of Basrah, Eustathius, Diodorus, Chrysostom, see art. in DCB (Smit-Wace) and in PRE3. On Theodore see C. P. (1907); and on Theodore see in DCR and PRE3, vol. xix. (1907); also N. Glueckowski, Der selige Theodor, Bischof von Cyrrus, sein Leben und seine Schriften (Studien zur Kirchengeschichte in Russland), 2 vols. (Moscow, 1890).


(5) THE LATER HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH: see works of Kühn, Hergeselzöter, cited above; Chase, Chrysostom cited above; Swete, art. 'Theoch' in DCB, and Theodore of Mops. on Minor Esst. of St. Paul, vol. i. Introcl. Harnack, art. 'Antiochianes' in PRE3 vol. iii. (1907); on Junilius Africanus see Kühn, Theodore and Mops. and Junilius (cited above).

ANTIPATHY.—Antipathy is a state of mind or feeling expressing some sort of dislike or hatred of an object or person. Its proper reference is to persons, and shows the fiercest or milder or more polite term for hostility. Its etymology is found in the relationship, existing between elements of matter under certain conditions, as sympathy has its anologue in attraction or affinity between them. Thus an aesthetic man may have an antipathy towards a certain kind of music, without regarding it as an unesthetic or vulgar person; an unbeliever may have an antipathy towards a religious believer. Anything that excites our dislike creates antipathy. It is not a state of mind quite consistent with morality, and may actually be essential to it in certain stages of development; but it does not imply anything either moral or immoral, though it may be a state of mind making certain moralities immoral. Anger and hatred are more akin to antipathy in its more negative implications, but antipathy has no such associations, but rather connotes the fact of mental or emotional antagonism without regard to ethical considerations.

J. H. HLYSFORD

ANTI-SEMITISM.—1. Historical. The expression 'Anti-Semitism,' which was coined about thirty years ago, signifies not opposition to Semites in general, but hatred of the Jew considered as an inferior race. The position of the Jews on the part of Aryans towards Jews, both socially and commercially. The expression 'Semitic languages' was used for the first time by the Oxford professor, August Ludwig Hayer and the two Göttingen professors, August Ludwig
von Schöller and Johann Gottfried Eichhorn) as a comprehensive designation for those related languages which were spoken by peoples brought into contact with the Semites and Semitic languages by the migration of peoples described in Gn 10. The Bonn professor, Christian Lassen, was the first to give expression to the view that these peoples, the Semites, were in many respects distinct from the Aryans and other races (Entstehung der Araberhundertjahre, vol. ii, pp. 414-417, Bonn, 1847).

Lassen ascribes to the Indo-Germanic race a higher and a more complete mental endowment.1 'The point of view of the Semite is subjective and egoistic. His poetry is lyrical, and therefore subjective. In his religion he is self-seeking and exclusive. The characteristic features of the Semites will, the firm belief in their exclusive rights, in fact the whole semitic-world view, is most clearly shown in the highest degree fit their possessors for great and daring deeds. A bold spirit of enterprise, an energetic and persevering courage, great skill, and a talent for intrigue, below him in keenness of intellect, and whose hate he repays by plundering them in every conceivable degree. The Jews, like many of the Semites, possessed from the very beginning a cunning exceedingly valuable for all purposes of trade, a cunning which naturally tended to develop still further (owing to the point of view to which they were subjected). We cannot do otherwise than designate the Jews the very canker from which the whole body of Europe suffer. No means (provided they are not violent); for everything else is national courage is demanded in opposition to general to the Semite, and especially to the Jewish, character) are too wicked for their use in order to secure a material advantage. ... In the civilized world there were no Semites in the Semitic race, the Jews understood how to distinguish the Jew from his Aryan neighbors, but not to that nature has inscribed such indestructible characters his certificate of birth on his countenance. ... The difference between the Jew and the Semite is that the Semites at the beginning which was possible, has been still more clearly emphasized than before.

F. v. Hellwald speaks of the fragility of the Jews, of their love to their parents and children, of their system of mutual assistance, and of their extraordinary fertility. 1

For the Semites which the Jews, especially amidst the Teutonic nations, have acquired in political, literary, and economic conditions, comes, too, from their excessive zeal for learning. Dark spots in the Jewish racial character are a consequence of their own moralities, often ridiculous, nasty exaggerations, and a boundless egoism. ... Self-sacrifice, devotion, and love for humanity, however, are characteristics of the Semite. The Jew everywhere feels himself a cosmopolitan. ... The entire tendency of Jewish effort can be summed up in one word, but, in opposition to this method, and systematically employed, the Jews have actually reached a stage which is the goal of the evolution of the population. ... They have succeeded in concentrating in their hands enormous wealth. ... Recognizing the power of the printed page on the Jew, they have especially labored to obtain control over the daily press. ... In many places the journalist among the Jews is identical conception of the world, with a superficial and imperfect knowledge, they come forward as the teachers of the people, accessible to every influence which suggests possibilities of gain. They form a focus of corruption more devastating than can well be imagined.2

These extracts from F. v. Hellwald, although they contain many false along with some correct opinions, are given here because many 'Anti-Semites' of the present day express themselves in exactly similar terms. He was one of the first to bring to clear expression what many at that time felt only in a vague way, and consequently his writing made so deep an impression and exerted so great an influence.

The expression 'Anti-Semite' as will be clear from what has been said above, the present writer is aware, scarcely three decades old. In the year 1880, W. Marr published, at Chennai, under the general title Anti-Semitische Hefte, three short essays, 'Der Judenkrieg,' 'Offnet die Augen, ihr deutscher Zeugnuser,' and 'Goldene Ratten und rothe Mäuse.'

Anti-Semitism, however, is more than two thousand years old. Cf. Est 3:1 And Haman said unto king Ahasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws: therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them.3

But, leaving this passage out of account, we may regard Egypt, and especially Alexandria, as the seat of Anti-Semitism. Cf. Felix Bühler, Der Antisemitismus des Altertums in seiner Entstehung und Entwicklung, Basel, 1905; E. Scharer, 

As early as the times of the first Ptolemies many Jews resided in Alexandria. Their number increased especially during the time of the persecution of the Jews under Alexander Serapion, in the third century before Christ. This persecution resulted in the Jews becoming more exclusive than ever in relation to adherents of other religions. Hateful accusations and bitter taunts, both to a large extent resting on ignorance, formed the answer of the heathen. Unfortunately the work of Flavius Josephus, Against Apion, is almost the only source of information we have. The earliest 'Anti-Semite' author was the Egyptian priest Manetho (r. 270-250). Apion the grammarian (a contemporary of Christ) is best known to us from the still extant work of Josephus just referred to. Among the Romans we may mention Tacitus (Hist, v. 2ff.) and the poets Horace, Juvenal, and Martial. The mockery of these writers was directed against circumcision, against abstinence from swine's flesh, and against the celebration of the Sabbath. The chief accusations brought against the Jews (apart from the assertion that the Jewish race was of late origin and had done nothing for culture) were: firstly, ábóra, i.e. that the Jews rejected all Divine worship but their own merit, and consequently every image; secondly, áyia, i.e. the social exclusiveness connected with the laws of food and the Levitical laws of purity, which was interpreted for the Jews as 'adversus omnes enim hostile odium' (Tacitus, Hist, v. 5).

After Christianity obtained the supremacy over...
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heathenism in the Roman Empire, the Emperors (at a later date the Church) of the *sacramental* language, in regard orders it as their duty to oppose Jewish influence, in order that the heathen, who had been newly won to Christianity, should remain Christians, and that the number of Christians might be further increased (cf. e.g., Fried. Wiegand, *Agobard von Lyon und die Judenfrage*, Erlangen and Leipzig, 1901). At a later date the wealth of many of the Jews, acquired for the most part through usury, attracted the envy of Christians. This was the case, e.g., at the first Crusade (1096), and at the expulsion of the Jews from France by Philip IV, the Fair (1306). Religious motives were operative in the Jewish persecutions in the beginning of the second Crusade (1140; Abbot Peter of Cluny in France, the monk Rahul of Mainz in Germany), as well as in the exclusion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497. In England, as early as the 12th cent. the maxim "ipsi Judaei et omnia sua regis sanct" held as law (Hoveden, *Annales*, ed. Stubbs, ii. 231). The Jews were regarded as the milk cow of kings; and as enormous sums of money were repaid to the kings from them, they were almost compelled to procure these by means of usury. In this way the Jews called down the hate of the people upon themselves. Still might the more easily endured, of acts of vengeance on the part of the Jews (murder or crucifixion of Christian children at the time of the Easter festival) were fitted, and were actually used, torouse this hatred to uncontrollable passion. It was in the 13th cent. that in the "Jewish Incas- tation" first came to the front in its latest and most objectionable form, viz. that the Jews required Christian blood for ritual purposes (cf. H. Strack, *Diss. Blatt*, pp. 130, 194). In the same century attacks on the Talmud became very violent (cf. H. Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud*, p. 63). The charge that Jews poisoned wells occurs probably for the first time in the 12th cent., in Bohemia; often in the 14th cent., in Switzerland and France, but especially in Germany. In the whole history of the Jews we find all too frequent proofs of hostile disposition and outbreaks of hatred, oppression, persecution, expulsion, and tyranny, of the Jews. The French Revolution forms an important epoch in the history of the Jews. On the 27th of September 1791, the National Assembly declared the revocation of all civil measures directed against the Jews; the constitution of the 13th (1795) recognized the Jews as possessing equal rights. The following legislation, as well as the Restoration, brought the Jews some restrictions, but these were set aside in the first year of the July Monarchy. The Jews of Alsace, however, obtained this emancipation later, by means of the exertions of Adolph Crémieux.


In the year 1830, H. E. G. Paulus, the well-known representative of the Jewish national movement (*Jüdische Nationalbewegung*); a similar view was maintained by Karl Strockfuss in his Über

des Verhältnisses der Juden zu den christlichen Staaten, Halle, 1833 (a second edition of the same title appeared in Berlin, 1843). The Rostock Orientalist, Anton Theodor Hartmann, who was well read in the Jewish literature, demanded that the Jews should expressly renounce the principles of injustice to the form of the Talmud called the *Shulhan Ārakh* (i.e. those principles which, in the view of Hartmann and many others, allowed injustice against non-Jews or were otherwise opposed to the doctrine of the law), and that they should refrain themselves from all disparaging statements with regard to Jesus and those who were not Jews.

His writings on this subject are the following: *Joh. Andre. Eisenmenger, Paris, 1834;* Dort eine weite Gleichstellung in staatsbürgerlichen Rechten sämmtlichen Juden schon jetzt bewirkt werden? in 1836, the *Arche fur die neueste Geschichts- und historische Zeitschrift*, Leipzig, 1835; *Grundsätze der orthodoxen Judenwesen, Rostock, 1835* [a reply to Solomon's first letter]. Hartmann's views were keenly and in many respects cleverly attacked in two pamphlets by the Jewish preacher of Halle, Gottlieb Salm, who in *Herrn Anton Theodor Hartmann, Altona, 1836, and Anton Theodor Hartmann's neueste Schriften* [Grundsätze der orthodoxen Judenwesen] in *Jahrbuch des Lichte dargestellt*, Altona, 1836.

The commencement of the reign of the Prussian king Frederick William IV., who cherished the ideal of a 'Christian State,' gave a fresh stimulus to writings on the Jewish question. Among those who opposed the granting of equal rights to the Jews, we have the following writers: H. E. Mareard, *Über die Möglichkeit der Juden-Emancipation im christlich-germanischen Stind*, Minden, 1843; and the well-known radical theologian, Bruno Bauer (died 1882), *Die Judenfrage*, Hanover, 1850.

By the law of 3rd July 1869, absolute religious equality was granted within the North German Confederation, and soon after the same law was extended to the whole of the German Empire. Modern Anti-Semitism arose in Germany in the eighth decade of last century (cf. J. de le Roi, *Geschichte*, i., pp. 258-272; A. Lévy-Beaufort, *Israël chez les nations*, Paris, 1895). An important external cause was the daring attack made by many Jews, newspapers, possessed or edited by Jews, and appearing for the most part in Berlin, on many Christian topics (faith, constitution, recent events, ecclesiastical parties, and prominent persons connected with these); e.g., e.g., Franz Delitzsch, *Christianum und jüdische Presse*, Erlangen, 1882. As reasons for the rise and speedy spread of the Anti-Semitic movement, we may further mention, firstly, the prejudice which obtained in public affairs—to a large extent, of course, owing to the carefulness of the Christians. Thirdly, in newspaper writings, in the theatre, in some branches of art (music, e.g., cf. Rich. Wagner, *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, Leipzig, 1869), in trade, and in several branches of industry (e.g. manufacture of ready-made articles of dress), the influence of the Jews appeared to many prosperous Germans, because of the splendid and ostentatious demeanour of many nouveaux riches Jews, who had acquired sudden wealth by speculation on the Stock Exchange, excited hatred. The same effect was produced, fifthly, by the power of dependence on the Jews into which many districts and occupations had fallen: e.g. a portion of the peasant population of Hesse had become dependent on cattle- and grain-merchants, while dress-makers and tailors were in the power of many Jewish merchants; sixthly, by the support given to the Social Democratic party by Jewish leaders and Jewish money; seventhly, by the union among Jews of the political parties. Eighthly, by the exaggerated sensibility to every criticism and exposure of weaknesses on the part of Jews. Ninthly, there was a widespread feeling that the Jews were foreigners.
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among the Germans: the stricter Jews not only rejected intermarriage with Christians, but they also kept themselves socially separate from them, e.g. on account of the laws of food. Many Jews, particularly the middle-class, regarded any opposition to the Jews, seeing that the conditions are widely different in the many lands where the Jews are numerous. An unprejudiced mind, examining the matter carefully, will, in our opinion, be compelled to recognize on the one hand that there are reasons for opposition, and on the other hand that jealousy of the wealth amassed by some Jews has enormous influence with great numbers.


A very great influence was exerted by two speeches delivered before the Christian Social Labour party by Adolf Stöcker in Berlin in Sept. 1879: 'What do we demand from modern Judaism?'; and 'Deutschland und Juden' (both are printed together in the above-mentioned pamphlet on modern Judaism). In them Stöcker demands three things: 'a little more modesty, a little more tolerance, and a little more equality.' Hein. von Troitschke is the author of the phrases, frequently used since then, 'trosser-pellding young Poles' (hosenknüffende polnische Junglinge), and 'the Jews are our misfortune,' as well as the sentences: 'We Germans are a Christian people, and the Jewish question in Germany will not be settled till our fellow-citizens of the Jewish race are persuaded that we are and will remain a Christian people. An equally decided attitude has been taken, as is well-known, by Catholics in Germany, Austria, France, and Italy (cf. Deutsch in J. F. 1. 645).

The irritation increased, and the conditions were made worse owing to the enormous emigration of Jews from the lands of Eastern Europe to the West, especially, since 1881, from Russia and Roumania, at first to Germany and then to America and England. The preventives used on the part of the German Government were: firstly, restriction, and later almost entire refusal, of nationalization to Jews coming from the East; secondly, regulations by means of which a rapid passage of the migrating Jews through Germany was assured, e.g. the appointment of special localities for the temporary sojourner of emigrants at the great centres of commerce on the route (Ruhleben near Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, etc.); thirdly, turning out by the police authorities of persons without means or occupation, especially where there was an immediate risk that in the charge of such persons belonged to the Nihilists or Anarchists. The first measure of prevention adopted in England was the Aliens Bill. In the United States every immigrant is now required to remit a small sum of money, in order to prevent the immigration of persons entirely destitute of means of support.

Only a few years later than in Germany, the flame of Anti-Semitism was kindled in Austria and in Hungary, by Istedech in the Hungarian Parliament, and by Georg von Schönerer in the Austrian Parliament. Near the close of the 19th century a loud and successful agitator was found in the person of Ed. Drumont, whose book, La France juive (1st ed. Paris, 1856), has seen more than 100 editions. The Anti-Semitic journal La libre parole. The case of Albert Dreyfus was long used, from 1894 onwards, as a means of rousing the passion of the Anti-Semites, especially in France. The matter ended in the year 1906 with the rehabilitation of Dreyfus and with his reappearance as Major in the French army. At the Berlin Congress of 1878 a resolution was passed that in Roumania all citizens, without distinction of religious belief, should enjoy equal rights. The Roumanian Government, however, supported by the Anti-Semitic majority in Parliament, devised a means of rendering this provision worthless. The Constitution declared that no one shall possess and even as the possession from possessing civil and political rights, but it was immediately declared that the Jews were foreigners, and not Roumanians—a breach of trust unworthy of a government designed for the benefit of all its people.

For the Jews of the Russian Empire, the death of Alexander II. in 1881 was fraught with grave significance. It was after the death of Alexander II. that great persecutions of the Jews (pogrom, pl. pogromy) were begun, and by the laws passed in May, 1882, the freedom of movement of the Jews in the 15 provinces of the territory for settlement, already small enough, was still further limited.

The chief attacks on the Jews took place in the years 1903 (at Easter in Kishiner; see H. Strack's remarks in his periodical Nathanahel, 1903, pp. 78-80, of which he is editor, and 1904, p. 625, and 1905, p. 829), and 1906 (in Russia, Austria and Hungary, Paris, London, etc.). In view of the events of the year 1905, the Seventh International Jewish Missionary Conference, held at Amsterdam, April 24th, 1906, carried unanimously the following motion, brought forward by the present writer and the Rev. Louis Meyer of Chicago (now of Cincinnati):

'The Seventh International Jewish Missionary Conference hereby records its deepest sympathy with the poor sufferers from the latest persecutions of the Jews in Russia. One hundred and fifty villages, towns, and cities of Russia where Jews dwell have been devastated, many hundreds of Hebrews have been slaughtered, and many thousand Jewish families have been deprived of almost every facility of living. Though there may have been faults upon the Jewish side, no human or Divine right permitted Russian officials of Government and Police to inflict the heavier classes against the Jewish people, which as such are innocent, and in the persecution of Jews these lesser ones should forget their own sufferings, caused by bureaucratic maladministration and by refusal of liberty of thought and religion. So long as we condemn, because it necessarily must close the hearts of the Jews to the gospel call still more than heretofore.'

Those chiefly responsible for the anti-Jewish attacks and pogroms belonged to the Minister of the Interior, von Pichow, and the vice-governor, Ustrugow. The latter had refused to grant protection from plundering and murder to the defenseless Jews who asked help, because he himself was an Anti-Semite, and because he was certain that his inactivity would not be cen-
sured by the Minister. The former used the Jews as a lightning-conductor, by means of which the dissatisfaction of the population with regard to the arbitrariness of the police and the organs of Government might be directed into another channel. The latter could easily infer from the evidence that the Jews were in any case largely regarded with unfriendly eyes by the lower classes of the people, who had grown up in ignorance and superstition. The statement is made by the Jews, that the possessors of dram-shops, have contributed much to the impoverishment of the Russian peasants, and have thereby aroused hatred. It is true that in Jewish persecutions, and, in general, in every disturbance, the Jewish dram-shops are often the first to be plundered. That, however, is easily understood without ascribing any special guilt to the possessors of these shops.

Unfortunately, it is by no means improbable that the extension of Anti-Semitism will still continue. The repetition of such outbreaks as have taken place in Russia in recent years will, indeed, be more difficult if a Government binding itself, or any of its agents, to take steps for preventing its recurrence into existence. It is, however, quite possible that at no distant date serious Jewish persecutions will arise in the United States, in Hungary, or in France. Anti-Semitic sentiment in the Jewish world has been no lack of sinister attempts to incite the population to acts of violence, since for years Count Füchler (of Klein-Tschirne, Silesia) has dared in public assemblies in Berlin and elsewhere to summon the masses to a ‘fresh joyous war’ against the ‘caused Jewish band.’

2. Arguments of the Anti-Semites, and attempts to refute them.—The means made use of by almost all Anti-Semitic agitators have been, according to a statement in the Neue Zeitung für das Judentum an Augustin Roling in Prague in the years 1883–1882 (see Strack, Das Blut, pp. 109–120). Only the most important instances of modern times can be mentioned here.

On April 1st, 1882, a maid-servant, Esther Solyom, fourteen years of age, in Tisza-Bezdár, disappeared. The evidence of the Christians, who had paid the girl’s ransom, was that she had murdered the girl through the keyhole, which was closed by the judicial investigation to be impossible; the suspected Jew obtained a verdict of not guilty (see V. Nathan, Der Proces von Tisza-Bezdár, Berlin, 1892; S. Mannheimer in JG xii. 148–150). The eighty-year-old girl murdered in Korfa in the night between the 12th and 13th April 1891 was a Christian, Maria Deyla (there was no such person there at the time), but a Jewess, Lubins Sarcs. The Jewish butcher Adolf Buschhoff, in Xanten, in the Rhine province, was accused of murdering, on June 26th, 1891, the sixty-year-old Johann Negemann. The public prosecutor, however, stated: ‘In my long experience of criminal cases I have never seen a clearer case, where so convincing and connected a proof was brought forward, that the accused did not commit the crime in question.’ Every suspicion is thus considered to be disposed of by denouncing the blood of the victim was removed by the post-mortem examination (see Der Xantenener Knabenmord vor dem Schwurgericht, in Archiv für kriminalistische, forensisch-anatomische Berichte, Berlin, 1892; Deutsch in JG xii. 574). The Jewish shoemaker Lepold Hilsner, in Weiden, was accused of murdering Agnes Huza on March 29th, 1890, in Polna, Bohemia. However, Arthur Nussbaum (Der Polnische Rituellordnungsprozeß; Ethnologia et Ethnographie der Personenverschlussgewohnheiten Grundlage, mit einem Verworf von Franz v. Lüst, Berlin, 1890), showed that the wound caused by Hilsner was not a stab-wound, and that the amount of blood which could reasonably be expected in the circumstances was proved to be insufficient to cause the loss of life of Hilsner. The statement made by the Jew, that the amount of blood of Hilsner was utterly worthless, that the statements of the accusing witnesses are of no importance, that they were of no importance for the purpose of the time, and that they were contradictory of each other or incredible in themselves; and (4) that there was no motive adduced why Hilsner should murder Agnes which had even a shred of proba-

bility. Very great interest was aroused by the murder of the 15-year-old High School boy Ernst Winter in Konitz, West Prussia, in March 1891. The highest authorities of West Prussia cause unanimously to the conclusion that the cut on the neck of Winter’s disembowelled body was not made till after his death, nor could it have been caused by means of blood existing, but глутения the Sachverständigen auf den Konitz Mord, Berlin, 1900, Denkblatt für die Zukunft.

More detailed information on the history of the Blood-accusation is given by the present writer in Das Blut im Wandel und Gedingen der Menschheit, with special reference to that of the “Volksmittel” and of the “jüdischen Blut- geschichte,” in JG xii. 492. In the following years many Catholic priests, e.g., Fr. Frank, Der Ritualmord vor den Gerichtshofen der Wahrheit und der Gerechtigkeit, Regensburg, 1901; Chwozowski, Das Ritualdeed und einige andere Berufshuften der Juden (aus dem Russischen übersetzt), Frankfurt a. M., 1903; JG iii. 280–297.

(8) Another important means of attack used by the Anti-Semites is the agitation against the killing of animals according to the Jewish rites. If the Jews are refused the exercise of the form of slaughter appointed by their religious laws in any town, permanent resistance to that place is made very difficult for them. If the prohibition is extended over a whole country, life there is made almost impossible for Jews. Accordingly, the Anti-Semitic town councils in Russian towns have attempted by all lawful means to destroy the custom impossible by means of slaughter-house regulations; and a new and very energetic agitation has begun in the Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Cf. the works of the physician and Russian Jew, J. A. Dembo, Das Schächen im Verhältnis mit anderen Schlachtmethoden, Leipzig, 1894; Gutmann, Über das jüdische Schlachtungs- verfahren, Berlin, 1891; F. Weichhaus, Das Schächtchen (das rituelle Schlachten bei den Juden), mit einem Vorwort von C. J. Strack, Leipzig, 1893. In these writings it is positively affirmed that it is given that the Jewish method of slaughter does not constitute cruelty to animals.

Among other objects of attack on the part of the Anti-Semites we may mention here (see above, p. 595):

(a) The Talmud. There is no truth whatever in the assertions that the Jews seek by every conceivable means to keep the Talmud secret, that they fear lest its contents may become known, and that they declare it a crime worthy of death for a Jew to reveal its contents. The writings on the Talmud (explanations, monographs, translations of whole treatises, etc.) by Jews themselves are very numerous in all European languages. As a practical proof that Christians are not dependent for a scientific judgment regarding the Talmud on what a Jew is led to say, it should be mentioned that the present writer in 1857 wrote an introduction to the Talmud without having asked or received the slightest detail of information from Jews or Jewish Christians. The Talmud contains no proof or statement which the expert Christian scholar cannot discover.

(b) The Shulhan Arukh (Esz 230 [table prepared]), the ritual code of Joseph Karo (1575 in Safed, Palestine), was printed for the first time in Venice in 1564–5. A fanatical and slanderous attack was made by the proselytes, ‘Dr. Justus’ (pseudonym = Arthur Brimmann), in Judenpiegel oder 100 neuentlehnte, herrliche neue Gichtschriften, den Verkehr der Juden und den Christen betreffende, in Frankfort a. M., 1902, JG iii. 299–305.
ANTI-SEMITISM

Gesetze der Juden, Paderborn, 1833. A learned and suggestive treatise, but coloured somewhat in favour of the Jews, was published by D. Hoffmann, Der Schulchen-Archi und die Dutlichet sinr des Verhaltens der Juden zu Anderlautigen, Berlin, 1884 (2nd ed. 1894). For a thorough examination of both sides of the question we are indebted to G. Marx (= G. Dalman), Jüdisches Fremdenwesen, anti- semitisches Polemik und jüdische Apologetik, Leipzig, 1880.

(c) The alleged existence of Jewish secret writings and secret sects. As early as 1909 the present writer publicly and solemnly declared that there are no secret Jewish writings. Of course, to those who do not understand Latin, Caesar's Gallic War is a secret writing, especially if they are not acquainted with any of the numerous translations in English, German, etc. Judaism has always been tolerant of the faith and practice of the individual, but it has always persecuted sects, recognizing quite correctly that sects would be very dangerous to the existence of the Jewish people in the world. The sect most important in Judaism is that of the Karaites, which arose in the 8th cent. A.D., and of which small remnants, even at the present day, are to be found living in the Crimea, in Poland, and in Galicia. In 1894 a work in Jerusalem, Karaites and Talmudists have been always most bitterly opposed, and even at the present day hate each other. If the Talmudist Jews, either as a whole or in sections, had a 'blood-rite' or other ordinance, which Christians would regard as abominable or destructive of the common good, the Karaites would have failed to point expressly to it; and it is just as little likely that the Talmudist Jews would themselves have thought it had been available for them to accuse the Karaites of observing a 'blood-rite' or other repulsive laws.

(f) The formula kol sidrat, 'all vows,' by means of which the Jews on the eve of the Great Day of Atonement in the synagogues declare all vows which they may have made in the next year to become void, does not refer to oaths which are made to others, but only to obligations which one lays upon oneself. It is not admissible to use this custom to cast doubt on the good faith of the Jews in taking oaths in general (cf. the present writer's art. 'Kol Nidre' in Piet x. 649-653; M. Schlossinger in JE, 1904-1905). A very foolish but, in Western Germany and Bavaria, widely credited accusation is that the Jews, before selling meat to non-Jews, must defile it (Lat. mincere) in the most loathsome manner (see the present writer's Die Juden und die deutsche Kriminalstatistik, Leipzig, 1893). On the other hand, the Berlin Committee for answering Anti-Semitic attacks has published Die Kriminalstatistik der Juden in Preußen, Berlin, 1886. For a criticism of both writings by F. Nommenn cf. Nathanol, 1806, pp. 44-78 (cf. also H. Lax, Die Juden als Verbrecher, Munich, 1894; Deutsch in JE iv. 3021). (g) The idea of a blood accusation by the same Committee, die Juden als Soldaten, Berlin, 1896, with copious statistical tables, has in a thoroughly going manner sought to meet the assertion which is frequently made that the Jews lack those qualities. The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen, Washington, 1894; M. C. Peters, The Jew as a Patriot, New York, 1901.

Evil motives have often without proof been ascribed to opponents, who have been covered with hateful calumny. They have been accused at an exaggerated and sometimes single instance, as if thereby all other accusations and reasons were demonstrated to be false. Jewish apologists have often sought to put a favourable construction on anything which was against the Jews, and have done it, although the act could not be seriously defended. The non-Jewish majority has more than once been irritated by stupid aspersions (cf., to name only a single instance, P. P. Grünfeld's Ben Sira, 1906). The above-named work for Anti-Semitic, Stuttgart, 1880.

The most important literature from the Jewish side has been mentioned above at various points. A very useful collection of materials is supplied by Ernst Bloch, Aten und Gegenaten in dem Prozesse Rohling contra Bloch, Vienna, 1893; cf. also Anti-Semitenspiegel: Die Antisemiten in der Zeit des Christentums, des Rechts und der Wissenschaft, Dantzic, 1906. The most largely cirkulated book on the side of the Anti-Semites is the Antisemiten-Kataehnen, Leipzig, which, from 1897 to 1903, went through 25 editions, and is now published under the title: Todesgericht, an die deutsche Untertanen. The evidence for the non- existencet des wichtigsten Materials zur Beurteilung des jüdischen Volkes, Hamburg, 1897.

In conclusion it may be said on the duty of Christians with regard to Anti-Semitism. We have in the first place to maintain in all circumstances veracity and justice. We must thus not only refrain from slander and false accusations, but contradict these in cases where Jews have difficulty in defending themselves. The question, e.g., as to the criminality of Jews can, with the help of statistics available to every inquirer, be discussed quite sufficiently by the Jews themselves. If, however, Jews were to write on the 'blood accusation' or the Talmud, even the most upright Jew might easily fall under the suspicion of concealing or colouring the facts in favour of his nation and his religion. On this account, Franz Delitzsche (born Feb. 23rd, 1813, died Mar. 4th, 1890), the present writer, and others have regarded it as their duty again and again to show that many attacks directly by the Anti-Semites against the Jewish religion, and thus against the Jews generally, are based on falsehood, and are in fact slanderous.


It is, secondly, our duty to show in word and deed neighbourly love to the Jews. We dare not allow our love to be confined to those who share our religious beliefs (cf. Gal 6), but we must always remember that the Good Samaritan (Lk 10) Thirdly, we are bound to furnish proof that the Christian religion rightly claims to be the universal religion. For this end we have to show that influence which Christianity has exercised and still exercises (a) on humanity as a whole; (b) on the individual; and (c) specially on Judaism (preaching in the language of the country, the work of the so-called General Mission, e.g., spiritual care for prisoners, etc.).

Great complaints are made about the relatively excessive and still increasing influence exerted by the Jews in public life, not only in the Jewish, but also in the non-Jewish municipal councils, etc. We cannot here inquire where and how far such complaints are justified. One thing is certain:
ANURADHAPURA.—Anuradhapura was the capital of Ceylon for nearly 1500 years. It was founded, according to the tradition handed down in the eastern world, by a chieftain named Anuradha (so called after the constellation Anu-rādhā in the 6th cent. B.C. on the bank of the Kadamha River. Nearly a century afterwards king Pandukabhaya removed the capital, which had already been deserted; and there it remained down to the reign of Aggabodhi IV. in the 5th cent. A.D. It was again the capital in the 11th cent., and was then finally deserted.

The name Anuradha is of use; and we find in a work of the 10th cent. (Mahabodhiśāstra, p. 112) the name of the place explained as ‘the city of the happy people’ from Anurādhā, satisfaction. The Sinhalese peasantry of the present day habitually pronounce the name Anuradha, and explain it as ‘the city of men of twenty kings,’ i.e. meaning ‘ninety,’ and raja meaning ‘king.’ The ancient interpretation of the name—Anurādhā’s city—is the only correct one. The second is little more than a play upon words, and the third is a Veluketumalage founded on a mistake. English writers on Ceylon often spell the name Anurājāpurā, or Anourājapura.

The exact site of Anurādha’s original settlement has not been recovered; but we have constructed the beautiful artificial lake, the Victoria Lake, Jaya Vapi, more usually called, after the king’s own name (Abhaya, sans. ‘pierce’), the Abhiya Vapi. It still exists, but in a half-ruined state, about two miles in circuit. Its southern shore is rather less than a mile north of the Bodhi Tree. It was on the shores of this lake that the king laid out his city, with its four suburbs, its cemetery, its special villages for huntsmen and scavengers, its temples to various immortals, its shrines of deities then worshipped, and residences for Jotiya (the engineer) and the other officials. There were also lodges for devotees of various sects—Jains, Ajivikas, and others. North of the eastern artificial lake, the Gāmiṇī Lake, also still existing, and now called the Vilhin Lake. Apart from the two lakes, nothing has been discovered of the remains of what must have been there, until we judge from the description in the 10th chapter of the Great Chronicle, a considerable city.

But the foundations of the fame and beauty of the place were laid by king Tissa (so called after the constellation Tissa), who flourished in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. and was therefore contemporary with the Buddhist emperor of India, Asoka the Great. The friendship of these two monarchs, who maintained a long continued correspondence, and the consequent exchanges, Tissa, with his nobles and people, embraced the Buddhist faith; and, no doubt in imitation of Asoka, erected many beautiful buildings in support of his new religion. Those at Anurādhapura numbered ten, of which seven are attributed to the Thupārāma, still, even in ruins, a beautiful and striking object. It is a solid dome, 70 feet high, rising from a decorated plinth in the centre of a square terrace, and supported by a number of beautiful granite pillars in two rows. It is not known what these pillars were intended for; they are numbered, i.e. xix, 35; and Mahādharma, pp. 56, 56, 65. Enumerated in the Mahādharma, ch. xx. p. 123 (ed. Turnour). to support. It would seem to appear from Mahāvihari, ch. xxxvi. (p. 232, ed. Turnour), that they supported a canopy over the tope; but it is difficult to see how that can have been done. Perhaps each of them had, as its capital, some symbol of the faith. Such pillars, surmounted by symbols put up by Asoka in various parts of India, still survive. But in that case they are always solitary pillars. Bold flights of steps led up to the terrace from the park-like enclosure in which it stood; and the doors, if we are supposed to contain relics of the Buddha. It was, in fact, a magnificent, highly decorated, and finely placed burial mound.

Another still existing building of this time is the Issara Munī Viha, a hermitage constructed by king Tissa on the side of a granite hill, for those of his nobles (issera) who entered the Buddhist Order. Naturally only the stonework has survived; but this includes caves cut in the solid rock, bas-reliefs on the face of the granite, two terraces (one half-way up, one on the top of the rock), a small but beautiful artificial tank, and a small square platform; and the latter must have been a charming residence in the days of its glory.

Of the rest of the ten buildings no remains have been found; but it is very doubtful whether any of Tissa’s enclosure round the Bodhi Tree was ever exis-
ted. The tree itself, now nearly 2200 years old, still survives. The soil has been heaped up round its base whenever it showed any signs of decay. Planed originally on a terrace raised but little above the level of the ground, it now springs up in three detached branches from the summit of a mound that has reached to the dimensions of a small hill. The tree planted by Tissa, a branch of the original Bodhi Tree at Gaya in India, was sent as a present by the Emperor Asoka. The auspicious event was celebrated in two bas-reliefs on the eastern gateway of the Sanchi Tope,* probably put up by himself.†

The capital was taken by the Tamils not long after Tissa’s death, and was re-captured, about a century afterwards, by Dushta Gāmiṇī Abhayas, the hero of the Great Chronicle. He occupies in Ceylon tradition very much the place occupied in English history and legend by king Arthur. We have information about the buildings he erected in his capital. Undoubtedly the most splendid was the so-called ‘platform of the Bodhi Tree,’ a square platform supported by a thousand granite pillars, which still remain in situ. Each side of the square was 150 feet long. On the platform were erected nine storeys, each square in form and less than the one beneath it, and the total height from the platform was 150 feet. The general effect was therefore pyramidal, the greatest possible contrast to the dome-shaped dagobas in the vicinity, just as the bronze tiles which covered it contrasted with the dazzling white of the polished chunam which formed the covering of the domes. The building was almost certainly made of wood throughout, and its cost is given in the Chronicle 2 as 30 kotis, equivalent in our money to about £600,000.

The other great work of this king was the Dagaba of the Golden Sand; but this he did not live to complete. According to the Chronicle (ed. Turnour, p. 195), it cost one thousand kotis, equivalent to a million sterling. It is still one of the monuments most revered by all Buddhists; and even in its ruined state, in 1827, stood above the platform on which it rests. Its Pāli name is...

* Reproduced in Rhys Davids’s Buddhist India, pp. 301-302.
† For fuller details see Dutt, where the question of the evolu-
tion and meaning of the Bodhi-Tree conception will be more appropriately treated.
‡ Mahāvidyā, ch. xxii.
usually simply Maha Thiyapa, ‘Great Tope,’ the name given above being a rendering of its distinctive title Hemamodi in Pali, Ramavan Wati D̄āgaba in Sinhalese. Five chapters in the Great Chronicle (ch. xxviii.—xxxii.) are devoted to a detailed account of the construction and dedication of this stūpa, and of the artistic embellishment of its central chamber, the relic chamber. This has never, it is believed, been disturbed and till as the exterior has, quite recently, been restored, there is now little chance of the historical secrets there buried being revealed.

For some generations after these great events the city enjoyed peace. But in A.D. 109 the Tamils, with their vastly superior numbers, again broke in, and took Anuradhapura. It was not till A.D. 89 that the Sinhalese were able to issue from their fastnesses in the mountains, and drive the Tamils out. Their victorious leader, Wattā Gāmini, celebrated the recovery of the capital by the erection of a still greater tope than all the former ones—the Abhayā Giri Dāgaba. This immense dome-shaped pile was 405 feet high from ground to summit, and built, except the relic chamber, of solid brick. Its ruin is still one of the landmarks of all the country round. The Vihāra attached to this tope, and still in the old garden reserved for it by Paṇḍukābhaṭya to the Jains, obtained notoriety from a curious circumstance. The principal of the college, though appointed by, and a great favourite of, the king, incurred censure at an ecclesiastical court composed mainly of residents at the older Vihāra, the Great Minister, close to the Bodhi Tree. There ensued a long continued rivalry between the two establishments, usually confined to personal questions, but occasionally of a more general nature. For five centuries and more this rivalry had an important influence on the civil and religious history of the island.

With the completion of these buildings, the city assumed very much the appearance which it preserved throughout its long history. The Chronicle records how subsequent kings repaired, added to, and beautified the existing monuments. It tells us also how they and their nobles built palaces for themselves and residences for the clergy. These have all completely vanished. The only new building of importance that still survives is the great tank, another huge dome-shaped pile, built about two miles due north of the Bodhi Tree at the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D.

It is at the beginning of the next century that we have the earliest mention of Anuradhapura from outside sources. Fa Hian, the Buddhist pilgrim from China, stayed there for the two years A.D. 411-412. He gives a glowing account of its beauty, the grandeur of the public buildings and private residences, the magnificence of the processions, the culture of the Bhikkhus, and the puṭṣya of the king and people. The reason for Fa Hian’s long stay in the city was his desire to study and to obtain copies, on palm leaf, of the books studied. For Anuradhapura was at that time the seat of a great university rivalling in the South the fame, in the North of India, of the University of Nalanda on the banks of the Ganges. Among the laity, law, medicine, surgery, irrigation, poetry, and literature were the main subjects. The Bhikkhus handed down from teacher to pupil the words of the sacred books preserved in Pali, to them a dead language, and the exegesis, the commentaries, which seemed to them exegetical, historical, and philological, preserved in their own tongue. They had handbooks and classes for the study of the grammar and lexicography of Pali; of the ethics, psychology, and philosophy of the books; and the problems in canon law arising out of the interpreta-

tion of the Rules of the Order. And they found time to take a considerable interest in folklore and popular and ballad literature, much of which has been preserved to us by their indefatigable and self-denying industry. Yet this involved not only method, but much intellectual effort. Students flocked to the great centre of learning, not only from all parts of the island, but from South India, and occasionally from the North. Of the latter the most famous was the great commentator, Buddhaghoṣa (q.v.), who came from Gaya, in Behar, to get the information he could not obtain in the North.

For there, in that beautiful land, the most fruitful of any in India or its confines in continuous and successful literary work and effort, there have never been wanting, from Akos’s time to our own, the requisite number of earnest and devoted teachers and students to keep alive, and to hand down to their successors and to us, that invaluable literature which has taught us so much of the history of religion, not only in Ceylon, but also in India itself.*

The Chroniclers were not, therefore, very far wrong in emphasizing this side of the life of Anuradhapura. To it the city owed the most magnificent and the most abiding of its monuments, preserved in historical value only by its intellectual achievements.

When Buddhaghoṣa was in Ceylon, the water supply of the city was being re-organized. The artificial canals and tanks constructed in the vicinity, and to which so much to its beauty, were found insufficent; and king Dhēthu Sena, in A.D. 450, constructed, 50 miles away, the great reservoir called the Black Lake (Kāla Vata). The giant ruins of its embankments still stretch for 14 miles through the forest. It was 50 miles in circumference; and the canals for irrigation on the route, and for conducting the water to the capital, are still in fair preservation. The system of doctrine. This reservoir was, no doubt, at the time of its construction, the most stupendous irrigation scheme in the world.

This was the last great work undertaken at Anuradhapura. There ensued a series of dynastic intrigues and civil wars of a character similar to the Wars of the Roses in England. Each party fell into the habit of appealing for help to the Tamils on the mainland, whither the defeated were wont to flee for refuge. The northern part of the island, in which Anuradhapura lay, became more and more overrun with hostile races, making it more and more difficult to defend. Finally, in A.D. 750, it was abandoned as the seat of government, which was established at Polatapura, under the shelter of the Southern hills. Anuradhapura fell into the hands now of one party, now of another. For a brief interval in the 11th cent. it claimed, under a Sinhalese pretender, supported by Tamil forces, to be again the capital. But the pretender was driven out, and the city reverted to the Polatapura government. Finally, at what date is not exactly known, but probably about A.D. 1300, the whole district, stretching across the island, from 50 miles north to 50 miles south of Anuradhapura, became the seat of the land, and relapsed rapidly into jungle. Neither the Tamil kings of Jaffna in the north, nor the Sinhalese kings in the south, were able to exercise any real sovereignty over it, and the beautiful city dwindled away to a few huts round the Bodhi Tree, now left in the charge of two or three solitary monks. The earliest notice of the ruins received in Europe of the Tamils ‘Island of the Island of Ceylon’ (1681), iv. 10. Held a captive for twenty years in the mountains, Knox escaped in 1679 through the jungle round Anuradhapura, and his narrative vividly portrays the utter desolation of the place.

* Buddhāṭi Indīkas, pp. 293, 301.
Here is a world of hewn stone pillars, standing upright, and other pillars, shorter and forming the walls of buildings. In three or four places are ruins of bridges built of stone, some resting upon the ground, standing on stone piers. In many places are points built out into the water, like wharfs, which I suppose have been built for kings to sit upon for pleasure.

The English Channel coast is well provided with good roads, and a railway has been opened through to Juffna. Several officials are resident at the station, and a settlement is growing up. For some distance round this settlement the underbrush has been cut away, and there is now grass growing under spreading trees. The ruins are being cleared, and some of them preserved from further injury; and some excavation has been carried out.


APACHES.—The Apaches are the southernmost group of the Athapaskan stock of American Indians, who originally covered the territory from the Arctic Coast to New Mexico, and from the Pacific Ocean to the interior. Their language is plainly traceable through their language. However, the name 'Apache' is a misnomer, apparently from the Zuni Apache, 'enemy,' and not found in their vocabulary, as the Apache call themselves, not as 'Apaches,' but as 'Inde' (N'de, Diné, Tinda), or 'People.' Mentioned by Juan de Oñate as early as 1583 (Doc. inéditos de Indias, xvi. 114) in the 'Snowy Mountains' of New Mexico, they were not found far west as well as south, their present home, until the middle of the 16th cent., when they were a large and warlike tribe, whose numbers were increased by captives from their more peaceful neighbours, and whose qualities, habits, and beliefs, they assimilated to a certain extent.

Prior to their reservation life, the Apaches were a nomadic people, practising agriculture only to a limited extent, living mostly by hunting and by gathering, and the women were and are now divided into tribal groups, designated by the locality to which they belong (see the list in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 65), but have always lacked the social organisation for which the other tribes are noted, and to-day they are found living in bands and villages along the cahons and waterways, or in the rich valleys, tilling small farms and caring for their stock during the summer, and in the winter moving their camps to the heavily timbered sections, both for protection and more accessible fuel. Naturally their homes are of the most temporary character—usually willow poles thrusted into the ground, fastened together at the top, oval in form, and of sufficient height to allow a person to stand erect, with an opening at the centre through which the smoke passes from the fire-place directly underneath, and the smoke sides are interwoven and thatched with bear grass, over which canvas is sometimes drawn, with a single opening for a door. Among the San Carlos Apaches the houses are excavated into the side of the mountain, andlive on two feet. The Jicarilla Apaches live in brush wigwams or in tents, the latter habit being preferred also by the Lipan and many Mescalero Apaches. There seems to be no ceremony or symbolism of note, to the honor of Mr. Hrdlicka, I observed one San Carlos family pray on entering a new hikven, while another house had two eagle-feathers tied as fetishes to one of the poles. The Apache burn smoke signals, columns of smoke being passed from camp to camp. One smoke column denotes attention; two, establishment of a camp, quiet, safety; and three, alarm; a greater number urging a correspondingly greater need of haste (Mallery, I RIE W p. 535 f.). The Apaches have always been known as the cultivators of grain, particularly corn, from which, with their favourite drink, is made. Their additional food-stuffs consist of seeds, berries, nuts, melons, and small game, while fish and every species of feeding birds are tabbed.

In appearance the uniform Apache type, this being due to their nomadic habits, and to their assimilation with neighbouring peoples. As a rule, they are sinewy and strongly built, with good long legs and slender arms. Well-developed in early times the men's dress consisted of a breech cloth and moccasins, with long upper extended to the knee, and often to the thigh, with rawhide soles, turned upward at the toe and decorated with painted designs. In winter a pochje, or buckskin shirt, made of two skins with an opening for the head, and fastened with thongs beneath the arm, was worn. A band round the head kept the hair back from the face; the hair was generally worn long or trimmed square on a level with the chin. The women wore a buckskin over one shoulder, which was fastened beneath the opposite arm, a short skirt of buckskin, coming just below the knee, with fringes of the same, and pendants of metal or shell. Girls and unmarried women wore the hair braided and adorned with wreaths of brass and copper, and ear-rings and necklets of shell or seeds. Only the women have they take part in the marriage, which is quite common to see various geometric designs on their foreheads and chins, and sometimes on the cheeks. On reaching puberty, girls have their bows and arrows and spears made and kept by themselves.

Polygamy is practised by the Apaches, a man generally marrying his wife's sisters as they mature, since they believe less friction will exist in the family. A wife, a year of her husband's death, but his brother can take her to wife any time within the period of mourning; if he does not, however, she is free to marry any one she pleases. Marriage is generally arranged by the parents for near relatives, generally by purchase. If a man has more than one wife, they usually live in separate camps, the children belonging to the mother. The morality of the girls is all good before marriage. When a man marries, he avoids meeting or speaking to his mother-in-law. If they should meet by accident, the first to see the other hides or looks in the opposite direction. A girl is of marriageable age when she reaches the age of puberty, and makes the announcement by a feast and dance, at which she is forbidden to be present, and which lasts through the night; afterwards she is open to the proposal.

Women do all the household work, the planting and tending of the crops, and the carrying of the burdens. To-day their principal income is derived from the sale of hay, grain, and wood to the agency, military posts, ranches, and towns adjacent to the reservations. At home the Apache is fond of talking and entertaining his friends. Both men and women are inveterate gamblers.

Among Apache games are tossing arrows or darts at an arrow or dart already on the ground, so that they cross; the hoop and pole game (the principal gambling game), in which the pole is hurled through the center of the hoop; hide the bird (White Mountain); "cat's cradle" (White Mountain); foot races; and dice, the women's game (Du Bois, 244, 767, 803 f., 86-91). The hoop and pole game, in which, amongst the White Mountain Apaches, the red pole is female and the yellow is male, is a popular religious institution, supposedly carelessly guarded by the déénin (medicine-men). It is said to have been taught first by the Dicéén to the Apache, but the Jicarilla comagoncy describes it as having been made by Yolkalstaun, the White-head woman, for her two sons, children of her by the father of the Moon. She took a hoop and roll to the wheel toward the north. They played for three days, when the boy's son rolled the hoop toward the east, but the other brother then persuaded him to roll it toward the north. An adventure with an owl followed, and the two boys were set to perform a succession of dangerous feats, until they went to live in the western ocean (Culin, op. cit. p. 449).

The principle in the bird-craft is that, in order to keep there are several forms, the conical shape for carrying burdens, the bowl shape, and the touse, or water-bottle. All the baskets are built on poles, and even with willow and other splints
woven in geometric or figured designs of black, and made from the pod of a species of Martynia.

A close study and intimate knowledge of the various Apache tribes reveal no religious organizations; but there are many forms of worship, not as the white man recognizes worship, but in the form of sacrifice, prayers, fasts, and physical penance to appease the wrath of the evil spirits. People of the old tribes who are classified as forms of worship of the Apache is the elemental, or nature-worship, though there are traces of animism as well as of animal-worship in their reverence for the bear, jack rabbit, snake, etc., to which they offer the sacrifice of *hoddentin* (see below). The number four is sacred, as among the American Indians generally; and so is eight, though to a minor degree. As far back as the 16th and 17th centuries, the Jesuits and Franciscans formed missions, and worked with their accustomed zeal, but with little success. After years of toil and sacrifice, the field was wholly abandoned, and, apart from the various signs of the cross and sacred cords that might be traced to the rosary, no influence seems to have remained of those early teachings. And as these symbols were so common among the aborigines, it is doubtful whether even through the medium of Christianity they have lost this belief in spirits both good and bad, and in the necessity of sacrifice, is prominent in their worship, as will be seen by their offering of *hoddentin* to appease every known spirit on every occasion.

To be properly understood, however, the beliefs and superstitions of the Apaches must be studied through their medicine-men and women, who wield a marvellous influence in fastening on them their belief in the occult, an influence little understood or appreciated by non-aboriginals, and often to the detriment of the patients. Through this lack of understanding, the Apache Indians have been much maltreated, and a great deal of the trouble with Government representatives in the past has arisen through not taking into consideration their superstitions and methods of reasoning.

Great freedom exists as to the selection of the *shaman* or medicine-man. Any man, woman, or child who seems to be endowed with spiritual or occult powers and able to interpret omens, is free to follow his own inclinations and invent his own symbols. It is customary, however, for them to place themselves as assistants to some medicine-man who, through his long practice, has gained influence, paying him liberally for his tuition, a year or more being the usual length of time given to study.

The Apache believes that all ills of the body are caused by evil spirits, which must be expelled or subdued. When any one is sick, he sends for his favorite medicine-man. If the patient is wealthy, the medicine-man will have the assistance of several others, often bringing his family along with him, and camping near the patient. The family and friends of the sick supply the medicine-man and his family with food and help. Before the medicine-man's arrival, the sick one's family generally prepare a sacrifice of *tchaze* as long as they can afford; and when he arrives, a corner of the camp is reserved for his use, the best blankets are given for him to rest on, and the choicest food is placed before him. When he has finished his repast, large stones are *tie soa* and placed before him, and he drinks and calls from among his friends those whom he wishes to drink with him.

While the feast is going on, the medicine-man begins to beg his services; and if anything is not satisfactory, he proceeds to arrange a programme for his patient's care. If there is but one person sick in the camp, the exercises consist of singing, clapping, running, etc.; but if there are many sick, or an epidemic is raging in the settlement, dancing takes place, prayers are recited, the women and children joining in the weird and monotonous cadence. *Hoddentin* is sprinkled round the couch of the sick, and applied to his forehead, tongue, and, in the form of a cross, to his breast, the medicine-man placing this same powder on their own tongues to give strength and divination. The singing and dancing are often continued until the leaders are completely exhausted. All the while they number off in little groups, which can be understood only by themselves, and to possess the magic that is a part of their individual power.

The Apache materia medica consists mainly of a few roots, leaves, and vegetable matter, always with the application of *hoddentin*. *Hoddentin* is the pollen of the *tule*, a species of cat-tail rush, and is gathered without any special ceremony. A small bag of it is carried by every man, woman, and child, even the infant in its cradle having a small bag attached to it. No undertaking, compact, or agreement is entered into without the sacrifice of some of this powder; a small portion of it is blown into the air at dawn and darkness: it is blown toward the sun before the heat and brings rain for the crops. Every phase of the life of the Apaches is surrounded by superstition and subject to necromancy, over which the medicine-men preside. In addition to the medicine-men, there are physicians of more scientific learning, they specialize, one being consulted for rain, another to recover stolen property, another for sickness, etc.

In addition to this sacrificial powder, there are many other sacred ointments that are much relied on by the Apaches. The *izzle-kloth*, or sacred cord, which is worn by leaders as well as by medicine-men, the bull-roarer, the medicine-hat, and the medicine-shirt are all firmly believed to possess certain magical properties. Through this lack of understanding, the Apache Indians have been much maltreated, and a great deal of the trouble with Government representatives in the past has arisen through not taking into consideration their superstitions and methods of reasoning. It gives the sound of a sudden rush of wind, and exerts a compelling influence on the bringing of rain to the crops. The *izzle-kloth*, used by leaders and laity alike, is the most sacred emblem of the Apache peoples, so much so that it is kept from sight and protected from profane touch, both the *izzle-kloth* and the medicine-hat losing their efficacy when in any way handled by an unbeliever.

The Apaches worship and sacrifice to the sun, moon, and other planets, as well as to the lightning, wind, etc.; and hold various dances, such as spirit-, ghost-, sun-, and snake-dances, though the snake-dances are not so common or so regular as among the Hopis and other neighbouring tribes.

Regarding the success of the medicine-men, it is well with them in cases of sickness if they do not lose too many patients; but when unsuccessful, they generally explain it to others as being the fault of work over-weening or counteracting their own. The present writer has seen several incidents where the medicine-man managed to shift the responsibility to another, knowing that the relative of the deceased was dissatisfied with his work. While the body was still warm, the medicine-man drew from his medicine-bag a flake of flint, with which he made an incision in the side of the deceased, where he had already put his lips to the incision and begun to moan, and in a short time turned around and spat on the ground a mouthful of blood, and with it a small stone, which he claimed had been fired into the body by an old woman living not a short distance away. That night a party went to the old woman's camp and killed her.
as a witch. The individual interpretation given to each one’s beliefs and imaginings precludes any set form of worship; but in a general way they all centre round those symbolic influences and superstitions that debar progress and hold them effectually in the chain of their fathers’ beliefs. The characteristic Apache burial is in natural rock shelters in cliffs and crevices, either on the rocky sides of mountains or in the earth and talus at the base of cliffs. The mound itself is a small unpartitioned cairn and is also utilized. After the removal of the earth and talus, the body is laid on the resulting platform and covered with a frame of poles and brush, over which rocks are heaped, the mound being from 4 to 10 ft. broad, 6 to 15 ft. long, and 2½ to 4 ft. high. No coffin is used, but the corpse is clothed and well wrapped up. A shovel (and sometimes an axe, or, in the case of a woman, a carrying hoesal), is frequently left on the grave, of which no subsequent care is taken. Among the White Mountain Apaches true-burial occurs.

LITERATURE.—Hodge, Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico, 3d ed. (with excellently summarized history of the tribe), 335, 399, 394, 453, 492, 540, 562, 600, 634, 652, 705, 718, 753, 805, 463, 561, 634, 651, 705, 718, 753, 805, 895. Russell,'Myths and the Jicarilla Apache,' in Journal of American Folklore, 1898; Mooney, 'Jicarilla Genesis' in American Anthropologist, 1897; a number of 1st and 2nd Navajo and Apache, e.g. viii. (1890); Hrdlicka, 'Notes on the San Carlos Apaches,' 15., new series, viii. (1890); Cremony, Life among the Apaches, San Francisco, 1877; Beckman, 'Das Apache als einer athapaschischen Sprache erwiesen' in Af.A., 1890-1893; Pilling, Ethnologie der Athapaskaner, Washington, 1892; Antonio Apache. APADANA.—The name of one of the books in the Pali Canon. It contains 556 biographies of male members and 40 biographies of female members of the Buddhist Order in the time of the Buddha. The book is therefore a Buddhist Vita Sanctorum. It has not yet been edited, but copious extracts from the 40 biographies are given in Eduard Müller’s edition of the commentary on the Téti Gathá (PTS, 1895). One of those extracts (p. 155) mentions the Kathá Vatthu, and apparently refers to the book so named, which was composed by Tissa about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. If this be so, the Apadana must be one of the very latest books in the Canon. Other considerations point to a similar conclusion. Thus the number of verses in this section of the Buddha’s life is 105, whereas in the Digha Nikáya it is 47, and in the Jathakas, 105. The other Apadanas are in the Digha, 122, whilst the Jathakas, 167; they are therefore more the later. The Apadana is given in the Digha Nikáya as six volumes; in later books, such as the Buddha Vaina, it has increased to 24. But the Apadana (see Ed. Müller’s article, ‘Les Apadanas du Sud’ in The Proceedings of the Oriental Congress at Geneva, 1894, p. 167) mentions eleven more, bringing the number up to thirty-five. It is very probable that the different legends contained in this collection are of different dates, but the above facts tend to show that they were brought together as we now have them after the date of the composition of most of the other books in the Canon.

There was a commentary on the Apadana called the Visuddha-jana-vilása. In two passages of the Gandhá Vansa (JPTS, 1880), pp. 59, 69, the authorship of this commentary is ascribed to Buddhaghosha.

According to the Súmágalá Vilaśi, p. 15 (cf. p. 23), the repeaters of the Digha maintained that the Apadana had been included in the Abhidhamma Pitaka, while the repeaters of the Majjhima said it was included in the Angikas. As regards the latter, Stotra, it is clear that the latter is another reason for placing the work at a comparatively late date. The word Apadana means ‘pure action,’ ‘heroic action’ or ‘action with the hero who vanquishes one of the life of his or her distinguished position among the early Buddhists. There then follows the account of his or her life now. An Apadana therefore, like a Játaka, has both a ‘story of the past’ of the ‘story of the life’ of the Buddha. It differs from a Játaka in that the latter refers always to the past life of a Buddha, whereas an Apadana deals usually, not always, with that of an Arhat (q.v.). When the Buddhists, in the first century of our era, began to write in Sanskrit, these stories lost none of their popularity. The name was Sanskritized into Avadana; and several collections of Avadanas are extant in Sanskrit, or in Tibetan or Chinese translations. Of these the best known are the Avadana-Sataka, or ‘The Century of Avadanas,’ edited (in part only as yet) by J. S. Speyer, and translated by Leon Feer; and the Dīraṇavāda, edited by Cowell and Neill, not yet translated. As a general rule, these later books do not reproduce the stories in the older Apadana. They write new ones, more in accordance, in spirit and implication, with the later, the more ‘purified’ or ascetic, and then in these Avadanas are on the lives of Arhats. But the main subject of the longest of all the Avadana books, the Mahá-vástu-avadana, is a series of the previous lives of the Buddha, though it also includes a few of the of the world. LITERATURE.—H. Oldenberg, Catalogue of Pali MSS in the India Office Library (JPTS, 1886, p. 61); V. Faubold, The Manuscrs MSS in the India Office Library (JPTS, 1886, p. 27); Ed. Müller-Hess, Les Avadins du Sud (Extrait des Actes du 30e Congrès des Orientalistes, Leyden, 1895); Swarnagàlal Vilaśi, ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter (JPTS, 1890), vol. i. pp. 15, 23; Avadana-sataka, a Century of edifying Tales, trans. J. S. Speyer, 2 vols., parts 1-2, 1894; translated by Léon Feer in the Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris, 1911; Dīraṇavāda, ed. Cowell and Neil (Cambridge University Press, 1886); Mahávastu, ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1875-1878; T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

APATHY.—The Greek doctrine of apathy (ἀπάθεια) is usually regarded as a leading characteristic of the Stoic School, but it undoubtedly belongs to an earlier date. This is the view of the anonymous commentator on Aristotle’s Ethics (Comment. in Aristot. gr. xx, p. 125, 3: ἀφάτος ἄτη ὀργή ἔτσι ἀντὶ τῶν φύσεων τῆς ἡ δὲ ἡ πάθεια). There are certainly marked tendencies towards it in the Cyne School, with its complete renunciation of all pleasure and its glorification of work. If it is the case that Aristotle’s Nic. Eth. ii. 1, 1094, 24 ('ὅπως ἀπάθεια ἡ ἐπιτρεπόμενη ταῖς ἀθλητικές τιμέσις') and similar sayings in the Cyne, the latter must already have made use of the expression apathia. In any case, it had influenced Stílpo the Megarian, who found happiness in the continuance of the same natural process, or as it seems to have used the word ἀμόρφος (Alex. de Anim. 150, 34, Bruns). Zeno, the founder of the Stoas, however, was influenced by the Megarian as well as by the Cyne philosophy.

On the other hand, Democritus, teachers described ἀθυμία, the human happiness consisting in ἐνεργεία τῆς ὀργῆς (Prog. 191, Diels), in the same way as apathy is described later. For apathy is said to have used ἀμόρφος (Prog. 191, Diels), and he himself is said to have held this opinion among the later Stoics. His doctrine, through the medium of Anaxarchus of Abdera (Diog. Laert. ix. 69), survived as a doctrine in Stoic philosophy, and probably even under this name (Cic. Acad. ii. 130; Plut. de Prof. in Vitr. ii, p. 82 f.). His disciple Timon praises his constant cheerfulness (ὑπερφίερα, Prog. 63, Diels), and fire his ideas in this respect; most probably under this name (Cic. Acad. ii. 130; Plut. de Prof. in Vitr. ii, p. 82 f.). His disciple Timon praises his constant cheerfulness (ὑπερφίερα, Prog. 63, Diels), and he himself in this respect; most probably under this name (Cic. Acad. ii. 130;
be disturbed thereby. It is true that Epicurus did not advocate the extermination of the emotions (epimeleia), but only the control of them, so as to preserve tranquility of mind of the wise man in such colours that he approaches the Stoic standpoint.

Cf. the statement from the third epistle (Epicurus, ed. Usener, p. 627): ἐν τοίς ἡμεραῖς τῶν πάντων ἀπειλώντως, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ ἀλώνιον ὄντος πάσης ἡμέρας τοῖς ἐκείνης ἡμέρας, λέοντας πάντων ἀπειλήματος χειρὶς αὐτοὶ ἔσχον. Also Frag. 661; ἄπαθεν διαφθορασθεὶς πάντων ἀπειλήματος καὶ ἐκείνης ἡμέρας ἄφαντος ἄλωνιον τὸν χρόνον ἔσχον. And the well-known statement (Cic. Tuscul. ii. 17): "In Philosophius tauro eri, diciat, 'quam sine est, quam hoc non curro.'"

Such ideas are in accordance with the general feeling of the Hellenistic period, which was quite willing to recognize the happiness of the individual in a kind of questism.

Entire freedom from the emotions was now demanded of the Stoic sage (Frag. 227, Arnim) by Zeno, who, however, made to the dead human intellect the concession that even the sage, although unaware of the emotions themselves, is nevertheless conscious of a shadow of them (Frag. 215). This fixed idea was the specially exalted by his pupil Dionysius in his separate treatise περὶ ἀπαθείας (Diog. Laert. vii. 166), but more especially by Clesippus (e.g. in peri diakoin. aphasiai, and ἀπαθείας, pp. on this subject are collected in Arnim, Stoics. vol. ii. Fragm. iii. 443-455. The emotions belong to the irrational and immoderate (ἀκο-European) class of impulses (ἀοιδήματα), which bring unrest into the mind of man. They arise from false judgments on the worth of things, or rather from the thoughtless assent (ἀχειπλάτας) to such judgments (Dyroff, Ethik der alten Stoas, p. 152ff; Epict. iii. 19. 3: διὸ δὲ ἀλλοτρίως ἐξ ἀξιωματικῆς ἀφελώματος ἐποίησα). The philosopher, as the physician of the soul, has to combat the passions, the chief of which are: desire, fear, pleasure, and grief,—pity is also included in them,—by demonstrating the falseness of the judgment and cultivating the virtues of moderation and courage. As virtue is perfected reason (λόγος), the irrational impulses are incompatible with it, and thus in the soul of the wise man there is left no trace of passion (Frag. 447); the ὧναι are completely blended with the λόγος; the wise man is ἀπαθής, and therein consists his happiness (Diog. Laert. vii. 117; Cic. Tuscul. iv. 37).

It was inevitable that against this extreme doctrine the Stoic position should arise. Plato had already deliberately opposed apathy (cf. Phelebus, pp. 21 D, 60 E, 63 B: ἀλλὰ ἀλλοτρίως ἀλώνιον καὶ καθαρὰς ἔτεκε, εἴρητον ἄλογα ἡμῖν ρήματα, καὶ πρὸς πάθεις τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀλώνιων καὶ τοῦ σωφρότου τοῦ διηγομένου), and his disciples had, therefore, taken upon their position almost on the aristotle of the STOIC and the Peripatetics, who strove after ἀποδοχή ἀπὸ τῶν πάθεων (Neom. Eth. ii. 1108 B, 30; the later writers call it ἀρωτοκράτεια), and could not approve of apathy. No more could Epicurus, whose ἀφδος was actually regarded by the Stoics as one of the chief passions (Stoicns, ii. 90. 16). Carnesius summed up this contradiction in his successful attack on the Stoic speculations. He started from the fact that man is not only soul, but body also; that, consequently, certain bodily impulses are inevitable, among which belong the first place of the ὧναι; but the soul, so far as it remains pure, can be ἀρωτοκράτεια, but the body; he admitted, besides, ἀρωτοκράτεια μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἀλώνιοι τοῖς ἀπαθήσιμοι τοῖς ἀλώνιοι τοῖς ἀφδοις. Galen, de Cael., p. 411 f; Galen, de Cael. Phys. II. Aesch. p. 408 M. He thus abandoned the old Stoic attitude on principle, although in some single statements he approached very near it (e.g. Cic. Tuscul. ii. 61). The later philosophers are strongly influenced by this more moderate attitude. Epicurus is the only one who returns to the old rigorism; his wise man must again be ἀφδος and ἀρωτοκράτεια, ὄν ὀρθώς καὶ ἐκλειτομένος, and he fought against the Stoic against ἀρωτοκράτεια (I. 175; cf. Bonhöffer, Ἐθικ τῆς Ἐπικουρίας, p. 40; this ethic also opposes it in one of his writings (Ethik. 85), but otherwise he assumes Posidonius' point of view. This view occasionally persists in the later philosophy of the Neo-Platonists, with its withdrawal from this world and its mortification of the flesh, is decidedly in its favour. Thus Philo resolutely demands apathy (Zeller, v. 4, p. 449), and so also of Porphyry it appears as the highest stage of virtue, while metriopathy receives a lower place (op. cit. p. 717).


W. KROLL.

APHRODISIA ('Ἀφροδίσια').—The general name of festivals in honour of Aphrodite. The cult of Aphrodite may be regarded as having been universal in one form or another in the Mediterranean lands. In all the great centres of Hellenic life it occupied an important place, prevailing from Naukratis in Egypt to Phanagoria in the Black Sea, and from the Troad to Italy and Sicily (see the long list, with the evidence, in Poully-Wissowa, art. 'Aphrodite'). The Ægean islands were among its most famous centres, notably Cythera, Crete, and Cyprus. There is, however, no real ground for regarding the cult, in its later specialized form as the cult of a goddess of physical beauty, as having been aboriginal in Greek lands. Probably Aphrodite was originally an Oriental nature-divinity, and she retained many Oriental traits in her local cult as a specialized divinity in Greece. The more refined cult of the goddess as the patroness of married life is probably a genuinely Hellenic development, for this aspect of her is either altogether lacking or at least not prominent in the Eastern forms. Contrary to a very popular, but erroneous conception, originating in Plato's well-known distinction between Ourania Aphrodite who personifies the intellectual love of the soul, and Ἀφροδίτη, the Pandemos who personifies the sensual love of the body (Plat. Symposium. 180 D), it is precisely this title of Ὀραςιά, 'Heavenly,' that is the clearest sign of her Eastern origin; the Platonic distinction was not recognized in the State religion, and the moral and spiritual meaning of the title is of late growth (Farnell, op. cit. 629 ff., 639 ff.). In the same way, that aspect of Aphrodite under which she was worshipped at Athens and elsewhere as Pandemos, 'Guardian of the body politic,' was not an independent Hellenic development, but a survival and development of an Oriental conception (Farnell, p. 663).

With regard to the nature of the cult, ethically considered, it is to be observed that much of the modern conception is based upon a radically false notion, and the unguarded application to Hellenic practice of ill-understood Oriental ideas. As a 'deity attached to the sphere of human passion' (J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 390) she is deified in the Homeric Hymn.

1 For an answer to this question, see the excellent study of Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, Oxford, 1907, ii. 619 ff.
Until the decline of Greek civilization, the cult of Aphrodite, so far as we know it from our literary or monumental sources, was indistinguishable in point of purity and austerity from that of Zeus or Athene, and was in this respect, in fact, on a higher plane. The same might have been said of the worship of Isis; but such would not be the case in the case of Concern, for example, were in some cases imposed upon her priestesses (Paus. ii. 10. 4). It was at Corinth alone in Greece, and there in connexion with the worship of the _'Heavenly'_ Aphrodite, that the practices and observances found establishment and grew up around the ritual of worship. The fact is that a careful distinction must be drawn between Greek religion and ritual, which is upon the whole pure, and the mythological stories, which are often the reverse. We are, moreover, conveyed to us largely through the impure medium of degenerate poetry. De- generacy did indeed exhibit itself in the cultus, as in other domains of Greek life and practice—a symptom of the loosening of the moral bonds in the Hellenic period,—and later in the erection of altars and temples, and the establishment of festivals under the name of Aphrodite to the minor deities of Alexander and others (Athenaeus, 233, 559). Probably the festival of Paphos was the most celebrated of those held in honour of the goddess; and though in later years much of that splendour had passed, it continued to be celebrated, although on a smaller scale, at Paphos itself, and in Cyprus. The title Λυτηρος borne by the high priest at Paphos would probably indicate his conduct of the vast procession. Sacrifices of blood were not offered, though offerings of a profane nature were of common occurrence. With regard to the origin of the Aphrodite cultus in general, and of the festival of the Feast of Wantonness (_toperthia_), at which women dressed as men, and men as women, the men even wearing veils (Plut. de Virt. Mul. 243 E), the festival was popularly explained as commemorative of the mysterious birth of the deity. However, the participation of the poetess Telesilla in 510 B.C.; but such interchange of garments as a religious rite is not uncommon elsewhere (cf. Macrob. Sat. ii. 8; and references in Farnell, p. 751) suggests that the story of Telesilla is merely etiological (see Frazer on Paus. ii. 20. 8; Nilsson, Griechische Fest. p. 371).

Most Oriental in character of all the Greek cities was Corinth. Earliest references date Arcoecrinus as the holy hill of Aphrodite (_Frgr. in Strabo, 379: ἕως τεράκλιστων προσκυνών Ἀφροδίτης, ἐμέρο δησιον, πένα Ἀφροδίτης; cf. Alciph. i. 60). The most ancient Hellenic of the elements of the Aphrodite cult was the practice of religious prostitution (Strabo, 378), alluded to by Pindar when he celebrates the _'hositable young women, the ministers of Persuasion in rich Corinth.'_ The practice of religious prostitution flourished at Corinth in two forms, one towards Ourania Aphrodite (Pind. _Frgr._ 87, ed. Boeckh.), at Corinth, apparently alone in Greece, these _heterai_ took part in the State ritual; for when


over public prayer were addressed to Aphrodite on matters of moment, as large a number as possible of the _heterai_ were taken to aid in the ceremony; and individuals privately often vouched for a certain number of these women to the goddess in the person of their _heterai_. Such worship, in general could be of Athenian or foreign origin. We hear of them as putting up public petitions on behalf of the Greek cause in the Persian Wars (Athen. 573 C). Naturally, therefore, the _heterai_ took a conspicuous part in the festivals of Aphrodite, one day being given up to them, and another to the respectable women. Doubtless much of Eastern licence was seen on these festival days at Corinth; the city was notoriously dangerous in this respect to visitors (cf. Strabo, 378: ὅ παντα ἄνδροι ἐστίν καὶ θρωπόν ἐστίν ἡ πλοῖος).

At Argos the chief festival of Aphrodite was called Hysteria (ἱστέρηα), because swine were sacrificed to her—probably an indication of the cult of Aphrodite in conjunction with Adonis, for ordinarily the Greeks, as we learn from Aristophanes (Ach. 793), did not sacrifice swine to Aphrodite. Probably, wherever the pig was sacrificed to Aphrodite, it was the _hystera_. The pig is frequently mentioned in this connection (see Frazer's note in Paus. ii. 10. 5; Farnell, op. cit. p. 756). Connected with the same form of the cultus was the strange haphazard festival of the _'Adonis'_ which offered the goddess to be worshipped in the day of the Feast of Wantonness (_toperthia_), at which women dressed as men, and men as women, the men even wearing veils (Plut. de Virt. Mul. 245 E).

In _'Agina_ the festival of Aphrodite seems to have been combined with one to Poseidon (Plut. _Quint. Gr. 44_), the leisurely character of the festival being that of the Feast of Wantonness (above) and that of the _'Adonis'_ festival (Strabo, 378). In Cynoclades, of the two festivals of Aphrodite, _'Adonis'_ and _'Pisidaios'_ were part of the festival (Dion. Hal. _Ant. Rom._ i. 50).

Some details connected with the festival of Aphrodite as Pandemos are furnished by an inscription found at Athens, in which the Senate recommends to the Assembly that the police officials (_'Aphrodite_ ἀναγόμενοι) on the occasion of the public procession (_πορευτὴς_) in honour of the goddess, prepare for the cleansing of the temple _a_ dove, cleanse and whitewash the altar, wash the images, etc. (Dittenberger, _Sylloge_, 556 = BCH, 1889, p. 162; Nilsson, p. 354).

Finally should be noticed a usage of the word _'Aphrodite_ in a more general sense of _'festival gathering,'_ in the 5th century, which is often _Aphrodite_ and _'Aphrodite_ συνεκαλυπτικον_ in Xen. _Hell._ v. 4, 4: ἐν ἀφροδίσια ἀγόμενοι ἐν ἐξίσου τῆς ἀρχής τοῦ Πολιτείας τῶν Κρητῶν. Cf. _Plut. Cim. et Nic. comp._ i. 7: ἄφρι αὐτοί Ἀφροδίτης τῶν σωμάτων ἐκ τῆς ἔργων τῆς Ἀθηνούς. _Athens_, 4, p. 129 B, Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ βασιλεύς διότι τὸ Ἀφροδίτιον _τριτονυσίων_. Such celebrations might naturally be annual; cf. Alciph. _Ep._ 2. 1, τὸ Ἀφροδίτιον ποιῶ ταῦτα κατ' ἐκεῖνον. W. J. WOODHOUSE.

**APHRODITE.—**See preceding art. and Greek Religion.

**APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, APOCARPANY—**See BIBLE.
APOLLINARISM.—Apollinaris, the younger, of Laodicea († c. 390), was the founder of a heresy which forms the connecting link between Arianism in the 4th and Nestorianism and Monophysitism in the 5th century.

1. Life of Apollinaris.—Of the events of his life not very much is known. His father, who was also named Apollinaris, was a presbyter who converted to Arianism with Theodotus (Berytus) and then went on to Laodicea (Latidige) in Syria. Here, he had a son, Apollinaris, the younger, the future heretic (Socrates, HE ii. 46). Socrates says that the father was "joined in the closest bond of friendship" with a Sophist named Flavian, who was a bishop of Laodicea, fortiﬁed him this acquaintance, as being dangerous to his faith. Moreover, Socrates or, perhaps, his father, communicated Apollinaris, together with his son, either because they would not give up their intimacy with Epiphanius, or because they kept the faith of Nicea and Athanasius, whereas the bishop was a semi-Arian (ib.).

Apollinaris, who had been presbyter at Laodicea, tried to supply his fellow-Christians with a substitute for the Greek classics which Julian had forbidden them to teach. He appears to have arranged nearly the whole Bible in the form of poems of various metres. "He expanded the books known to his vernacular and edited the other historical books of the Old Testament, partly as elegaic poems, partly as tragedies with different metres" (Socr. iii. 16). The son, having learned this art from his father, wrote the "Sophisms" as Platonic dialogues (ib.). But there is some confusion between the father and son about the paraphrases of the Bible: Socrates attributes all to the son (Sozomen, HE v. 18).

Apollinaris the younger must have been born not very long after his father's death (ib., vi. 2). Apollinaris is described as a "venerable old man" (Herm. ii. ii. 2), and if he was excommunicated together with his father by Theodoret (ib. vi. 2), he must have been more than a child before that bishop died (335). Socrates says that he was ordained Reader (αρσινωρος) and became a teacher of rhetoric in the Logicians' school. All his contemporaries speak of his great learning. After his separation from the Orthodox Fathers, they still write of him with much more respect than they usually give to a heretic, even with a certain affection. He was "learned in science" (Socr. iii. 16); "skilled in all knowledge and learning; had many books on the manifold erudition of accomplishments" (Socr. v. 18). Epiphanius says that he himself, as well as St. Athanasius and all the "Catholics," loved the "illustrious and venerable" Apollinaris, and believed that when they first heard of his heresy they could not believe that so great a man had fallen into such an error (Herm. ii. ii. 2).

In this first period, before he had proclaimed his heresy when he was still known only as a scholar, a poet, and a zealous defender of the faith of Nicea, he came into close relations with a number of Fathers. In 346, when St. Athanasius was on his way back to Alexandria after one of his numerous exiles, he passed through Laodicea in Syria, and there became "a companion and particular friend" of Apollinaris (Soz. HE vi. 25). St. Athanasius was not brought from Apollinaris and from many other teachers, and he says that he had never embraced his heretical doctrine but had been instructed by his father (ib. viii. 12). In this first period, before he had proclaimed his heresy, he is described as having had close relations with a number of Fathers. In 346, when St. Athanasius was on his way back to Alexandria after one of his numerous exiles, he passed through Laodicea in Syria, and there became "a companion and particular friend" of Apollinaris (Soz. HE vi. 25). St. Athanasius was not brought from Apollinaris and from many other teachers, and he says that he had never embraced his heretical doctrine but had been instructed by his father (ib. viii. 12). In the other hand, St. Athanasius speaks of certain monks who had been sent to Alexandria by "Apollinaris the bishop" (Theodoret, HE ii. 31). Thus, Apollinaris was not only a "heretical" presbyter (de Scotti, Act. iv., PG 23xxii. 1221) and Thomas doubted whether he had been his bishop (ib. 23xxii. viii. 13). On the other hand, St. Athanasius speaks of certain monks who had been sent to Alexandria by "Apollinaris the bishop" (Theodoret, HE ii. 31). Thus, Apollinaris was not only a "Presbyter" (de Scotti, Act. iv., PG 23xxii. 1221) and Thomas doubted whether he had been his bishop (ib. 23xxii. viii. 13). On the other hand, St. Athanasius speaks of certain monks who had been sent to Alexandria by "Apollinaris the bishop" (Theodoret, HE ii. 31). Thus, Apollinaris was not only a "heretical" presbyter (de Scotti, Act. iv., PG 23xxii. 1221) and Thomas doubted whether he had been his bishop (ib. 23xxii. viii. 13).

2. The Apollinarist heresy.—Apollinaris began as a zealous defender of Homoousianism against the Arians. Sooner or later the question was bound to arise: How could the Logos be joined to a human nature, which, in the 4th century, was thought to be a heresy? Apollinaris, died, leaving behind him an organized Apollinarist Church, about the year 360 (Jerome, de Vitr. Ill. 146). He is certain that God Himself became man in Christ. He is also certain that the whole Divine nature cannot be joined to the whole nature of a man. He maintains this by the same arguments as were already used by Nicea. Where there is a perfect man, there is sin (ib.); but Christ could not become sinful. And He would be neither really God nor really man, but a man-God (ἀνθρωπο-θεός), a mixture of two incompatible species, like the Minotaur, the centaur, dragons, and other mythological abstractions (Greg. Nyss. Antir. 49). He goes on to argue that he would certainly not be a man, for all men consist essentially of three parts, body, soul and spirit, whereas He would have four parts, adding to these His Divinity. In short, a person, being one, cannot be combined of two (ib.). He finds the solution of the difficulty in the application of a general principle of philosophy. The Neo-Platonic school taught that human nature is the composition of these three elements—a body, a soul that actuates and reforms the body (to use the later medieval term), thus making us living beings, and the mind, or spirit, that makes us reasonable beings, which spirit is the special characteristic of man.

Apollinaris thinks that the doctrine of the three elements of man, body, soul, and spirit (σώμα, ψυχή, πνεῦμα or νοῦς), is confirmed by Scripture. He quotes the text: 'Bless the Lord, O ye spirits and souls of all [animal] (Psalm 104:4)' (ib.); "and he disturbed spiritual [ψυχαί] from the spiritual (πνευμάτως) man (1 Co 2:9, 15)."
Antir. 49. Of these three elements the body and the soul make up the 'natural' (ψυχικός) being (the machine, Plato would have said), which is ruled and guided by the mind. This principle in man is changeable, fallible, sinful. It cannot be so in Christ. Therefore in Christ the Divinity, the Logos, takes the place of a human mind. He is a natural man (i.e. he is a person) and not solely a Logos. He, too, like us, consists of three parts only, and he is therefore really a man and not an impossible being of four parts. Only one part, the most important, is not human, but any rate the eventual and fully developed form of Apollinarism. It has been suggested (Lietzmann), and some answers of his opponents seem to suppose, that its author did not at first trouble about a subtle distinction between soul and spirit, and that the Logos instead of a human soul was joined to Christ's body. However, the stress of controversy soon made him adopt the Neo-Phatonic theory as the only one (like 49), to be real, and he himself then made so much of it that all through the Middle Ages the psychology of the three elements was associated with one name only, that of Apollinaris. He thinks that he has found texts to prove his explanation, and the hypothesis of the absence of a human soul, or, later, of a spirit in Christ. St. Paul, for instance, says that the first Adam was made a living soul, the second a life-giving (therefore Divine, not human) spirit; the first was carnal (ψυχικός), the second spiritual (αυτοκρατορικός, 1 Co 15:42; Antir. 11–12). The Incarnation is described as the assumption by the Logos, not of a whole man but of a physical body only. It is the 'mystery that appeared in the flesh' (1 Ti 3:16; Antir. 2), the Word was made, not man, but flesh (Jn 1:14; Antir. 16, etc.). Christ assumed the form of a servant (i.e. the body), and was found in the (outward) habit of a man (Ph 2:7; Antir. 20, 21).

So in this way the Logos and the man Jesus are really one being. Christ was not two separate persons, but Divinity and manhood joined inseparably in one person. And we adore this person without making distinctions, because in Him even the human nature is actuated, and so made Divine, by the Logos that guides it.

The contemporary orthodox Fathers who reject this theory are not much concerned about the truth or falsehood of the statement that human nature consists of three elements. That question was raised again much later by the medieval schoolmen, and Apollinarist became a favourite name of abuse given by Thomists to the Scotists who denied that the reasonable soul is the form (forma substantialis) of the body. But the first opponents of Apollinarism are offended chiefly by this assertion that Christ lacked an element of complete human nature. They quote against it the texts in which He is said to be like us in everything except in sin (He 4:15), to be real and completely man (Jn 1:14; Antir. 45), and to have not only a soul but also a spirit (Lk 20:34; Antir. 17, Jn 11:43; Athan. contra Apoll. i. 15, Jn 19th, ii. 16). They also undertake to refute Apollinaris' arguments. If the quotation 1 Co 15:38 proved anything in this question, it would follow that Adam had no spirit at all (Antir. 12), and that the word 'flesh' in Jn 1:14, as elsewhere, stands for the whole human nature (Antir. 27). They insist on the fact, which Apollinaris himself would not admit, namely, that if the Logos had become one of the elements of Christ's human nature, the Logos too would have stood in the hymn Ps. xcvi. (Antir. 3).

3. The Apollinarist sect. In spite of the opposition of a long list of Fathers (Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregorys, and many others), Apollinarism outlived its author for many years. He had set up a hierarchy all over Syria, and his sect existed and carried on his teaching till it seems to have been gradually absorbed by the far more important Monophysite movement. Vitalis was Apollinarist Bishop of Antioch. We hear of one Timothy of Beirut, who wrote a history of the Church, and who 'had no other object in so great a work but to commend Apollinaris, insomuch as from him and to him an endless number of letters were written and written back' (Leontius Byz. c. Nestor. et Eutych. iii. 40, PG lxxxvi. who proceeds to point out that not only was it possible to measure the size of his correspondence). A certain Valentinus wrote a defence of Apollinarism, called 'Against those who accuse us of saying that the body is of the same substance as God (ote. Fere monophysitario tomà), among the works of Leontius Byz. PG lxxxvi. ii. 1947–1976; some passages from both Timothy and Valentinus are quoted in this treatise). It seems that the unknown interpolator of St. Ignatius' letters in Syrian in the beginning of the 5th cent.) was an Apollinarist. He twice (Philipp. v. 2 and Philad. vi. 6) expressly denies that Christ had a human mind.

Although the movement gradually disappears as its place is taken by Syrian Monophysism, one still occasionally hears of Apollinarism in the ever-growing list of heresies; and as late as 691 the Quinisext Synod in its first canon does not forget to condemn 'Apollinaris, leader of wickedness, who impiously declared that the Lord did not assume a body endowed with both soul and mind' (Mansi, Gesta, 1796–1798, xi. 952).

4. Writings of Apollinaris—There is the most complete agreement among his contemporaries that Apollinaris was a learned as well as a very prolific writer. St. Jerome says that he had written 'countless volumes about Holy Scripture,' and that his thirty books against Porphyrius were greatly esteemed (de Vir. Ill. 104). Philostorgius tells us that his arguments against Porphyrius were superior to those of Basilians (HE viii. 14). St. Basil says that 'as he had great facility in writing on any subject, he filled the world with his books' (Ep. cclxiii. 4). Sozomen gives a long list of his poems, and mentions a work 'Concerning the recovery of the corrupted Logos' and the Greek philosophers, in which 'he shewed their errors concerning God without using texts from Scripture' (HE v. 18). We hear also of a refutation of Eunomius (de Vir. Ill. 120) Philost. HE viii. 12) and of a book against Marcellus of Ancyra (de Vir. Ill. 86). Epiphanius, too, writes with great appreciation of his learning and talents (Harr. iii. ii. 24).

Of these works scarcely anything is left. Of the poetic versions of the Bible written either by him or by his father, one volume remains, the Paraphrases of the Paulins (PG xxvii. 1313–1533; it includes the 151st Psalm). It cannot be described as a success. A version of the OT in hexameters, into which the author has crowded every possible reminiscence, allusion, and idiom from the pagan classics, must obviously lose all the feeling and poetry of the original texts and coming more than a very feeble imitation of the real classics. So it is not wonderful that after Julian's death, as soon as Christians were allowed to return to the real thing, Apollinarist authorities were soon forgotten. It is certain that at the same time these Biblical poems had 'disappeared as completely as if they had never been written' (HE vii. 16).

There is, however, a constant tradition that after the death of Apollinaris his followers published their master's works under the names of
APOLLO—APOLLONIA

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Adrian Fortescue.
and Greek Religion.

APOLLO.— See next art.

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the Incarnation of the Word of God (llepl ttjs
ffapKwa-euii tov deov \6yov, Draseke, pp. 341-343) ;
pseudo-Julius of Rome's Letters to Dionysius of

348-351), and, verjr probably at
(ib.
the
tract,
least,
Of the union in Christ of the body
to the Divinity (Ilepi ttjs iv XpiaT(2 ev6T7]T0$ tov

Alexandria

tV QeoTifa, ib. 343-347), also under
of Julius.
Lastly, there are fragments

a-wjuaros Trpos

Greek Catenae
Munich,
(cf.
him
1897, pp. 206, 211) and in the quotations from
made by his adversaries (Athanasius, Gregory Naz.
and Gregory Nyss.). Draseke (Apoll. v. Laod.)
of
proposes to attribute to him a large number

of Apollinaris' -writings in various

Krumbacher,

Byzant.

Litteratur,

other writings, all pseudo-Justin, including the
Cohortatio ad gent es, which he thinks to be Apolthe third and
linaris' book
Concerning Truth
fourth books of St. Basil against Eunomius (which.
would then be his work against Eunomius mentioned by Jerome and Philostorgius) the first three
dialogues of Theodoret of Cyrrhus on the Trinity
some sermons of Gregory Thaumaturgus pseudoAthanasius' Dialogues on the Holy Trinity ; as well
as almost any more or less contemporary anonymous
works, including even the poem Christ Suffering
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which
(XpiJTbs Trdax^", cf. JPTh, 1884, pp. 657-704),
is really a mystery play of the 11th or 12th cent.
(Krumbacher, Byzant. Litt. pp. 746-749). These
identifications are now generally considered to
have been premature and mistaken (Bardenhewer,
Fatrologie, 1894, pp. 224-225; Kruger in PEE^
art.
Laod. suggests a more reasonable list.
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Liter ATDRE.— The

sources for a knowledge of Apollinaris' life and ideas are, after the fragments of his own works,
those of his earliest opponents. These are Athanasius (but
there is some doubt about the authorship), Two books concerning the Incarnation of our Lord Jemis Christy against Apollinaris (Ilepl crapKuj<reuii toO Kvpt'ov r)fi.iov 'Itjctov Xpi.<rTOv Kara
'AnoWivapCov, PG xxri. 1091-1165); Gregfory of Nyssa,
A Denier of the things said by Apollinaris ('AvripprirLKo^ wpos
Ta ToO 'ATroAAivapiou, PG xlv. 1123-1269) and his Letter to
Theophihts of Alexandria {ib. 1269-1277). Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote a work against Apollinaris, of which fragments
remain {PG Ix. 993-1004). All these contain quotations from
his own works.
Gregory of Nazianzus speaks of him and of
his heresy in several letters (ci. and cii., to Cledoniiis, PG
xxxvii. 176-201, and ccii., to Nectarius of Constantinople, ib.
St. Basil's letters (PG xxxii.) also contain many
329-333).
references, and Leontius of Byzantium in the beginning of
the 7th cent, (or another writer of that time the authorship
is doubtful) Nvrote the treatise, Agai7ist the Frauds of the Apolfirst

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linarists

(PG

C. P. Caspari,^Zt« undneue Quellen,
etc. (Christiania, 1879, pp. 65-146)
A. Ludwich, Apolliaarii
metaphrasis psalmorum, 1-111 (Konigsberg, 1880) J. Draseke,
ApoUinarios von Laodicea, sein Leben und seine Schriften,

MODERK LITERATURE:

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but festivals in honour of Apollo were, as a
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knoAvn by special appellations.
ApoUonia,'
as the actual title of such festivals, seems, in fact,
to be confined to the following instances
(1) At
Delos, where the inscriptions speak of to. AijXta Kal
This was
'A-rroWujvLa, and often 'AiroWiiivia alone.*
probably a double name for a complex festival, the
famous Delian festival spoken of by Thucydides,
DisiA),

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it

had already declared that the little treatise called
The Partial Faith (rj Kara fiipos iria-Tis) among the
works of Gregory Thaumaturgus (the text is pubsee below) was
lished by Driiseke and Lietzmann
this is now admitted by
written by Apollinaris
acknowevery one. Other works also commonly
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was only by rare exception that her
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festivals bore a special name (see art. Aphro-

of Apollinaris, having falsely
the names of holy Fathers.'

them with
So one of the chief problems concerning Apollinaris has always been the discovery of any of his
under other names.
writings which may be hidden
In the case of some such works the matter may be
said to be

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Laod.: Dialoge iiber
Kirchengesch., 1889, 22-61); 'Apoll.
die h. Dreieinigkeit (SK, 1890, 137-171) G. ' Voisin, L'ApolH. Lietzmann, Apollinaris von
linarisme (Louvain, 1901)
Laodicea und seine Schule,' TU i. (Tubingen, 1904, part ii. is
not yet [1908] published) ; J. (F. Bethune-Baker, Introd. to
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Apollinarii Laod.

qiice supersunt dogmatica (LeipGebhardt and Harnack's Texte u. Untersuchungen)
wider Eunomios (Ztschr. fiir
Schrift
Des Apoll. V. Laod.

Appendix

Fathers. Leontius of Byzantium (or
whoever the real author of the treatise Against
the Frauds of the ApoUinarists was) begins his
Some of the followers of Apolwork by saying
to conlinaris, or Eutyches, or Dioscor, in order
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ascribed
firm their heresy,
(iwiypa\(/ev) certain
works of Apollinaris to Gregory Thaumaturgus,
or Athanasius, or Julius, in order to deceive the
and the whole of this little work is a
simple
author thinks to be
compilation of texts which the
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title
Its
is,
in
Against those who
cases

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104 (see Farnell, Cults, iv. 290).
(2) At Myndus
(Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum grcecarurn^,

iii.

Miletus (ib. 627). (4) At Epidaurus
At Hierapolis in Asia Minor (Gr.
Mus. 615 see Nilsson, Griechische
The use of the word 'AiroWuvia.
Feste, p. 179 n.).
festival of Apollo in Rome
of
the
Dio
Cass,
by
does not fall to be considered here.t
Apart from the above examples, festivals in
honour of Apollo bore special names, all of which
seem to have had originally no connexion with
liim, but to have reference to primitive, and perwhich
haps to some extent pre-Hellenic, usages
with
relation
into
were
later
Apollo,
brought
only
who came into Hellas with the Hellenic tribes
from the North (cf. J. E. Harrison, Proleg. to Gr.
The cult and
Religion, p. 30 Farnell, op. cit. 99 K. ).
ritual of Apollo is throughout a blend of primitive
and advanced ideas and practice
being certainly
the brightest creation of polytheism, he is also the

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into the highest social and intellectual life' (FarIt is not intended here to go
nell, op. cit. 98).
into the details of the various festivals of Apollo,
but to point out the features of significance.
Festivals in honour of Apollo belonged to the
none is
season
spring, summer, or autumn
known to have fallen actually in the winter
Certain days of the month were sacred to
season.
him— the first, seventh, fourteenth, and twentieth
which was reespecially sacred was the seventh,
date most of
that
on
and
his
as
birthday,
garded
;

;

his great festivals began. J The Epiphany, or the
certain
day of Apollo's coming, was celebrated by

States, usually in the spring, or early summer, e.g.
in the Daphnephoria, a spring-festival in Bceotia
celebrated
(Pans. ix. 10. 4, with Frazer's note)
it,
every eighth year, or, as the Greeks expressed
»

BCH,

1879, p. 379

:

\aola)Xnav

Kain)<Jopr)(roo-a>'

A^Aio

«:ot

'ATroAAiii/ia 'AttoAAuji/i 'ApTe>c5i At/to: (date, 2nd cent. ^.C.);ib.
'An-oAAwna from i:ab
1883, pp. 105-121, lists of oi xop-r^oivTi<; «is
to 171 B.C. Dittenb. Syll.- 209 : ava.yop^i(rai rbi' lepoKTipvKaev
'AttoAA.wi'iois— to which formula the inscr.

hCn,

Tc3 Beirpoj Tot?

1S78, p. 332,
fu)i/Tat.
t Dio

Ti

adds the words

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orav

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««'
koI truvi^aiv* yap tv rri ovttj wep?
tu)v ATroAAwi-eia).'
e^
:
33
xlviii.
ib.
rp
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Cass, xlvii. 18

''""' »"i'*<"''

'ATToXAcii/eia yCyveaeai
1

Aesch! Sept. 800

•Ai/of

:

WnoKKiov elXf/.

to? «' ipS6fiai 6
Hesiod, Op. 770

E^SoMayeri,?
t€
Trpwrov eio, rcrpa?

o-e^tvos
:

I

'tn ot
Cf. Herod, vi. 57 (at Sparta). At Delphi, tfe
the 't^ of ChargeAthens
and
At
Delos
his
birthday.
B^sios,
a sacrifice on the /th of
At

ATjToi.

Uon.
Mykonos,
Hekatompaion
a sacred
Seven
Attic Pvanopsia on the 7th of Pyaneps.on
at Sicjon (Paus.
number-in connexion with a festival of ApoHo
or other,
'No satisfactory explanation, astronomical
ii. 7. 7).
ctt. 2a9).
has been suggested for these facts (FarneU, op.
'


every ninth year. At Delphi there was a feast on his birthday on the 7th of Busios, the first spring-month, and this seems to have been identical with the Theophania (Herod. i. 51; Plut. Quaest. Græc. 9, p. 282 F.; BCH, i. 111).

The more purely agrarian festivals may be distinguished from those in which the artistic character is more prominent. The former are festivals of first-fruits, or harvest-festivals, presenting musically a strong component of the archaic religious festivals in other lands. Examples of this type are the Karsein of Lacoania, falling on the 7th of the month Karnices = Attic Metagōtion (Aug.), and the Ὑπακθινδια in May-June at Sparta (Paus. iii. 19, 3; Wide, Ὀλυμπικές Κυλτί (Leipzig, 1893; 299 ff.; Xen. Hell. iv. 5, 1)).

Above all, the Thargelia of Athens, falling in the latter end of May, is a harvest-festival, for at that date in Greece the first cereals and fruits are ripe. The Thargelias is a combination of a primitive harvest-festival with a rite of purification (the curious ceremony of the Pharmakos) which may have belonged originally to the Earth-goddesses and was afterwards appropriated to Apollo. The Attic Pyanoptis or Pya-

νεπία, the only recorded Apolline festival that fell in late autumn, was also an agrarian festival — a thanksgiving service for the later cereals and fruits (Rna. iii. 64 ff.).

The festivals held at Delos belong to a higher order, being closely connected with art and poetry, although here also the agrarian or primitive element enters (Paus. i. 31, 2). So also the great Pythian festival held at Delphi on the 7th of the month Bakatios, the second summer month of the Delphian calendar (Cla. ii. 345), may have been originally a harvest-festival; but if so, in historical times it was identified with the higher aspects of Greek culture, and, moreover, the athletic side of that culture did not predominate at the Pythia, as it did at the Olympic festival, over the artistic and intellectual.

'The earliest competitions were musical and poetical, tragic recitations being subsequently added. . . . Prizes were awarded not only to the poets and musicians, but even to poets; and, in fact, the Pythia may be regarded as the prototype of the art exhibitions of modern Europe, for in this festival alone we hear of the famous artists exhibiting their works and competing. The great Delphic celebration then was pre-eminently the con-

ference of the greatest minds of Greece, and a detailed account of it would form a special chapter in the history of Greek art (193)."

Other festivals of Apollo held at Delphi, though less brilliant, are of great importance to the student of Apolline ritual. The festival of the god's Epid-

pliany in early spring has already been mentioned.

To this should be added the Theaentia, in which the newly-arrived god extended his hospitality to the other deities, especially to Dionysos, as appears from one of the lately-discovered Delphic hymns, in which Dionysos is invoked 'in these holy hours of spring', and entreated to show his hymn to the brother-god in the yearly Theaentia. This festivities, therefore, included poetic competitions; it included also a sort of vegetable show, a prize was given to him who exhibited the finest leek (Ath. 372 A: δέ οὖν κυμή γηλαλέα μεγάλη τοῦ Λυκτού, λυκάνθρωποι ουνέτο τη τραγουδί). Finally, we must notice the festival called the Stephanius, a feast of purification which is described by Paus. ii. 19, 2 (293 C, 418 A, 1130 B; cf. Celian, Var. Hist. iii. 1), as in part a holy drama enacting the death of Python and the subsequent flight of Apollo to Delphi ...

"For the Thargelia see Farnell, op. cit. 267 of the most complete work of the kind. The Pyanoptis is described by Paus. ii. 19, 2 (293 C, 418 A, 1130 B; cf. Celian, Var. Hist. iii. 1), as in part a holy drama enacting the death of Python and the subsequent flight of Apollo to Delphi (298 B)."

The story of Apollo and the Pythia is preserved not only in the poems of Apollonius, but also in his other works — in the work of his father, Homer, in the work of his brother, Homerus, and in the work of his disciples, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The word Pythia is used in the Odyssey (1. 187) for the prophetess of Apollo, and in the Iliad (2. 1) for the oracle...

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

In several respects a notable figure in the history of religion. Apart from the fact that he was a religious reformer of no little fame, he gave rise, as early as the time of Enasebus of Cæcara, to a controversy which continued long after the present day. The details of his life are to be found in a work by Philostratus the elder (3rd cent.), which was written at the request of Julia Domna (? 212), 'the patroness of every art, and the friend of every man of genius' (Gibbon).

Septimius Severus was a passionate student of magic and divination, and had chosen Julia Domna as his second wife on account of her 'royal nativity'. Philostratus' work was not written to cope with this controversy, which was also a collector of books, had been made acquainted with some memoirs by Apollonius' disciple, Damis the As-

yrion. These were not well written, and Philo-

stratus was required to cope with the poor style, and in fact to compile as complete a biogra-

phy as possible. He tells us himself that several 'Lives' of Apollonius were in existence, and that to some of them—those of Maximus of Ephesus and Maragenes—he had access. He also used letters of Apollonius. Moreover, he himself travelled into most parts of the known world, and everywhere heard the 'inspired sayings' of Apollonius. The biographer, however, who Philostratus com-

poses is of a romantic character. It is clear that the story of Apollonius, though much of it may be regarded as more or less true, has been greatly embellished. Many of the embellishments are of...

W. J. WOODHOUSE.
such a nature as to suggest that they were made to suit the taste of Julia Domna, which was, of course, well known to Philostratus. For Apollonius the Historiographer, in the manner of ancient writers, has added in the text many notes or glosses of his own without distinguishing them from the information derived from his original sources. Apollonius, therefore, composed a number of speeches and put them in the mouth of his hero; and it has been noted by F. C. Baur and others that the Babylon of Apollonius is identical with that of Herodotus.1

1. Apollonius, who had been for some years wealthy, was born about 8 c.e. 4. The country people said he was a son of Zeus, but he called himself the son of Apollon. At an early age, Apollonius, the young man, twelve to sixteen years old, became the father of his daughter and her husband by marriage. (L. 7.) He gave up eating meat, regarding only productions of the earth as pure, refused to touch wine, went barefoot, let his hair grow long, and wore only linen.2 At this period he spent much of his time in the temple of Asklepios. At 16 he became an enthusiastic disciple of Pythagoras, and soon afterwards retired to Anes, where he conversed with the greatest philosophers of his day. (L. 44.)

Again, several gaps have been detected in his story (the first after II. 1, ch. 12; another of about twenty years from A.D. 73.) We are told that before his birth, Proteus, the Egyptian god, announced to his mother that the child she would bear would be an incarnation of the immortality. It is said that he was born in a meadow, and that a chorus of swans sang in unison to celebrate the event. (L. 23–38.)

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After Apollonius visited a temple, he was no doubt treated as a guest. He must have been able, however, to prepare himself and his attendants for any indication of his coming, as the temple of Asklepios was well known to have been a place of pilgrimage for people of all nations. (L. 30.)

3. We are told that before his birth, Proteus, the Egyptian god, announced to his mother that the child she would bear would be an incarnation of the immortality. It is said that he was born in a meadow, and that a chorus of swans sang in unison to celebrate the event. (L. 23–38.)

4. He refused, that is to say, to wear clothes made from living creatures.

5. Philostratus tells us here. Whenever Apollonius visited a temple, he was no doubt treated as a guest. He must have been able, however, to prepare himself and his attendants for any indication of his coming, as the temple of Asklepios was well known to have been a place of pilgrimage for people of all nations. (L. 30.)

6. A frequent feature of Apollonius' discipulism is to have been taught, that Apollonius must have kept back part of his inheritance; so Tredwell, p. 49.

7. Apollonius, the young man, twelve to sixteen years old, became the father of his daughter and her husband by marriage. (L. 7.) He gave up eating meat, regarding only productions of the earth as pure, refused to touch wine, went barefoot, let his hair grow long, and wore only linen.2 At this period he spent much of his time in the temple of Asklepios. At 16 he became an enthusiastic disciple of Pythagoras, and soon afterwards retired to Anes, where he conversed with the greatest philosophers of his day. (L. 44.)

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9. In the letter of farewell to larchas, Apollonius says: "I will continue to enjoy your conversation as it still with you, if I have not drunk of the cup of Tantalus in vain." A. P. Sinnett (p. 25) says that the term Tantalus refers to a Phoenician king who was condemned to a watery death in the Elysian Fields. It is evident that the "cup of Tantalus" is identical with the "wishes" which were imparted to Apollonius by the god Asclepius, to be fulfilled in the future. (L. 10-16.)

10. Here we are told that Apollonius spent his time in the temple of Asklepios, that he was taught by the ancients to speak and write in a learned manner, and that he was allowed to witness certain ceremonies. Jarchas touched a crippled leg, and healed it by restoring sight to the blind. He also discovered the use of the hand to a paralytic (III. 59). They made the home-ward journey, and visited the temple of Asklepios (Siracusa), where Apollonius was allowed to witness certain ceremonies. (L. 16-23.) Then, by way of Babylon, Nineveh, Antioch, Seleucia, and Cyprus, they came to Ionia (L. 85). Visiting Ephesus, Apollonius warned the inhabitants against approaching phlegm. They disregarded his warning, and he retired to Smyrna. After this, he went to Athens, where he was told to go to impulse his help. He returned to Ephesus and called the inhabitants. They next visited Pergamus, where Apollonius gave a lecture (lvi. 11), Troy, and eventually sailed for Athens.3 We next find them in Corinth (L. 23).5 In these, they went to Athens, where they were allowed to witness certain ceremonies. (L. 23.) They then visited the temple of Asklepios, where Apollonius was allowed to witness certain ceremonies. (L. 23.) The city of Athens was a place of pilgrimage for people of all nations.

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Réville, who find a number of more or less fanciful parallels between the story of the Gospel 4 and that of Philostratus; only that the latter was written not, as earlier critics supposed, in a hostile sense, but in the spirit of the religious syncretism of its age. More recent critics, however, have rightly maintained that there is no trace of any direct connection between the two stories. In Philostratus the whole narrative bears a Greek stamp; 5 and his model for the life of Apollonius, if he had one, was Tyana. As Julius Jessen further points out (p. 12), if Philostratus' work had had a polemical purpose, certain important miracles of healing would have been ascribed to Apollonius rather than to the Indians. Nor is it remarkable that two religious reformers should have lived about the same time and have had somewhat similar experiences (cf. Ed. Baltzer, p. 388). It should be mentioned, in conclusion, that the next view about a Apollonius is that he was a kind of spiritualist. 6 It is held by A. P. Sinnett, and to some extent by G. R. S. Mead. Mr. Sinnett, writing in 1898, says that 'until the occult revival of the last twenty years, no modern students in possession of any clue by which it would have been possible for them to have understood Apollonius' (p. 4; cf. G. R. S. Mead, p. 116).


MAURICE A. CANNEY.

APOLLOGETICS.—

A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

B. APOLLOGETICS OF TO-DAY.

1. Outline of a progressive Apology.

2. Methods of Apology and modern needs.

3. Arguments arranged according to the sphere in which they lie.

I. THE PHYSICAL REALM.

1. The evidence of nature.

(a) The argument from matter, life, and mind.

(b) The argument from design in nature.

2. The problem of nurture.

(a) Miracles.

(b) Evolution.

(c) Monism, true and false.

(d) Suffering.

* Baur and Réville (p. 64) also contend that Apollonius 'combines in his own person many of the characteristics of the Apostles.' 5

5 So Pettersch, p. 22; Max Wundt, p. 321. Baur's most important point is that the Greek and Roman literatures of the time are not familiar enough with the teachings of the Catharist within which the history of Apollonius and the history of the sects are, as seen in the story of Apollonius. But, as J. M. Robertson says (p. 255), this is only a theoretical point. It makes the world of the sects and the apologetics of the sectarians the superposition of Syria could enter the West only by Jewish or Christian channels.' 5

5 So Julius Jessen, p. 204; and J. M. Robertson, p. 255.

5 Baltzer, writing in 1853, wondered that modern spiritualists had not claimed him.
The work of Anselm is of the most abiding interest, for it was his task to formulate the first clear logical proof of the being of God known as the Ontological argument. A new era began with the rise of Deism in the 18th cent., when the effort was made to set up a 'religion of nature' in place of Christianity. Bacon, the chief figure, was followed by Bishop Butler, who saw that the deistical admissions as to the existence and supremacy of God, the sins of men, and the reality of judgment, do not furnish a warrant on which to base an argument for the acceptance of the whole of the faith. Starting with natural religion, he showed in his *An Essay,* by an argument which will always remain a famous Christian apologetic, that revealed religion follows from it, as neither more difficult nor more ineradicable.

The next attack, as represented by David Hume, was upon the credibility of miracles, and F. W. J. Hume's *Evidences of Christianity,* in answer, remains a classic in the history of English apologetics. The 19th cent. saw a more determined assault on the supernatural, and the growth of Positivism, Agnosticism, and Scepticism has been such that it must still be true for us in discussing the apologetic of the present day, and count has still to be taken of Huxley and Herbert Spencer, as well as of Haeckel, in setting forth, as we now proceed to do, the present state of the problem.


**B. APOLOGISTICS OF TO-DAY.**—Instead of giving the outline and a few present-day apologetic work, an attempt is made below to state in general terms the chief arguments that are being used to-day to defend the Christian faith. Naturally they will be given by way of statement and not by way of argument, and will be placed in an order which is meant to be scientific, rather than such as will make the most forcible appeal to readers.


First, it will be well to indicate the limitations in his arguments which the wise apologist is ready to concede. He does not claim that they afford irrefragable proof of his beliefs. To assert that Christianity can be conclusively demonstrated by merely intellectual proof is to stultify the nature of a true revelation. If an essential of true religion be the exercise of faith, and if God has revealed Himself by appealing to a faculty in man which is not thought of as would be impossible to make a man a Christian by mere argument. The final appeal is to the heart; the appeal to the mind must content itself with proving without a shadow of doubt that Christianity is rational, credible, and probable. This is specially true of the arguments for the being of God. None of them amounts to positive proof, and yet it must not be forgotten that there are many of them, and that their cumulative force amounts to far more than their weight.

I. Outline of a progressive Apology.—We now proceed to give an outline of the successive stages by which the argument leads up from simple Thesis to the Christian creed. The (a) **NEW RELIGION:**—God exists, and may be known apart from revelation. This is proved
by — (1) The argument from General Consent.
That which is merely subjective when applied to
the spiritual experience of the individual, and is
therefore viewed with suspicion by opponents,
becomes objective when it shows a 'consensus
gentium' or belief in a God. (2) The Cosmological
or Theological argument, which suggests the uni-
verse as an effect which must have a cause. (3)
The Teleological or Design argument, which sug-
gests that the order of nature implies a First Cause
who is intelligent and free. (4) The Ontological
argument, which points to God as the highest
imaginable object of thought, and the ground of
thought itself. (5) The Moral argument, which
takes man's conscience as implying a lawgiver who
inspires him without being identified with him.
(6) The Historical argument, which points to the
sense of purpose and design running through
human history.

4. REVEALED RELIGION.—(1) Natural religion
leads us to expect something further, and suggests
a Deity who would be sure to make Himself
known. (2) This further step necessarily involves the
concept of an infinity of the beginnings with which a natural
revelation must be faced, viz. (a) such inadequate
theistic theories as Pantheism, Deism, and Modern
Theism; (b) such anti-theistic theories as Atheism,
Agnosticism, and Materialism. Miracle must be
distinguished from the mere human activity which we speak of in the past and the
future. The consideration of the past must neces-
sarily embrace a large part of Apologetics, for
Christianity is essentially a historical religion, and
attempts to make its stand against those arguments to the
purpose of revelation. (3) The Christian revelation
must be shown to be intrinsically superior to other
religions—Polytheism, Buddhism, and
Muhammadanism—and to be the creative and
higher fulfillment of Judaism. (4) The argument is
led to that around which all centres—the Person
of Christ. The Christ of the Gospels and Epistles
is shown to be historic, the Resurrection makes all
of Christianity concerning the moral miracle of the world.
(5) This is necessarily followed by the history and influence of
Christianity, as enlivening and regenerating the world,
and showing a superhuman power of recuperation
and continued existence. (6) This leads to the
dispensation of the Holy Spirit and the work of the
Church. Christian institutions, such as the
ministry, the Sacraments, and the Christian year,
are seen to be witnesses both to Christ and Christianity.

II. Methods of Apology and modern needs.—The bitter attack upon miracles in the 19th cent.
has more than once produced the idea of a line of
proof that should be independent of this confident
assailant. It is on the moral aspects of Christianity
that the chief stress is now laid. And the subject is
no longer divided according to the old divisions
of Natural and Revealed Religion. In the attempt
to use every line of defence, it is preferable to
marshal the evidences in accordance with the
successive spheres in which they lie.

(1) lowest stands the physical realm, but it is
the arguments of science with which it is filled.
The development of physical science during last
century, as shown in new theories of which we
consider the beginnings with the works of
Darwin, and the attacks of Huxley and of Herbert
Spencer, and yet more recently of Haeckel,
make this an important part of modern Apologetics.
The question of miracles lies only partly within it,
for the Christian still accepts the law of
Paley towards Hume, and refuses to admit that any
Christian miracle is a merely physical occurrence.
But the arguments in favour of a theistic religion,
which, in the face of modern Materialism and
Agnosticism, must still form the basis of a defence
of Christianity, are many of them physical and
physiological in form. Besides actual arguments
found in the physical sphere, there are many prob-
lems connected with nature which need dis cus-
sion. These are best placed under the same head,
and include not only such questions as that of
suffering, and the theory of Evolution in the forms
which the last fifty years have made familiar, but
that latest battleground of faith and unbelief
which is represented by the word 'Monism.' At
the present moment it seems likely that the honest
and well-equipped apologist will have to re-con-
sider each of his theistic positions in the light of the
non-theistic tendency of the latest results of science
and indeed this has already been done in recent
works to which reference will be made. But
it will be impossible in this article to do more than
show that, if a naturalistic Monism is invoked on
one side, an even stronger weapon may be found in
spiritual Monism on the other. The main features
of this latter and its bearing on the faith can
only be mentioned, and its authorities referred to.

(2) The next sphere of evidences is the psychic,
when we have passed from nature generally to
human nature, from physics and matter to meta-
physics and mind. Properly speaking, the realm
of psychology belongs only to the present, but it
must be included in the other spheres of mental
activity which we speak of in the past and the
future. The consideration of the past must neces-
sarily embrace a large part of Apologetics, for
Christianity is essentially a historical religion, and
attempts to make its stand against those arguments to the
purpose of revelation. (3) The Christian revelation
must be shown to be intrinsically superior to other
religions—Polytheism, Buddhism, and
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higher fulfillment of Judaism. (4) The argument is
led to that around which all centres—the Person
of Christ. The Christ of the Gospels and Epistles
is shown to be historic, the Resurrection makes all
of Christianity concerning the moral miracle of the world.
(5) This is necessarily followed by the history and influence of
Christianity, as enlivening and regenerating the world,
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ministry, the Sacraments, and the Christian year,
are seen to be witnesses both to Christ and Christianity.

Some would postulate a separate sphere as the
metaphysical—the sphere in which mental pheno-
mena are in a special sense marshalled by reason.
Others are content to give a metaphysical tinge to
the stages which reach higher than the physical
realm.

(3) The next sphere is the moral, raised as far
above the mental as the mental is above the
physical. Under this head come such theistic
arguments as the universal idea of God, the con-
science of man, the individual consciousness, and
the sense of sin. But the supreme moral argument
in modern Christian Apologetics is the Person of Christ. He Himself and
His earthly life and moral teaching are now made
the chief argument for the truth of the religion
that He founded. He is at the same time the
moral miracle which cannot be explained by
'moral' causes, and the answer to the moral
instincts of humanity, the key to unlock not only
the unique monotheistic morality of Judaism, but
problems as those of sin and suffering, and of
the purpose and the goal of human existence. Our
generation is coming to realize more than those
gone by that 'Christianity is Christ.' And
the result, for the apologist, has been stated thus
(W. L. Robbins, A Christian Apologist, 1902,
p. 35.): 'The supreme moral argument must be shifted from miracles to the moral charac-
ter of Jesus Christ, and verifiable facts of present
religious experience . . . This would seem to be
the most wide-reaching of all the assumptions required in
modern Apologetics—a shifting of the argument from
the past to the present, from the miraculous to the
moral.'

(4) Highest and last is the spiritual realm. Here
we reach without doubt the final argument, and

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yet it is of but little use in Apologetics. For a religious spirit must be spiritually understood, and it is only to the spiritual that it can make its final appeal.

It may therefore be said that the moral argument from the Person of Christ forms the chief line of defence, and the separation of these higher realms of reality which is involved is itself a reply to those opponents who try to confine the entire issue to the latter.

III. Arguments arranged according to the sphere in which they lie.—(1.) The philosophical realm.—The existence of a nature, life, and mind. —We begin with the mystery of 'Being,' and a study of the objects of sense reveals that matter is the basis of them. But material substances are of different kinds, and some of them are marked off from the rest as self-acting, or living. These are compound substances, capable of reduction to the same elementary substances as the rest, but possessed of the faculties of gender, property, and quality resulting from their composition. But there is an attribute of all being, known as force, which is an important factor throughout. As mental force, and as vital force, it must necessarily be conceived of as inherent in mind and life. But, as physical force, in the lowest of the three stages, it has to be regarded, as Newton insisted, as exterior to matter, and acting upon it. Thus far, physical science can speak plainly. But what answer is to be given when the question is pushed a stage further back? How did these things come to be thus? How did matter originate? How is the gulf to be bridged that separates life from matter and mind from life? And whence comes the force that acts upon them all?

Materialism and Agnosticism have their answer; but are they as reasonable as is the following Christian explanation? Force is derived from an eternal matter. Matter has not always existed, but always existed at the fiat of His Will. This implies a personal Creator, a First Cause who is both single, as shown by the unity of nature, and supernatural. The laws of matter and forces of nature do not contain Him, but show His work. This by no means denies the Atomic Theory, but explains how the 'favourable circumstances' for the new formations of atoms came about; and the theory of Evolution is seen to be the method of His working, while there is no need of lame attempts to bridge the chasm between matter, life, and thought. Such an answer is no mere a priori argument, but is the result of preconceived ideas about religion fit in with science; rather is it the most reasonable induction from the facts of the physical realm. It lays no blame on science for getting no further back than matter and force; for it holds a true agnosticism which denies that it is the province of science to go further. Merely weighted by probabilities, it can claim to be the most rational and the least difficult explanation of the problem of being.


(b) The argument from design in nature.—This evidence, so keen a weapon in the days of Paley's Natural Theology, is said by opponents to have become blunted by the theories of modern science. The Roman Catholic Church, however, has held that a material design has been taken by natural selection, basing his claim upon the fact that all species of plants and animals were slowly evolved, and not separately and suddenly created. But creation by God need not be natural, and the processes of evolution as so many examples of His method of working. Perhaps it is sufficient to insist that evolution is a process, not a cause. It serves only to push the evidence of design further back, and therefore to increase our admiration for the Designer. And it is to be noted that if the evidence of nature suggests the existence of a personal Creator, the evidence of design does more, for it supports His claim to power. To imagine that such exquisite mechanism as that of the human eye, or such wondrously suitable material in all its properties as a man's bones, or such fortuitous working of matter and force, makes a far greater demand than any Christian miracle.

The popular objection to the evidence of design lies in pointing to 'nature red in tooth and claw.' This opens the question of the problem of pain, which, as far as it relates to man, requires separate treatment. With regard to the sufferings of the animals, some exaggeration of them seems to be made in these days, by attributing to living creatures organs of a standard of sensibility. This is a department in which the apologist must be careful not to ignore the discoveries of modern Biology. See Biology, Suffering.


2. The problems of nature.—(a) Miracles.—The apologist refuses to limit the discussion of miracles to the physical realm, claiming their explanation can come through the historical and the moral aspect of them. But it is on the material side that the attack has come. The modern instinct revolts from miracles, and echoes Hume's assertion that no experience or testimony can render them credible. In our defence of them we must be careful where to begin. To one who does not believe in a God they are indeed incredible. He exalts certain so-called 'natural laws' into the supreme place, and rules out all that does not seem to agree with them. But if it be assumed that the world had a Creator (according to the foregoing arguments from nature, and those inferred by other lines of thought), miracles at once become possible. For a miracle may be defined as 'an act of God which visibly deviates from the ordinary working of His power, designed, while capable of serving other uses, to authenticate a Divine message.' If we begin with this assumption, we may still argue, as Paley did, that miracles have the same degree of probability as God's revelation of Himself to men.

Therefore we must begin with the question: 'Miracles are impossible,' we must take the objector a stage further back, and discuss with him the belief in a God. But miracles are not always discredited by such reasoning. In the following issue, the following are some of the objections levelled against them:—

(a) Miracles are inconsistent with the order of
nature. This argument not only ignores the working of a God who still has control over His creation, but also gives a rigid uniformity to certain so-called 'natural laws,' which after all are based only on the imperfect induction and limited reasoning of the human mind. If modern science has arrived at these laws by induction from a study of the universe, and not by the arbitrary assumption that these laws are uniform, all evidence must be taken into account. And as miracles lay claim to evidence, science must assume them into consideration, or it will be subverting its own methods. Such evidence, however, lifts the question out of the physical realm.

(3) It is further objected that the admission of miracles implies a lax or unscientifical conception of the course of nature. And it is, indeed, true that Christians sometimes speak as if only miracles were the signs of God's working, and as if they interfered with the course of nature by subverting its laws. But we must insist that in speaking of miracles as 'supernatural,' we do not refer to them to any other agency than that of so-called 'natural' events, that is, the physical laws of the universe. And it is both logical and reasonable that God should occasionally do what is outside man's ordinary experience of the working of created things. If man himself can intervene and alter the course of nature, we must certainly expect that God will do the same.

(4) Perhaps the favourite attack on miracles to-day is the rationalizing of Biblical miracles one by one. It is claimed that such miracles may all be brought into harmony with nature, for they are really to be referred to 'natural' causes. To have exalted them into more is the result of mistake or fraud. We reply that the only answer is in the very words of the event. We are not taken at once out of the physical realm into that of psychology and history.

(5) Attempts are continually made to discredit all miracles by pointing to those that Christians themselves do not accept. But we may confine the issue to those Biblical miracles which have their climax in the Resurrection. We are not called on to explain the work of Pharaoh's magician, or the many marvels of the Middle Ages, or the achievements of occultism to-day. It is enough to prove that certain miracles actually happened, as an attestation of a Divine revelation.

(b) Evolution.—The modern theory of Evolution touches the faith at many points. The sceptic uses it to discredit the design argument (see above), and to show that there is no room for the existence or working of a God; to explain the life of the one Perfect Man as due simply to natural causes in the evolutionary progress of the race; and to point to the origin and development of Christianity as an evolution from natural causes and natural processes. The apostle refuses to hand over Evolution to be a mere weapon in the enemy's hand. He claims that it is also his own. He sees in it the visible processes (or rather, the theories about them which the human mind has tried to express) whereby God works. That the evolution of Christ and Christianity he refuses to discuss merely in the physical realm, but applies the historical method to both, and finds that they can be shown to be evolved from nature. He does not rest with the arguments which ignore the first principles of Evolution itself. But the Christian apostle is not content merely to apply the theory of Evolution in the same sphere as his opponent. He claims that the principle may be extended more widely to embrace the moral world in the present as well as the physical world in the past, to strengthen the conviction and hope of the Christian with regard to the future. The following words will illustrate such a position (J. M. Wilson, Evolution and Christianity, 1894; E. Griffith-Jones, The Ascend through Christ, 1899).

'Evolution is showing us in very plain ways some of those truths that we have grasped only in words, the Unity of Nature, the Divine Plan, the Omniscience of God. If evolution is true, and moreover, a marvellous help to faith and patient work to believe that as there has been an evolution in nature in the past, so there is such a process in man and in the moral world now going on. See J. Iversch, Evolution and Christianity, 1894; E. Griffith-Jones, The Ascend through Christ, 1899; J. Cairns, Is the Evolution of Christianity from more natural Causes credible? (Prent. Day Tracts, 1902); J. M. Wilson, Problems of Religion and Science, 1906; F. B. Jevons, Evolution, 1906, and Religion and Evolution, 1906; J. Ward, Naturalism and Agnosticism, 1906; H. Calderwood, Evolution and Man's Place in Nature, 1908; J. M. Baldwin, Development and Evolution, 1903; G. H. Howison, The Limits of Evolution, 1906.

(c) Monism, true and false.—The tendency of modern science has been to discover a closer unity in all things and to lay importance on the harmony of all phenomena. In the eyes of some, this is the opponent of Christianity, who have been slow to seize. They have never been able satisfactorily to bridge the gulf between matter and spirit. Now they have the word of science that such dualism has been found to be due to the separating not of all phenomena, whether material or spiritual, must be explained as essentially one, and that therefore the only rational theory of the universe is some form of Monism. The wise apologist does not meet this with a denial. He is ready to listen to science as long as science retains its proper sphere; and if monistic belief seems the most rational, he does not reject it because it has been said to contradict the Scriptures. The wise apologist is not a materialist, and then re-consider his theistic position in the light of his conclusion. Therefore, the first question to be asked is what is meant by Monism, and the second is what is its bearing on Christian belief.

(a) Monism is a word which is growing in popularity, but it certainly does not always mean the same thing. There is a naturalistic, or scientific, and there is a spiritual Monism. The case of Monism is that of Evolution: one aspect of the theory is said to overthrow Christianity, but another side is claimed as supporting it. There is no doubt that the Monism which makes itself manifest is a form of the naturalistic kind, such as is identified with the name of Haeckel. It does, indeed, claim not to be materialistic, and recognizes Spirit as well as Matter; but it refuses to allow a dualistic distinction between God and the world, and regards Force and Matter as only two sides of one reality or Substance, which does everything and is everything. There is an invariable Law of Substance whereby this Substance is in a process of evolution which causes eternal motion throughout the Universe. Such evolution is succeeded in turn by dissolution, and thus new worlds are continually being born and re-born. There is no place left for God, freedom, or immortality. If Substance operates of necessity and without ceasing, through all things, so that everything is determined by what has gone before; and when every individual has served his turn, he gives way to another, and disappears. But there are modifications of such Monism which are not necessarily anti-theistic. Some allow that there is an underlying Source from which natural or physical Nature is created, by an entirely different plan from God's, to which Nature is 'merely,' or 'only,' or 'merely,' or of 'some' aspects of the natural world. And even the name of God may be admitted if 'stripped of its theological and anthropomorphic associations, and not opposed to or set above the principle of the unity of nature.'
But there is quite a different kind of Monism which the Christian may fearlessly accept and assert, and that is Spiritual Monism. The term has been explained, in "When the weakest (Theism and a Spiritual Monism, 1906, p. 292) as 'adopted in order to set forth both agreement with Science in acceptance of its facts, and difference from the interpretation which some give in the name of Science itself. It acknowledges the twofoldness that is everywhere manifested, and sees everything and every being in the world to be the result of the working or unrolling, or development in its conditioned form, of a single Power manifested as both material and spiritual. But, instead of giving the predominance to the material side, or equal value merely to the two sides, or leaving them both unexplained, it regards the spiritual side as that which is logically first and deepest—that which the material side only expresses and serves—that which manifests its supremacy in our own consciousness. And the claim that this form of Monism makes is this: 'So far as we are able to understand ourselves, and to look out upon the immeasurable vastness beyond, no monistic scheme can be tolerated which does not both do us justice and transude us. And certainly a monistic scheme which is not quantitative, and which treats the phenomena of the world on the level, whilst regarding as illusory, or as ultimately mechanical, the world of noumena, sufficiently discards itself. Spiritualistic monism is not guilty of the latter, and if it is desired that the spiritual should furnish the former' (F. Ballard, Theismonism True, 1906, p. 378).

Before passing to our other question, we note the impossibility of trying to confine the issue to the difference between the theological and the spiritual. (3) The bearing of Monism upon Christian belief can only be briefly indicated, and may perhaps be best expressed in the outline of the argument as given in the last-named work (pp. 380-400). (i.) There is no contradiction, or even collision, between Spiritual Monism and Theism. (ii.) It causes no weakening of preceding reasons for Theism. (iii.) It leads up to Divine Personality. (iv.) It refuses, with Theism, to treat man as an automaton. (v.) It demands, however, the purification and enlargement of theistic phraseology. (vi.) A twofold development is involved, namely, a fuller recognition of divine immutability, and a blending of this with Divine Transcendence. It is in such directions as this that the greatest change is coming over Apologetics at the present moment. See F. Ballard, "Theism and a Spiritual Monism, 1906; F. Ballard, Haeckel's Monism Polite, 1905, and Themonism True, 1906; J. Morris, A New Natural Theology, 1905; F. R. Tennant, Cambridge Theological Essays, 1905; J. F. Tristram, Haeckel and his Riddles, 1907.

(d) Suffering.—This is a problem which has perplexed mankind in every age. It has to be faced in relation to every system, and it has often been used in the attempt to discredit Christianity. The unmerited sufferings of men are adduced as showing that there is not a God who looks after the world as a Father, and the sufferings of the rest of creation are said to point to a 'nature red in tooth and claw' such as no beneficent Creator would allow. We have to admit that the problem still remains unanswered. Is suffering wrong, but at the same time we claim that Christianity is the only system under which it may be viewed in a satisfactory and hopeful light. Taking physical pain as the simplest form of suffering, we may see in it a useful and beneficial part of God's world. It purifies men, and is something other than enjoyment. If it be the growing development of our faculties through the discipline of life, then it is easy to see how it is helpful by suffering. And we may recognize in it a twofold use, partly for the education of the individual, and partly for the good of the race even at the cost of the suffering of the individual.

But what is the bearing of Christianity on the problem? (a) The belief in a re-adjustment hereafter explains the difficulty of the suffering of the present world. (b) The Fatherhood of God teaches that He is in sympathy with the sufferings of His creation, and the realization of such a sympathy has already proved 'the secret of endurance' to the sufferers of the world. (c) The Cross of Christ, as not merely an isolated act of vicarious suffering, but the manifestation of the abiding union of the Divine in suffering, proves that the Divine sympathy is real. The deeds of Christ are inseparably linked with His words, His example with His precept, and the sufferer sees the problem wrapped in a new glory in the light of such echoes as 'Not my will but thine be done,' and 'He that loseth his life shall find it.' (d) Not only does Christianity throw light on the problem in the case of the Founder, but the Christian is bidden to take up his cross and follow Christ; the facing of it in His Master's service and turning it into a joyous part of his creed. The belief in his own redemption through suffering makes him ready to 'fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ,' and voluntarily seek suffering in the service of his brethren, as well as patiently accept that involuntary suffering which he realizes will be for his eternal good, and make him more like the Master who was 'made perfect through suffering.' No other religion explains and glorifies suffering thus, and therefore we claim that it attracts men to the Christian faith, instead of repelling them and discrediting it in their eyes.

See Masterman, 'The Problem of Suffering' in Topics of the Times (G.P.C.B.), 1905; Hulingworth in Last Words, 1899; J. Martineau, A Study of Religion, II., 1899; and art. Suffering. (ii.) THE PSYCHICAL REALM.—1. Historical arguments.—(a) The Jews and OT prophecy.—While Christianity is not bound to answer the objections that are levelled against Judaism, it accepts Judaism as its parent. And the Jews and their sacred literature form a strong apologetic argument for our faith. The external historical element in Christianity is a marvel from first to last, while their spiritual theology and worship amid the debased beliefs of the ancient world, as embodied in their ideas of God and man and in the Messianic hope, and above all the prophetic declarations of the inspired book. Christianity makes its only explanation in the facts of the founding of Christianity, offer an argument the value of which is coming to be once more appreciated in our own day. See E. A. Smith, The Relentless Value of Prophecy, 1900; W. Sanday, Elucidations, 1905, ch. viii.; H. A. Redpath, Christ the Fulfilment of Prophecy, 1897.

(b) The historical Christ.—The Person of Christ makes a higher appeal than that of mere history. But, viewed from the historical side, we claim (a) that the birth, work, death, and resurrection of Christ are among the best attested facts of human history. (b) That their historicity would never have been called in question were it not for the miraculous element which is bound up with them. (c) That we have already shown that the only scientific treatment of miracles is to regard them as capable of verification, and to weigh the evidence for them accordingly. (d) That the whole evidence in the field of Christ-    

Christianity, both psychical and moral, has been sifted, the whole history of its founding remains as true as any other fact of ancient history.

But the object of our evidence implied under the last head involves a study of topics which will be dealt with under their own titles. We
must, therefore, be content to mention them, and to refer to books where the true discussion is to be found. 

1. The authenticity of the Four Gospels; the claim that either they record facts, or else nothing whatever can be said about Jesus of Nazareth; the arbitrary and unscientific nature of the attempt to offer proof of this claim. 

2. The mutual relation of the Synoptic Gospels; the strengthening of the evidence through their various lines of testimony; the witness of the Fourth Gospel, in the interest of the theory of the two gospels.

3. The Epistles; the earliest witness to the life of Christ; the value of their incidental allusions; the basis afforded by the four uncontroverted Epistles. 

4. The arguments for a historical Christ derived from Jewish and heathen literature; Josephus, and the Talmudic account of Jesus; Suetonius, Pliny, Tacitus, and, indirectly, the True Account of Calum.

5. The Supper. 

6. The Resurrection. — This, of course, is included in the proof of His historical Person on the lines indicated above. But from the beginnings it formed the central evidence of Christianity, and, at the same time, as the supreme miracle of revelation, it has been the centre of attack. It must, therefore, receive separate treatment, owing to its profound importance; for it is the very centre of the Christian position. With it there stand or fall both the claim of Christ to be Divine and the Christian's hope in his own resurrection. At the same time, as the supreme miracle of the Christian revelation, it will bear the weight of all the other Gospel miracles. To have proved it to be historic is to have routed the attack on miracles, while isolated assaults on minor wonders must be brought to face this main issue. The evidence for the Resurrection has been summed up under the following heads:—

(a) The evidence of St. Paul. Not only is the risen Christ the mainspring of his changed life, but he asserts that he, as well as certain others whom he specifies, has seen Him with his own eyes. This is the earliest written testimony we have. 

(b) The evidence of the other Apostles and NT writers. Not only has it been found all through their writings, but it forms the text and centre of the sermons recorded in Acts. 

(c) The indirect evidence contained in the records, which establishes the fact that the appearances were under varied circumstances, yet those in different frames of mind, in the same country and generation as they are said to have happened, and the cause of a changed life to believers and of hope to the world from their example. The sudden change from sorrow to joy in the first disciples is incapable of any other explanation.* 

(d) The evidence of the empty grave. Had Christ's enemies possessed the corpse, they would have prevented it; had His friends possessed it, Christianity would have been consciously founded on a gigantic fraud. This view is now held by no one. 

(e) The evidence of Christ's life before the Crucifixion. The records show that He fully expected this sequel, though His disciples were quite unable to grasp it or to realize it when it had actually happened. 

(f) The evidence of the Church. Not only has the Resurrection been the central belief of the Church from those days until these, but such institutions as the Easter and the Holy Week, and the joy that is contained in them, cannot be explained by any other means.

Such evidence is far stronger than that which supports most of the accepted history of the ancient world. Such is the consistency, the mutual relation, and the inconsistency of the accounts would never have been raised, but for the stupendous issue depending on the historic truth of the Resurrection.

Opponents are powerless to deny that the evidence was sufficient from the earliest days to enable every Christian absolutely to accept the fact, and make it the centre of his belief and conduct. All that they can do is to show how necessary for this belief in such a way as to deny the actual fact.

Bruce reduces such non-Christian hypotheses to five:

1. The thesis that the disciples stole Christ's body, as perhaps He had told them to, in order to make a resurrection. Such a theory as this of Reimarus is now universally discarded.

2. The swoon theory. — Christ did not really die, but revived, natural and pretended to have risen. This view of Paulus and Schleiermacher has been refuted even by Ehrman's recent book with the character of such a moral reformer, while its practical difficulties are inapplicable.

3. The vision theory. — Reimarus and Strauss assert that the belief arose from the hallucination of several disciples, the first to suggest it being Mary of Magdala, an excitable character who claimed to have been possessed. But this directly contradicts every word of the only existing records, which show that excited expectation was entirely absent. Nor is it possible to think, if the Resurrection was only subjective, that these visions suddenly gave place after six weeks to the calm strength of the early Church, witnesses and the inconsistency of the accounts would never have been raised, but for the stupendous issue depending on the historic truth of the Resurrection.

4. The theory of objective visions, or telegrams hypothesis. — This is Nisbett's attempt to compromise. The appearances were not purely subjective, but the objective cause was not a risen body of Christ, but His glorified Spirit comforting them by 'sending telegrams from heaven.' But such a theory, without avoiding the supernatural, does not free the disciples from hallucination, for they certainly thought their Master was there in the flesh, and not in heaven.

5. The mythical theory. — There were no appearances at all, but the strong will of the disciples spoke of the continued life of their crucified Master was misunderstood by the Apostolic Church. Hence the origin of the Christ's resurrection, which was later embodied in the legendary accounts contained in the Gospels. Thus Weisskircher and Martiain would say that all is accounted for by an evolution from the mere report of the Parable flashed upon the disciples in their sorrow that 'Heroes die not,' and after all the Master was not dead. The craving for something more objective led to the invention of legendary Christophristians. We can only answer here, that there is no time for the growth of a myth that would change the human Jesus into the Divine Christ of our Gospels, that it even demands that such a change of belief should have taken place before Pentecost, and that such an explanation of the experience of the first disciples cannot be made to fit with the only records we have of their words and conduct. We thus turn back to the Christian theory as the only rational and historical explanation of the facts. 

Any further discussion of the nature of the glorified body belongs to the province of theology. It is enough to have assurance that the supreme miracle on which Christianity is based is a historic fact. 

See Bruce, Bauer, pp. 333-393; W. Milligan, The Resurrection of Our Lord, 1903; J. Sparrow, The Resurrection of Our Lord, 1905, and art. 'Resurrection' in DOG.

(d) The History of Christianity and of the Church. — Hitherto Church is involved in the first place, a study of Acts and the Epistles. Their early date must be proved. Christianity is not the creation of St. Paul. The early Church did not develop as it is suggested, but grew organically from the early Fathers. The primitive existence of Church order witnesses to the same effect. * However, the theory must not be entirely discounted which accepts the evidence of in the above, pages 293-298. See below, under Psychological arguments, (c) concerning their changed life.
2. **Psychology of Arguments.**—We must explain that this term is used for convenience to denote that class of argument which is not strictly historical, but which deals either with the feelings of individuals, or with the inferences which may be drawn from Christian practices, or the relation of Christianity to other systems. The following are given as examples of such arguments:

(a) The **changed life of the disciples, and the conversion of St. Paul.**—Up to the death of Christ the disciples had shown themselves timid in their behaviour and earthly in their expectations. They suddenly became full of boldness and joy and a new spiritual force which nothing could resist. The psychological difficulty of such a change is enormous. It is overcome only by the explanation that their Master rose again, spiritualized their ideas, and gave them an abiding gift of the Holy Spirit. And even if these unlettered Galileans had been deceived, it is impossible that they could have in their turn deceived a cultured and expert Jewish Rabbi. The conversion and apostleship of St. Paul alone, duly considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a Divine revelation.


(b) The **witness of Christian customs and institutions.**—Allusion has already been made to these in their special relation to the Resurrection. But there are other evidential uses to which may be put such recognized parts of Christianity as the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection Year. They satisfy the cravings of human nature, its needs, tendencies, and aspirations, in a way that no other religion does. The ministry is founded on the theory that man is social, and needs organization, continuity, and authority in the guidance of life. The **sacramental system** takes into account the composite nature of man, using and welding into one both the material and the spiritual elements, and at the same time conveying in a definite form that communication of Divine grace which we should naturally expect to be the climax of any revelation which God makes of Himself to the individual. The **Christian Year** links us with the first centuries. Easter and the Law are already observed in NT times, the observance of Friday as the day of the Crucifixion is of early origin; and so the list might be continued. Not only do these things witness to the historicity of the facts which they commemorate, but, viewed from the sphere which is psychical rather than historical, they bring the whole question of Apologetics out of the present, and enable us to postulate the real life of those roots of Christianity which are hidden in the past, when we examine carefully those living and growing branches which are visible in the present.


(c) **The success of Christianity.**—Apart from the moral aspect of the question, an estimate of facts and their relation to mere human possibilities of explanation, suggests an evidence of the Divine origin and the work of the Holy Spirit in the history of the Church. At the same time it has to be remembered that other religions may make a counter-claim, so that the claim of Christianity is a unique one.

The following are the chief points in the argument:

(a) The early, wide, and, within certain limits, irresistible diffusion of Christianity. It required an enormous power to kill polytheism for ever, and to leave not a shrine of a heathen god behind; but this was what Christianity did.

(b) Its power of revival and restoration after every declension and decay. This may be traced throughout the history of the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and more modern revivals, and Christianity may be shown to possess elements which Muhammadanism cannot claim.

(c) The resistance which it has been able to offer to successive attacks and persecutions. The earliest martyrs show how powerless to crush it. All the forces of the ancient world were arrayed against it, but the only result was the decay and fall of Rome itself. And it has faced all objections of later days, and can point to a confusion among its opponents which makes one school of anti-Christian thought contradict another.

(d) It is specially armed with means and motives for self-propagation. Its work of proselytizing, founded on the pure motives of the missionary spirit, is on a different plane from Buddhism and Muhammadanism. The rule of faith expressed in its creeds, the universal application of its sacred writings, the organization of the Church, its mission and the preaching of the Word, the power of its religious influence, the combined strength of intellect and affection, the influence of the Sacraments, the witness of Christian customs and institutions, and the success of Christianity, are all such that the whole may be uniquely fitted to survive and to succeed. Every faith, universally as a whole, has its antagonists and enemies, but none have been arrayed against Christianity as against the other systems.

(e) Its success is in harmony with its own predictions and anticipations. It is here that the argument from prophecy has its fullest force. For it begins with the earliest literature, in the promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, and continues through centuries. And when it reaches the NT, it shows such unlikely features as the anticipation of the corruptions of Christianity, from the parable of the Tares at the beginning to the expectation of Antichrist at the end.

Various natural causes have been added to account for such a success, but one by one they may be proved insufficient, and we fail back on the conclusion that the origin and growth of the faith must be attributed to a Divine agency.


(d) The abiding unity of faith. — In the face of the divisions of Christendom, and the misunderstandings which separate branches of the Catholic Church, it may seem bold to found an argument on the unity of the church they are united in. But when a broader view is taken, and Christianity is compared with other religions, a strong argument for the Divine origin and preservation of the Faith is found to lie in its continued acceptance. The Creeds themselves, handed on intact from age to age, present a remarkable phenomenon. Their silence on non-essentials combines with their insistence on fundamentals to prevent their ever being out of date. No other religion can point to so broad a unity. The unity of Muhammadanism or Buddhism is either local or at least oriental, and can make no such appeal to the whole world. And the fundamentals upon which Christian beliefs are based, quaod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus, are just those truths which are not shared by any people outside Christendom. Such are the spirituality and Fatherhood of God, the moral condition of man and the necessity of a God, the possibility of universal salvation by redemption through One Person, in whom a human and a Divine nature are combined, the Personality and Divinity of the Holy Spirit, the entire work of the invisible Body of Christ as His sphere of working, the approach through the sacraments, the authority of the Scriptures and of the Church, the necessity of faith, and the impossibility of an eschatology such that the thought of the future
resurrection of the body influences men in the present.

And this unity of faith is also manifested in a unity of aspiration. The biographies of different Christians in all ages reveal a kinship in spiritual life and belief, and the same is shown by a study of hymnology throughout the centuries.

It is a profound marvel that the Churches in different localities in the first days did not soon begin to show some cleavage of faith and the purport that results. It is a more profound marvel that in recent generations the multiplication of sects, the revolt against authority, and the rise of free speculation within the Church, have not made more impression on the fundamental unity of the Faith. The least difficult explanation of such phenomena lies in the Divine origin and preservation of Christianity.


(c) The argument from the psychological nature of religion.—This is the result of a study of religion which is of comparatively recent growth. Kant began the investigation of religion not merely by reflection on what was positive and objective, but by taking it as an internal and mental fact. Consciousness proves the existence of religion as a subjective or mental state; but consciousness itself must be analyzed, in order to analyze religion. In this way of the polytheistic division of mental phenomena has been established—into cognitions, emotions, and volitions. Religion must be a state of intellect, sensibility, or will, or some combination of two or all of these factors. Hegel identified religion and thought. Yet no mere intellectual act constitutes religion, though the exercise of reason is an essential part of religion. If religion has no rational foundation, it has no real foundation. Other religions become religion into feeling or sentiment. But every feeling requires an explanation, which can be found only in an exercise of intellect. Man traces religion to fear, Feuerbach to desire, Schleiermacher to a feeling of dependence, to which Mansel adds the conviction of moral obligation. Strauss combines all these. Kant identifies religion with morality. But it is not simply these things, though it includes them. Rather is the religious process at once rational, emotional, and volitional, and is to be connected with all three—knowing, feeling, and doing—in its threefold aspect of knowledge, affection, and self-surrender. If one is able to say that the universal instinct of men as regards a definition of religion, it is this, that it belongs to the whole man, in accordance with the psychology sketched above. The question remains, which religion answers best to this description? It is only theistic religions that can claim to do it; polytheism, pantheism, deism, and rationalism are ruled out. ‘Of the three great theistic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, the last is far inferior to the other two, and the first is a transition to and preparation for the second’ (Flint, Thesam, p. 44).

Christianity is left, as alone giving a perfect representation of God.

Exercises.—The general superiority of Christia-
nity to other religions.—

(1) Polytheism.—Polytheistic beliefs are the characteristic of the whole ancient world, with the single exception of the Jews. Such beliefs continually broke down with the advance of culture, and it is perhaps sufficient to say of them that they have abundantly been proved to be ethically degrading, as not linked with morality, and philosophically unsatisfying, as offering no final revelation. Some of the religions of India are pantheistic as much as polytheistic, and admit of the fatal objection that they ignore the transcendence of the Deity. See art. POLYTHEISM, PANTHEISM.

(2) Buddhism.—This deserves a word of separate treatment, as its moral goal is profoundly attractive, and it counts almost as many adherents as Christianity. But really it is not so much a religion as a philosophy, an inherently atheistic system which does not offer a reality for wor-
ship, and suggests no hope for a future life. But the fact that its followers have instinctively demanded an object for worship, has caused it to become corrupted and obscured by the introduction of pure polytheism.

See C. F. Alken, The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ, 1900.

(3) Mahometanism.—Here it is its success which forms the chief recommendation of the religion; but this has been largely discounted by the forcible means of propagation which have been required. Its pure monotheism brings it into relation with Judaism and Christianity, but its God is as distant as He is sublime, and its theological outcome is simply awe and submission, not loving intercourse. The lowness of its moral standard prevents it from having a civilizing influence, and the moral state of society under it may be judged by the painfully degraded position of woman. The fact that it is founded, not on a life but on a book, checks its power of expansion and adaptation, and has reduced it to a code which is the enemy of all real progress.

(4) Judaism.—This is the one pure religion of the ancient world, and might be a formidable rival of Christianity if the latter were obliged to treat it on its own terms. But even in the same, there is a force, and its influence is felt on all that is best and purest and most permanent in Judaism. Historically, the one religion grew out of the other; theologically, the germ of Christian doctrine is to be found in the OT doctrines of God and man, its progressive revelation, and its Messianic hope. There is no desire to belittle the one pure religion of the ancient world, but there is much in it that is incomplete. Chris-

3. Metaphysical arguments.—(a) The argument from intelligence, will, and conscience, commonly called the Ontological argument. In nature, because we are thinkers ourselves, we realize that what is before us is the result of thought. We grasp by our intelligence that intelligence is exhibited in all work in which there are parts which bear an ordered relation to each other, and in which the whole is something more than the mere sum of the individual parts. Therefore we infer that what the mind detects, mind has pro-
duced, and that a creative intelligence underlies the order of the universe. In metaphysics the demand for ethical perfection, in the voluntary fulfillment of such non-natural requirements as the dictates of duty, imply a standard, a superhuman will, a. Holy One, such as has been revealed to the world in Christ. In the realm of conscience, there
lies in the human mind an instinct which expresses itself in the conviction of a survival after death and of future retribution and reward. In the face of allills and miseries, man continues to live in hope, and to adjust the balance which will not terminate until the full demands of that moral law, of which conscience is the representative and ambassador, have been met in the proper way. Only when man finds the conscience thus combine in a threefold suggestion of an Intelligence which creates, of a Lawgiver who imposes a superhuman will, and a Judge who re-adjusts the balance. But in view of the unity of nature, and the unity with it of our human nature, which that lies behind all nature, and which the various parts of our human nature suggest, will in itself be One. We therefore arrive at a Personal God, as He has been revealed in Christ.


(b) The argument from consciousness.—We cannot stay to discuss that part of Herbert Spencer's philosophy which deals with the unit in nature (see J. I. Arneil, The Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer examined (Rel. Tract Soc.)). But human consciousness or personality affords an argument which is intertwined with the foregoing and has been put in a form of which the following is an outline.

1. Through direct consciousness of himself man discovers that he is possessed of a Permanent Personality endowed with will, Intelligence, moral and spiritual affections. 2. Through consciousness further developed by reflection on himself and the universe, he attains the conviction that over all is a Supreme Personality, endowed with omnipotent Will, infinite Intelligence, perfect Righteousness, and Love. It is contended that this teaches the reality of the spiritual rest on the same basis and stand or fall together. If the primary consciousness of a human self is denied, all the rest vanish with it. On the other hand, if it is accepted, it carries all the rest in its train. Thus it is from the 'knowledge of himself that man rises to the knowledge of God, and that the fruit of belief in the ultimate idea of humanity, agnosticism, is a virtual denial of his humanity.'


(c) The argument from the idea of God.—Whence does the idea of God come to us? It is not originated by any of the arguments we use, whether ontological, cosmological, or teleological. They help to verify it, but they postulate it as already existing in the mind. It cannot be traced to man's conscience, heart, or reason, though these faculties may verify and develop it. There is no place where the idea of God has not existed. Therefore God exists. Kant overthrew the original ontological argument by asserting that any cognition of things is impossible where there is no empirical matter to work upon. But we refuse to allow that God is not empirically known. Materialism, agnosticism, really asserts not only that man cannot know God, but that God cannot make Himself known. And to say this is to deny His existence. But a denial of God's existence is possible only for the man who has passed through every sphere in his search for Him. In short, in order to be able to assert authoritatively that no God exists, a man must be omniscient and omnipresent, i.e., he must himself be God, and himself give a view of himself.

(d) The Cosmological or Atheological argument.—We have the idea of causality inherent in us. We attribute everything to some cause, even though we feel ourselves on a somewhat lower level of causality than ordinary nature, we do not feel self-caused. Our notions fall back to a First Cause, which is the final cause of all, and itself uncaused. This shows that the universe suggests such a cause must be, not mechanical, but full of order and intelligence, and the study of our own personality leads us further to think of this Cause causans as a personal God.

See, for the metaphysical and philosophical aspect, Caldecott, The Being of God in the Light of Philosophy (Camb. Theol. Soc. Tracts, 1897); Edwardes, The Being and Attributes of God, 1894; and Bonner and Reversion, 1905; and, for the influence of modern knowledge on the main theistic arguments, Baird, Thamsonian True, 1895, pp. 62-242.

EXCUSES:—The anthropological attack.—The analogies between Christian beliefs and practices and those of some of the other great religions of the world, has long been used to cast an attack upon the faith. In recent years the study of primitive religions, and of anthropology generally, has suggested further analogies, and given rise to a fresh attack. The attempt is being made to explain away Christian beliefs and practices, and thereby the survivals of what has now been found to exist in primitive cults all over the world. Various modes of defence have already been employed, but the apologists must not ignore the parallels afforded by recent discoveries. The facts collected in such books as Frazer's Golden Bough or Crawley's Mystic Rose or Robertson's Pagan Christianity must rather be claimed and used for the Christian argument. As illustrations of the hostile use of them we may mention the theory that Christ is to be connected with Eastern Sun-worship, the twelve Apostles being the signs of the zodiac, and that the Sacrament of Communion is merely an adaptation of the widespread primitive rite, with corresponding accompaniments, that to partake of a life means to inherit its virtues. And strange elaborations have followed, such as Frazer's theory of the Crucifixion, which suggests that the Jews had reference to the feast of Purim the customs of a strange kind of Saturnalia, wherein a mock king was first pampered and then killed; and that Christ only met 'the fate that annually befell the malefactor who played the king' (see J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, iii. 190 ft.).

The Christian answer to which we would briefly point is that all religion is one, and that its 'primary function is to affirm human nature, and to present Cricket, The Tree of Life, 1905, p. 270.) If Christianity is God's final answer to human needs, we shall expect to see those needs manifesting themselves elsewhere. We can see a deeper meaning in the parallels which forms so remarkable a bond between Christianity and the lower religions. These analogies from savage culture show that religion, everywhere and always, is a direct outcome of elementary human nature, and that this elementary human nature remains practically unchanged. This it must continue to be so long as we are built up of flesh and blood. For instance, if a savage eats the flesh of a strong man or divine person, and thus becomes a Christian partaker of Christ's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, there is evidently a human need behind both acts which prompts them and is satisfied by them, and is responsible for their similarity. Christianity is no survival from primitive religion, but a higher development from the same permanent sources (E. Crawley, The Tree of Life, 1905, p. 201 f). See also J. R. Illingworth, Divine Inhumaneness, 1898, ch. iv."

(iii) The moral realm.—It has been said that the moral element in our nature is as much higher than the mental as the mental is above the physical. The weight of moral arguments is therefore greater, and perhaps for this reason this sphere has been chosen by recent apologists for their main line of defence. It has already been mentioned that Christ Himself in His moral aspect is the supreme apologistic of to-day; but there are other lines of moral argument which are placed first, owing to their priority in the sequence of thought.

1. Arguments for heistic belief from the moral realm of thought.—(a) The universal idea of God and cultivation of religion.—This argument is sometimes called 'the evidence of general consent.' Cicero witnessed long ago, 'that every nation, barbarous, or any people in the world so savage, as to be without some notion of
The origin of moral law is a subject of universal interest. In some way or other it is a topic of conversation in every home, at every meeting. The question, "What is the origin of moral law?" is a question which every person must sooner or later ask himself. The answer to this question is one of the most important questions that can be asked. It is a question which affects our whole system of thought and our whole system of action. It is a question which affects our whole system of morality.

The moral sense in man, the conscience and the sense of sin. — Kant, while rejecting other arguments, placed the whole weight of proof on this one. There is in our nature a sense of moral responsibility, a feeling of what we ought to do, regardless of our present wishes and immediate advantage. This sense, commonly called conscience, cannot come either from our own liking or the will of the community, against the opinion of which it sometimes acts. The only explanation of its working is in the existence of a perfect moral being, independent of ourselves, a perfect Lawgiver and Judge, to whom conscience feels itself responsible. It is here that we are brought closest to the vast problem of evil and of sin. A discussion of it belongs to theology rather than to apologetics. But we may quote the saying of Leibniz, that "nature cannot be reduced in perfection, physical in suffering, moral in sin." As we trace the upward development of the race, we find that just where the sense of individual personality comes to the front, a conflict begins to be realized between the demands of others and the demands of self. Man is as unique as a position in which he may either rise higher or fall lower. He has a consciousness of something higher; if he willfully chooses to remain lower, it is his own doing, and the results of it will be found later. But since his moral nature does realize the choice, struggling upward to the higher, in spite of the certainty that he will never fully reach it, and filled with humiliation when he has failed in the struggle and not possessed in the sin, we are pointed to a perfect moral Being who is averse to sin, and to whom the moral sense in man knows itself to be responsible.

The moral sense of the world's history. — The tangled skein of human history is found, when unravelled, to exhibit a continual progress towards a more and more perfect exhibition of righteousness and goodness. Here is a purpose running through history, indicating a moral government of the world. This may be studied in the development of the various sides of human institutions, as the life of nations, social life, crime, law, and religion. But such a moral government of the world is not the only result. The unification of the human race, implied a moral Governor and Educator; for it is impossible that such tendencies should be unconscious and impersonal.


2. Arguments for Christianity from the moral realm of fact. — (a) The Christian Scripture. — As the study of nature suggests an intelligence behind, and a study of history suggests a moral Governor, so the Bible suggests a moral power higher than that of the men who composed this great literature which contains so many varied elements. Stress must be laid on (1) its organic unity, manifested in an OT and a NT fitting into each other exactly in the changes of the ages; and thought, in the wonderful symmetry that is presented to the two, and in the advancing morality which may be traced in their pages; (2) its authority, the moral force and power of conviction that its writers possess in an absolutely independent degree of its tone of certainty and genuine ring as the authoritative message of God; and (3) its exact correspondence with the deepest instincts of human nature, so that conscience welcomes its words as the highest expression of morality and religion.


(b) The morality of Christianity. — The success of Christianity has already been dealt with. But nothing has been said about the inward and radical transformation which it has effected. Its elevation, from the first days until these, of those who embrace it, is a moral miracle absolutely without parallel. The early appeal to persons who were already so to believe, the effects of Christianity, as seen in a complete moral change in Christians. The argument has been increasing in force ever since. For the inevitable intellectual or moral degradation of half-hearted members into a growing community, which soon extended as widely as civilization itself, is more than compensated by the contrast between the civilization which has been leavened by Christianity, and any other civilization in the history of the world. It is true that Christian morality is founded on the morality of Christ, and can be explained as a perpetual endeavour to fulfil His precepts and imitate His example. But this only takes the argument one stage further back, as we shall see shortly. And the very fact that the sustained endeavour has been made gives an additional proof that the morality of Christ was not a human and natural product. The points in Christianity which must be insisted on: (1) It presents an ideal which no one except its Founder has ever fulfilled or expected to fulfil. And yet men have gone on trying. They have none of the satisfaction which belongs to those who fulfil a law which is as perfect as that of Mosaic legislation. And their reason for trying is not personal advantage, for the ideal has to be sought through self-sacrifice; in Christianity it is the losing of one's own soul that is to save it. (2) And not only is Christian morality different from what the natural man would wish for himself, but it is different from anything that he would invent. Its code is of the most unexpected kind, and has no real parallel or preparation elsewhere, in whatever setting we view it. And perhaps least of all was it likely to arise at such a place and time as Palestine in the 1st cent. of our era. If we reject the explanation of it which lies in the person of the Founder Himself, the alternative conclusions are difficult indeed of acceptance. See F. Ballard, Miracles of Unbelief, esp. pop. ed. 1904, p. 342.

(c) The Person of Christ the moral ideal. — The morality of Christ's teaching is universally accepted as the highest moral ideal that has ever been. The point need not be laboured here. But one thing may be said as a matter of His teaching; it is His example that stands highest. And in this there is agreement among all. Even a writer like Lecky can say (History of European Morals, vol. ii, p. 9): "The simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers, and all the exhortations of moralists. This has indeed been the well-spring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life."

It is upon the moral ideal presented by the Person of Christ that modern apologetic takes its stand. It boldly asks, "When did the age fulfil the ideal of man these things?" and demands a rational answer.

(a) Is it replied that this is simply derived from our records, and need have no place in the history of actual facts? There is an answer: for we ask, Whence then came the Gospel portrait of Christ? Whatever view be taken of the composition of the Gospels, it involves in some one an exquisite conception of the ideal which has no parallel in the world. It is impossible to believe that various men, whether few or many, whether actual disciples or only compilers working up traditions in later years, succeeded in forming a unity, a harmonious picture, such as is found in
the Gospel portrait. The only explanation of their work lies in there having been an original to be painted.

(8) May we then, retain the moral part of the portrait, and take it out of its miraculous surroundings? It will be found that the two are so interwoven that separation is impossible. Take away the supernatural, and nothing but a shadow is left. For the miracles are not interspersed amid the various indications of the character; they are the outward manifestation of it. They are not written comment on rare occasions, with an evidential purpose, but simply as the natural acts of so exalted a character.

(7) And what of the Divine claim of Christ? Is it possible to regard it either as interwoven in the tale by His mistaken followers, or as an individual mistake owing to a wrong estimate of His own Person? Both alternatives seem incredible, in view of the fact that this claim is the only key to His life, His words, and His work. Take such a public declaration as 'I am the light of the world' he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life' (Jn 8:12). If anything in the record is true, surely that solemn utterance is the climax, and before the multitudes who had thronged to the feast, is not a figment of after years. And if He made the claim Himself, more presumptuous than could have come, not only from a Galilean carpenter, but from the holiest of men, what must we say if it were not true? That He was either an impostor or a deluded enthusiast. No one nowadays dare assert the former, and to do so would only make it a greater miracle in the highest moral ideals of humanity have for eighteen centuries been linked with such a man. And if the latter alternative be chosen, it is absolutely impossible to reconcile the self-sacrificing devotion and utter humility of His whole life and work with a distorted moral oblation and infatuated self-assertion which could make so preposterous a claim. The familiar dilemma, 'Aut Deus aut homo non bonus,' has not yet been avoided by those who would hold such views. If the moral ideal which His Person presents forbids the latter, the former is the only rational explanation which remains.

(8) But is not the Bible to be allowed to enter and explain? Is it not simply that in Christ the upward movement reached its climax, and in Him we see the moral sense of the human race reaching its perfection? But is it the reverse of true that such a claim can be explained by its antecedents and environment. The arguments of Paley are still true of the originality of Christ's character. He assumed a part which was in many ways the direct opposite of the Messiah of popular expectation. And the one Catholic Man, whose teaching is adapted to all nations and all ages, sprang from the narrowest and most bigoted nation of antiquity. And those who deny His Divinity change the virgin birth into an illegitimate one. They rob themselves of the argument that He was only evolved as the purer son of a pure virgin. They assert in effect that the most marked and mighty impulse of the past towards all that is purest, worthiest, loftiest, in the evolution of human nature, emanated spontaneously from the unfutured, peasant-bred son of an adulteress (Barrard, Miracles of Unbelief, p. 275). Such things are a denial of Christ, and not an explanation, and constitute a moral miracle far more difficult to accept than that a pure virgin 'was found with child of the Holy Ghost.' This line of defence is thus seen to lead to a direct attack on the enemy's position.

See Lidddon, The Divinity of our Lord, 1837; Gore, The Incarnate Word, 1858; Barrard, Miracles of Unbelief, p. 275. Such things are a denial of Christ, and not an explanation, and constitute a moral miracle far more difficult to accept than that a pure virgin 'was found with child of the Holy Ghost.' This line of defence is thus seen to lead to a direct attack on the enemy's position.

See F. Ballard, Miracles of Unbelief, pp. 290-310.

(c) The testimony of holy lives.—It has always been realized, from the days of the early apologists, that one of the most telling of evidences lies in the spiritual life of Christians. Few men are argued into a belief in Christianity, and it may be that one of the plainest of these yearnings of the perishing is that the life of Christians is a light to the world. The real power of Christ's Apologetics may be enlisted into a science, but the work of turning men is but little due to the professor of Christian. Each Christ-like life is in itself a powerful apologia, and often succeeds where all else fails.

(d) The personal experience of the Christian.—This can be the final test of the Christian. The person can test all he has been told, in the sphere of his own spirit, and says of his God as accredited in Christ. And this experience has been multiplying.
Apostasy (Jewish and Christian).—The deliberate abandonment of one religion for another, e.g. Judaism for Christianity or vice versa, made voluntarily or under compulsion. The word is usually employed in a bad sense, and consequently from the standpoint of the religion deserted. Heretics, i.e. those who embrace one form of a religion in place of another, are not here reckoned as apostates. In Christian jurisprudence an apostate is regarded as more deserving of blame than a heretic.

The word ἀποστασία is used in classical Greek of a revolt or defection from an alliance. ἀποστασία is a later form, found in the LXX and the Peshitta, and Dioscorides of Helwan. In the LXX these words, with their kindred forms, ἀποστάσιος, ἀποστασίας, ἀποστασίος, are used in the sense of rebellion against Jehovah (2 Sam 22, 1) or an earthly monarch. Thus the 'rebellious children' of 1 Sam 3, 20 are called τὰ ἄποστασιά τα ἀνθρώπων; the idolatrous Abiah (1 K 14, 20) and the city of Baal (1 K 16, 33) are rendered ἄποστασιας ἄνθρωπος. In 1 Mac, the word ἀποστασία is used in its modern sense (22, 16; 14, 20; see ἁπερατος ἄποστασιας). In the NT, St. Paul is accused of teaching 'an apostasy from Moses' (Ac 21, 24), and he speaks in 2 Thess. 2, 3 of the great antichristian event as 'the coming of the man of sin'. Before the revelation of the 'Man of Sin' (see below), Augustine calls the 'Fall of Man' the apostasia prons hemiotes (c. Jul, lib. ii.), and he uses this term because the absolute freedom of our first parents, unhindered by original sin, to choose between obeying and disobeying God, made them a voluntary defection (see Shedd, ii. 145 ff.). St. Thomas Aquinas (Qua. 12, Art. 1) says of disobedience: 'apostasia videtur esse sacratissimam praevaricatam.'

1. Although we have many examples of national apostasy in the OT, instances of individual defection of the religion of Israel are rare; but in the Deuteronomistic law the provisions against those who try to persuade the people to serve other gods are naturally severe (Dt 13-16). In Ezekiel we have examples of secret worship of heathen deities practised in the very temple of Jehovah (Ezk 8-16). On the whole, however, it may be said that, with the exception of the great apostasy in the days of Ahab and Elijah, the infidelity of Israel towards Jehovah was, as a rule, shown in attempts either to combine this worship with that of the local divinities, or to serve Him with rites similar to those practised in the worship of the gods of Canaan.

We first meet with distinct acts of apostasy from Judaism during the fierce persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, when Jews either voluntarily or under compulsion renounced the worship of God for that of the deities of Greece. The degree of apostasy varied between a total abandonment of all pretense of Judaism, and the adoption of certain Greek customs like the practice of the arts and athletics and the wearing of the petaion, or broad-brimmed hat, which the more rigid Jews regarded as an act of disloyalty to Jehovah.

Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 175-164) did not cause the ten- dency to apostasy to be of Hellenistic origin, but he was undoubtedly a prominent factor in his growth in the early period. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, especially the priests, had already conformed to the Greek dress and frequented the paleostasia (2 Mac 4:9-12). Jason the high priest even sent presents for the sacrifices to Hercules at Tyre, though his ministering priests regarded it as an impious thing. He also allowed the images of the gods to be set up in the temple, and handed it over to the royal navy (2 Mac 4:18). When the people replied that they did not wish to participate in the sacrifice and to eat swine's flesh, many of them apostatized (1 Mac 14:9); and it was the slaying of one of these by Mathan which led to the outbreak of the rebellion (1 Mac 2:49). The Hellenizing Jews held the circumcision ceremony as a violation of the Law and the Syracuses (1 Mac 12), and were not dispossessed till 119 B.C.

Apostasy of a different kind is mentioned in the Book of Wisdom. The Alexandrian Jews adopted in some cases the philosophy especially of Epicureanism (1 Wt 3, 16), and in the early Jewish apocalypses (2 Bar 37:13) the term ἀποστασία is applied to apostates (see below).

2. Examples of apostasy among Christians are to be found in the NT; but in many cases the falling away of the apostate was voluntary, and their total number is not great, and the rest must be done in the region of the Spirit, wherein alone the probability can pass upward into certainty.

T. W. CHAFFER,

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Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 175-164) did not cause the tendency to apostasy to be of Hellenistic origin, but he was undoubtedly a prominent factor in its growth in the early period. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, especially the priests, had already conformed to the Greek dress and frequented the paleostasia (2 Mac 4:9-12). Jason the high priest even sent presents for the sacrifices to Hercules at Tyre, though his ministering priests regarded it as an impious thing. He also allowed the images of the gods to be set up in the temple, and handed it over to the royal navy (2 Mac 4:18). When the people replied that they did not wish to participate in the sacrifice and to eat swine's flesh, many of them apostatized (1 Mac 14:9); and it was the slaying of one of these by Mathan which led to the outbreak of the rebellion (1 Mac 2:49). The Hellenizing Jews held the circumcision ceremony as a violation of the Law and the Syracuses (1 Mac 12), and were not dispossessed till 119 B.C.

Apostasy of a different kind is mentioned in the Book of Wisdom. The Alexandrian Jews adopted in some cases the philosophy especially of Epicureanism (1 Wt 3, 16), and in the early Jewish apocalypses (2 Bar 37:13) the term ἀποστασία is applied to apostates (see below).

2. Examples of apostasy among Christians are to be found in the NT; but in many cases the falling away of the apostate was voluntary, and their total number is not great, and the rest must be done in the region of the Spirit, wherein alone the probability can pass upward into certainty.

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but it does not appear from the context that this means that the apostasy could restore an apostate to the Church. In his treatise de Pectoralibus, written in his Montanist days, the same writer, whilst denouncing Zephyrinus (I., Bishop of Rome, for allowing penitents to sacrifice to the deity of certain altars, and in his argument by showing that these offences are in the same category as idolatry and murder—unapologetically so—called it an "error.") It seems factually certain that in the re-admission of the lapsi was a novelty in the days of Cyprian. 'Evidently,' says Alph. Benson, 'the question which to some was presenting itself was, then, or upon what terms, the lapsied should be re-admitted, whether it was possible for the Church to remit such guilt.' (Cyprian, 3:27, 156.)

The law of the early Church in regard to apostasy was very severe. The offence consisted not merely in desertion of the Christian faith, but in a complete compliance with paganism, i.e., a man was not permitted to continue a member of the Church who was engaged in any trade ministering to idolatry, superstition, or licentiousness; nor was he allowed to return to the communion by offering sacrifice in an official capacity.

When the days of persecution ceased, the severity of the canons was considerably modified, and apostates, moreover, were limited to a penalty after demonstration of composite penitence. The strictness of primitive Christianity is seen in the enactments of the Council of Elvira (418) in Spain, held during the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 303). Apostasy to the Catholic Church was not permitted especially in Spain and Gaul, and Christians were forbidden to attend Jewish banquets or to have any intimate dealing with Israelites. After the conversion of Constantine, apostasy became a civil offence punishable by law. Apostates to Judaism were liable to confiscation of property, and lost the right of making wills. Repentance was of no avail as regards the civil penalties incurred by apostasy, which included dismission from all public services of dignity.

Apostasy was a crime, and one who was guilty of apostasy was excluded from the Church, and also from all society, and finally was banished.

4. In the Middle Ages apostasy and heresy were punished with the utmost severity, but it is scarcely possible to conceive of the open abandonment of Christianity where the jurisdiction of the Church was all-powerful. We have, however, a curious example of a deacon in England embracing Judaism in order to marry a Jewess, and being buried at Oxford on 17th April 1222, of course after degradation from his clerical office. This is one of the few cases of the execution of a heretic in England in the 13th century. In 1277 the Chief Justice of the Duchy of Cornwall was condemned for apostasy, and sentenced to death, and was executed at Oxford.

For the execution of the deacon see Maitland, Canon Law in the Church of England, ch. vi., "The Decree of the Jews."
Templars were accused of making every candidate for admission to their body apostatize by thrice renouncing Christ and spitting upon the crucifix. Torture was freely employed to extort confessions, but upon the whole evidence obtained was of the most contradictory character, and the majority of those examined persisted in the innocence of the order; and though the processes went on simultaneously throughout Europe and the Levant, no seriously incriminating evidence seems ever to have been obtained.

The cruelties which accompanied the suppression culminated in the burning of the Grand Master Du Molay and his companion on the Île des Juifs on the Seine, 19th March 1314.

Lea, History of the Inquisition, vol. iii. pp. 239–341; Milman, Latin Christianity, bk. xii. ch. 1. Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 137, is inclined to credit the charges against the Templars on account of the publication of Count Hammer Purgatelli’s essay, Minus de l’orient externe (1819), charging the Templars with apostasy to a sort of Ophite Gnosticism. The subject is discussed by Castle in the Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, vol. xix. pt. 3.

The Spanish Inquisition originated for the purpose of suppressing not heresy, but apostasy. The marranos, or Jewish converts, were suspected of practising under cover of their new religion the outwardly conforming to Catholicism. It was to root out this crypto-Judaism that the tremendous machinery of the Holy Office in Spain was devised, and how effectively it was carried on we have seen in those who were expelled to Judaim.

In 1875, there have been many examples of Christians among the Turks and Moors abandoning their faith in order to enjoy the privileges reserved for Muslims; and these renegades occasionally enjoy high official positions in Turkey. Naturally such persons abandoned their nationality with their religion. Apostasy from Christianity to Judaism is imprisoned in Newgate in the following year, and died in 1793, conforming in all respects to the ceremonies of his new religion.

In recent times there have been cases of Europeans of Christian parentage embracing Muhammadanism and Buddhism, and conforming to the practices of these religions. In France it has been asserted that Diabolism is practised as a religion, of course involving a distinct apostasy; but the evidence of such persons as Leo Taxil, who declared that a church existed in France for the worship of Satan, seems to have been discredited by his subsequent disavowals, and Satanism (q. v.) seems to be little more than the revivification of some of the follies of the Black Art of the Middle Ages.

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APOSTASY (Muhammadan).—‘He that adopts any other religion shall be put to death.’ Such, according to the sacred Muslim tradition, was the command of the Prophet; and on this basis all Muslim jurists are unanimous in deciding that apostasy, viz. Islam (Arab. tawbda) must be put to death in the absence of any confession of repentance. This was also the view held by Mu‘āth ibn Jabal, Muhammad’s governor of Yaman. According to a well-known tradition, this official came to Abū Müsa, whom he found engaged in questioning a prisoner. On hearing that this man had apostatized from Islam, Mu‘āth ibn Jabal refused to take any further part in the apostate’s treatment, for he had been put to death, saying: ‘Such was the decision of Allāh and his Apostle.’

But, according to the opinion of the majority of jurists, it is desirable (according to others, even a duty) before proceeding to have the apostate repentant by death. This is to bring the apostate to repentance (Arab. tawhīda). If such a one declares that he turns again to Islam, then the inquisitors are to be satisfied with the response and let him go away in peace. If, on the contrary, he refuses to return to Islam, they are bound, according to many, to allow him a delay of three days (according to others, even longer) as a period for reflection. He is still retained in prison and may within this interval go back upon his error. In support of this practice, reference is made to the example of the Khalīf Omar. When he learned that a man of the troops of Abū Müsa during the siege of Constantinople, who had been put to death on account of apostasy from Islam, was extremely indignant at the deed. ‘Why,’ he inquired, ‘did you not keep him in prison three days and until he repented, in order to bring him to repentance?’ And all the companions of the Prophet who were present showed by their silence that they agreed with him.

The Jindāfis are inclined to think that the punishment of death on account of apostasy is applicable only to men. According to them, women are only to be kept in prison until they repent, because the Prophet has forbidden the putting to death of unbelieving women. According to others, this prohibition has reference only to the killing of the wives of unbelievers in the Holy War. A similar difference of opinion exists with regard to the punishment of apostates while yet in their minority. According to some lawyers, may be put to death immediately, according to others only after attaining their majority.

The punishment by death is to be carried into execution only after the sword. From the sacred sources of tradition, it is known that the Khalīf ‘All caused the adherents of Abū Allah ibn Sābū to be burnt to death because they proclaimed that Allah had revealed to him that ‘All himself was God. ‘All regarded this as a confutation of the doctrine of apostasy from Islam. But when Ibn ‘Abbās learned the occurrence, he said: ‘I should indeed have put them to death, but certainly not burned them, for the Prophet has forbidden that any one shall be punished by fire, because this mode of punishment belongs exclusively to Allāh.’ On this account, the opinion prevails that the infliction of death by the state is prohibited in Islam. But other modes of torturing to death are also expressly repudiated by Muhammadan jurists.

Various other legal consequences of apostasy from Islam are mentioned in detail in the Muslim law-books. For example, the apostate is thereby legally annullèd. So also he loses the reward of all good works which he may previously have performed, and must make everlasting atonement for his sin in hell. His corpse is not to be buried among the graves of other Muslims, etc.

Apostacy does not necessarily consist only in an express declaration that one is no longer a Muslim, but may also be deduced from various other circumstances. If, for example, a Muslim declares to be lawful what the canonical law forbids to him, or, on the contrary, unlawful what the law permits to him, then such a conduct is a clear
APOSTOLIC AGE


The phrase is commonly used for the period in the history of the Church extending from the death of Christ to the end of the 1st cent., when, according to ancient tradition, John, the last of the twelve Apostles, passed away.

If the term 'apostle' were taken in the broader sense in which it is commonly used in the earliest days, the Apostolic age might be regarded as extending to the 2nd cent., when there were still many travelling missionaries bearing the name 'apostle' (see Delitha, 11). But the term soon came to be applied exclusively to the Twelve and Paul, and has been used in this sense ever since. It is true that no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between the 1st and early 2nd centuries; and even assuming that John lived to the time of Trajan, it is possible that he held no specific significance for the history of the Church. As a consequence, some historians have made the Apostolic age end with the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, or with the death of Paul. But to give such an emphasis to the former event is to overestimate its significance for the history of the Christian Church; and to make Paul's death the close of the Apostolic age is to imply that he was the only Apostle, when as a matter of fact there were others before he came upon the scene, and after he had passed away; for Peter himself, to say nothing of John, very likely outlived him by half a dozen years (see Moffett, Apostolic Age, p. 92). If the designation is to be retained at all, it is better, then, to use it in the traditional sense for the period from A.D. 30 to 100 A.D.

2. Sources.—Our sources for a knowledge of the Apostolic age are meagre, and yet on the whole they are sufficient for the generation immediately succeeding. Most important of all are the Epistles of Paul, which are very rich in historical material. The Book of Acts is also indispensable, based as it is in considerable part upon older sources, and containing a great deal of information not to be found elsewhere. But, like any other historical work written by one not himself an eyewitness of the events recorded, it has to be used with caution.

Into the question of the authorship and sources of the Book of Acts it is impossible to enter here (see the special studies by Sarf, Die Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte, 1899; Feine, Eine vorhistorische Uberlieferung des Lukas in Bragg, und Apostelgeschichte, 1901; Spitta, Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtliche Werth, 1901; Clement, Die Ohren, der Paul, Briefe, 1899, p. 97 f., and in Th. Stud. und Krit. 1899; as well as in Wiss. und Krit. 1899. See also the summary in Moffitt, The Historical New Testament, 1909, p. 5). Recent work entitled Lukas der Arzt (1909), Harnack maintains, in opposition to the older historical opinion, that the 'helocalic physician,' mentioned by Paul in Col. 4:14 (2 T 4:14, Philm 9), was the same man who had been the famous 'we' passages (100-9 200-211 271-29,199).

The first disciples felt themselves to be the citizens of the future Messianic Kingdom, and their interest centred there rather than in the present. As a consequence, they were not in any sense social reformers. The community of goods, of which we have no account in the New Testament, is not a social ideal, but was simply an expression of the feeling of brotherhood which prevailed within the little Messianic circle, and of an indifference to the goods and property of the present age which men expected its speedy displacement by a new and more glorious order of things. There was nothing token of unbelief. In like manner this is so, if, at any time, a Muslim worships the sun or the stars or idols, or declares the Prophet to be a liar, or makes himself subject to the jurisdiction of a Jewish law of doubt.

According to the view of the Shafis, this is not only apostasy from Islam that is to be punished with death, but also apostasy from other religions, whenever this is not accompanied by conversation to Islam. In the case of the Hebraic people, however, the law will thus have to be put to death, according to the Shafis, because the Prophet has commanded in general that every one shall be put to death 'who adopts any other religion' (Ver. 3).
in Christianity as understood by them to necessitate a break with existing Judaism. In fact, the Christian position was that if Judaizers sought to win followers, they would be excluded, and so it came to pass that the earliest Christian communities were almost entirely non-Jewish. Even the attempts to attract Jewish converts show an aversion to Judaism which at this time seems to have been only temporary. But it was impossible for non-Christian Judaism to regard the growing Christian sect with friendly eyes. The Christians, in fact, had to endure the steadily increasing hatred of their countrymen; and their flight from Jerusalem shortly before the siege of 70 A.D., and their refusal to take part in the Bar Cochba rebellion in 192 A.D., only served to make the break complete and permanent. Though hated and repudiated by their countrymen, they still clung to their ancestral law and custom, and lived for the most part in isolation from the rest of the Christian Church, being divided into separate and distinct communities. Finally, after some centuries, Jewish Christianity entirely disappeared. The future was not with it, but with another form of Christianity altogether, of which the Apostle Paul was the greatest champion.

(b) Pauline period. — For this period our sources are Paul's own Epistles and the Book of Acts. The account in the latter is fuller and more trustworthy than for the earlier period. The author's information, however, was not always accurate and adequate even here, and his account has to be used with caution, and corrected or supplemented at many points by the Epistles, which are a primary source of the first rank.

The second period is distinguished from the first by a change of leaders, of scene, and of principles. In place of personal disciples of Jesus, a new figure came to the front who had never known Him; in place of Palestine, the Roman empire at large was now the scene of activity; and instead of a mere form of Judaism, Christianity became a new and independent religion.

The conversion of Paul has always been recognized as an epochal event in the history of the Church. To him it was chiefly due that Christianity was the religion of the great Roman empire, and ultimately a world-wide religion. It is true that even before his Christian activity began, the new faith had been carried beyond Palestine and had made conversion among the Gentiles,—he was not the first and not the only Apostle to the heathen,—but it was he who gave permanence and stability to the work, and thus became the real founder of the world-Church. Under his leadership Jewish propaganda became Christian propaganda, and the influence of Judaism in the world at large was made to promote the spread of a faith which became its worst foe. No wonder that Paul the Christian was hated by so many of his countrymen both within and without the Christian circle. It was he who made Jewish propaganda ineffective, by substituting for it a propaganda which concerned itself with nothing of its limitations. Paul was himself a strict Jew, zealous for the traditions of the fathers; but he was also a citizen of the Roman empire, born and bred in the midst of those races and institutions which had hitherto meant little or nothing. It was inevitable that he should be interested in the spread of Judaism in the world at large, and thus, he became a Christian, the relation of the new faith to the life of the Roman empire should occupy his thought. But it was out of his religions experience before and after his conversion that he was born the principle which revolutionized Christianity and made it an independent religion. His conversion to Christianity was not the mere result of the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah, making of Him simply a successor of Moses. He had the fruit rather of a moral struggle of peculiar intensity, out of which he emerged victorious only because he discovered in Christ a liberator from the bondage of law, and the creator of a new life of moral liberty. His moral struggle was not the effect of his conversion, but an antecedent of it, and his Christianity was simply the answer to his moral need. In it, therefore, there was a universality quite foreign to the Christianity of the early Jewish disciples. To them it had meaning only as a Jewish thing; it was the realization of their national Messianic hope. But to Paul it was the solution of a universal moral problem and the answer to a universal moral need. There was the desire for righteousness and the consciousness of failure in its pursuit, Christianity had place, and so it was just as much for Gentiles as for Jews. Then the Christian hopes and the Christian things to do with it; it was simply a new moral principle needed by all; for all, Paul believed, were under the bondage of sin. Thinking thus, it was impossible for him to reject Christian propagandism in the way the earlier disciples did. To them Christianity was exclusively Jewish; and if, under the pressure of events, they were constrained to admit that a Gentile might conceivably become a Christian without becoming a Jew (witness, for instance, the case of Cornelius), they believed that this was provisional only, and would lead ultimately to the full acceptance of Judaism. If Christianity, then, reached the Gentiles at all through them, it could do so only under narrow limitations and burdensome restrictions. But the gospel of Paul, proclaiming, as it did, freedom from sin through the possession of a new moral power—the spirit of Christ—could be preached on equal terms and with equal effectiveness to men of all races. Paul's attitude towards the Jewish law was but an incident of his general position; but inasmuch as that law conformed to the life of the Jews and Gentiles, and in its observance strict Jews saw the sun and substance of all righteousness, his attitude toward it was of immense significance. The Jewish law; he believed, like all law, was given by God in consequence of sin. Where the spirit of holiness has control no law is needed, any more than God Himself needs law to keep Him holy. Law is for the purpose of controlling a person and preventing him from living out his natural character, and therefore is needed only where the character is bad. When a man is freed from the dominion of sin by the possession of the spirit of Christ, he is freed also from the dominion of law; his character is holy and needs no law. Filled with the spirit of Christ, he cannot do otherwise than live in that spirit, which is the spirit of love, of purity, and of peace. Paul himself might continue to observe the Mosaic precepts on occasion he might even urge his converts to do the same; but on his own principles he could not insist on such observance, and the moment it was insisted on by others he disavowed it and came to stand for his fundamental principle of Christian liberty. This might not have affected practical conduct in the least had Christianity been confined to the Jews, whose holiness expressed itself naturally in the observance of the Law, and

* The contention of van Manen and others of the Dutch school, that the Book of Acts is more trustworthy than the Epistles, is not sound, and has commended itself to few scholars.
to whom its ceremonial precepts were as sacred as its moral. But when Gentiles became Christians, it was another matter. To them much of the Jewish law was unnecessary and quite without relation to holy living. The result was a serious crisis, much more serious than had been precipitated by the case of Cornelius. The matter was considered at the conference in Jerusalem described in Ac 15 and Gal 2, and a compromise was reached which provided for the recognition of two forms of Christianity, a Jewish and a Gentile. The latter was free from the obligation to observe the Jewish law, the former remained bound by it. It might have answered as a practical expedient had the two forms remained entirely isolated, but it was not long feasible in communities where there were both Jewish and Gentile Christians. Unless there was to be schism within the Christian brotherhood itself, all must live as Jews, or all the Jews must modify, at least in part, the strictness of Jewish practice which prevented familiar intercourse between Christians of different persuasions. This Paul’s principles prevailed, only the latter course could be adopted.

The former would have meant the subjection of his Gentile converts to the bondage of a law from which on its own principles they were completely free. But he was not a libertyocrat, nor a Judaizer, which Jewish Christians on which the same principles was equally theirs. Ultimately, as the Gentile wing of the Church grew, the principle of liberty thus asserted resulted in complete emancipation from Jewish ceremonial restrictions, also by many stricter spirits in the Church, whom Paul calls Judaizers, but promoted by his powerful influence, and also by the wide-spread existence in the Roman world of regular Jewish communities in which the Jewish Christians seems to have been indifferent to ceremonial and interested only in the more spiritual and ethical features of the ancient faith (cf. Schürer, G 3.2, 249). Into the heritage of the older Jewish propaganda the new Pauline Christianity entered, offering the elements of all that and more than Judaism had offered it, in a form stripped of all its offensive features, and claiming to be not merely a modified Gentile phase of the Jewish faith, but a religion as truly Gentile as Jewish.

It is no wonder the latter was regarded as a formidable rival of Judaism, and ultimately completely outstripped the latter in the race.

It is not necessary to trace here the Christian activity of Paul in the second period of his ministry, from the beginning of his work in Antioch until his execution in Rome. He has been the object of intense Christian missionary activity of the period, and the only one about whose activity we have any extended knowledge. The fact that some of his Epistles have been preserved to us, and that the second half of the Book of Acts is devoted exclusively to his work, enables us to follow his career with considerable accuracy. But our meagre knowledge about others is no reason to suppose that there were no others doing similar work in different parts of the world, and even in those parts where he himself was active. Considerable districts of Asia Minor, Cyprus, Macedonia, and Achaia seem to have owed their Christianity chiefly or the first instance to him, but Rome was evangelized independently. At his death Christianity had already entered every province bordering upon the Mediterranean from Syria in Italy, with the exception of Thrace, which had penetrated into the interior of Asia Minor as far as Galatia.

His death at the close of his two years’ imprisonment in Rome was due not so much to the fact that he was a Christian, as to his six consequent discriminations in the East, leading the authorities to regard him as a dangerous character. It was this that caused his imprisonment in Cesarea, and his execution followed his conviction before the Emperor upon the same charge (see Differt, p. 419 ff.). His conviction and execution were not meant for the purpose of Christianity by the imperial government, and, so far as we can learn, did not in any way affect the status of Christianity in the Empire. What we have lost in Paul passed away with the end of the Apostolic Age, and the one who did most for the spread of Christianity in the Roman world. To him the Christian Church of history is chiefly due.

(c) Post-Pauline period. For this information is less abundant than for the previous period.

The Book of Acts does not carry us beyond the Roman imprisonment of Paul, though, like the Gospels, it reflects in some degree the ideas of the age when it was produced. The Epistle to the Hebrews, First Peter, the Johannine Epistles, the Apocalypse, First Clement, and the several Pastoral Epistles, draw traces of the development of organization, of the diminishing spontaneity of religious life, and of the stereotyping of moral principle and practice. But the picture is vague and the details very few. No great figure dominates the history as was the case while Paul was on the scene. It is a period of rapid growth and consolidation, and yet the actors in the history and the course of events are almost unknown to us. The persecution of Nero, to which Peter probably fell a victim, was caused apparently by the accident that the Christians were brought to his notice as convenient scapegoats upon whom to throw the blame for the conflagration of Rome (Tac. Ann. xvi. 44). While confined to the capital, this persecution brought the Christians into unpleasant notoriety, and gave them the reputation of being dangerous characters, hostile to the public weal. Under the more pacific Emperor Domitian, who had suffered, because of the Emperor’s doubts as to their loyalty. The First Epistle of Peter and the Apocalypse testify to conditions during this reign; and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Book of Acts with its apologetic interest, are best read in the light of these conditions. The Christians were evidently coming increasingly into conflict with the authorities, at any rate in certain quarters; and the latter shows that before he became governor of Bithynia the mere profession of Christianity had come to be generally regarded as a crime, though there is no evidence that any law had been passed upon the subject.

The most notable phenomenon of the period is the Johannine literature, and the existence of a Johannine school in Ephesus to which it testifies. That John the son of Zebedee was not its author is beyond all reasonable doubt, whether he was ever in Ephesus (see Harnack’s Chronologien der altchristlichen Litteratur, p. 673 f.), but the presence there of an important personality who bore his name and was, if he was not himself, associated with his works shows that already before he became governor of Bithynia the mere profession of Christianity had come to be generally regarded as a crime, though there is no evidence that any law had been passed upon the subject.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, with its large infusion of Philonism, is also an interesting and instructive document, illustrating, in our ignorance of its author, the paucity of our information touching the leading characters of the day. So far as our evidence goes, Christianity during this period spread no further than it had before the death of Paul, except toward the east and north in Asia Minor, where it reached Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia (1 P. 17). The Apocalypse gives us the names of some churches in Asia Minor ( Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Thyatira) not mentioned in Paul’s letters or the Book of Acts, and the Epistle to Titus shows that Christianity had already reached Crete. For Alexandria and probably, Christians must have gone there early, in all probability long before the end of the 1st century. In general the scene of the history in this, as in the Pauline period, was the lands lying along the northern shores of the Mediterranean from Palestine to Italy. The close of the Apostolic age saw Christianity firmly established at least in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and already well started on the conquest of the Roman world.
were an object of suspicion to the State, and were widely disliked by the populace, because of their lack of patriotic zeal and their hostility to prevailing religious beliefs and practices, their fanatical disregard of common worldly interests, and their puritanic denunciation of popular amusements and pastimes. They carried with them, however, a profound traditional humility, his nothing slaves them. His character, cause and social possibilities, was already well known among them; they were already somewhat definitely organized. They were conscious of belonging to one great Church of Christ, and the feeling of unity between the most widely separated communities found constant expression. Their hopes and ideals were everywhere much the same, and they were in possession of many of the beliefs and principles which still control Christendom. The Church at large was not yet an organized institution, but Christianity was already a powerful current in its historic career.

4. Development of theology. —The first disciples were not theologians, and did not concern themselves particularly with theological questions; but their conviction that Jesus was the Messiah led to a considerable modification of traditional beliefs, and became the starting-point in the development of a specifically Christian theology. Believing Jesus to be the Messiah, they were thrown into consternation by His untimely death, coming as it seemed while Messiah's work was still undone and the Kingdom not yet inaugurated. Their belief in His Messiahship could not have survived had it not been for this conviction that He was alive again, which speedily took possession of them. That conviction meant the rehabilitation of their old hopes. Jesus had risen in order to do Messiah's work, and if He did not at once restore the kingdom, where was the failure? For a time, —it was only that Israel might be prepared by repentance and righteousness for the enjoyment of the blessings of the Kingdom which He would speedily return to establish. The supreme duty of His followers, then, was to proclaim His coming, and to prepare their countrymen for it. But their proclamation must seem absurd to those who did not believe Him to be the Messiah; and so the imperative need of the hour must be to convince their fellows of His Messiahship.

Proof was found in His wonderful works, and particularly in His resurrection (Ac 2:24 ff. etc.), the disciples' testimony to the latter fact being confirmed by an appeal to NT prophecies, (2:25). To the seemingly fatal objection that He had, after all, done nothing that the Messiah was expected to do, and that His life and death were entirely unworthy of the Messianic dignity, it was replied that He would return to do Messiah's work. When it was prepared, and that was foretold as a twofold Messianic coming—the one in humanity, involving suffering and death, and the other in glory, by the indwelling of the Kingdom (2:26). Here lay the nerve of the first disciples' preaching. In this novel, assumption of a Second Coming is to be a feature of primitive Christian thought. Their apologetic did not consist in showing that Jesus had a work to do; it did not consist in any great modification or spiritualization of traditional ideas as to the character of that work and as to the nature of the Messianic Kingdom. It aimed only at proving that Jesus was really the Messiah, and that He might therefore be trusted yet to do all that had been expected. In their emphasis on the Messiah's coming they lost the full significance of the first, and failed to understand Jesus' completion and transformation of His original mission. Why, contrary to common expectation, should there be a twofold coming? Why had Jesus, being the Messiah, lived a life of humility and died among the crowds? Why is this situation foretold in the Scriptures seems to have satisfied them, though they very likely believed, as did the Paul's words in 1 Co 15 perhaps, that the first coming had its place in the promotion of repentance and righteousness, and so in the preparation of the people for a second coming which could not appear until they had repented (Ac 3:20). But this was a subordinate matter.

The question of Jesus' origin, nature, and relation to God, which later became so important, was not raised among these early disciples. The common traditional idea of the Messiah as a man called and supernaturally endowed by God seems to have been accepted without question (Ac 2:23, 3:26 etc.). Nothing in Jesus' words or deeds or in the events of His life led them to modify the existing view. The one controlling belief was in the future coming, and the one imperative duty was preparation for the enjoyment of the blessings of the Kingdom then to be established.

With the conversion of Paul a new period opened in the history of Christian theology. The central truth to which he devoted his second coming was the transformation of man's nature here and now by the indwelling of the Divine. His theology was rooted in his religious experience. Out of that experience, interpreted in the light of contemporary Greek thought, was born a theory of redemption entirely unlike anything known to the early disciples. The theory involved the transformation of man's evil fleshly nature by the power of the Divine Spirit, Christ, with whom he is mystically united through faith. Thus united to Christ, a man dies with Him unto the flesh and rises with Him unto a new life in the Spirit, a life of holiness and freedom. Salvation is thus a present, not merely a future, reality; and the true spiritual resurrection of the Christian takes place now and here. The future resurrection will mean only the substitution for the present fleshly body, in which the Christian is compelled to dwell while on earth, of a new spiritual body fitted to the spiritual life which has already begun. Paul's theory involved also the Deity of Christ, through mystic union with whom a man's nature is transformed. It was in his doctrine of redemption that the historic belief in the Deity of Christ found its basis.

Into the details of Paul's thought we cannot enter further here. His system is found in all its essential features in his Epistles, especially in the Galatians (as well as in the latest (see McGiffert, ch. iii., also pp. 221 ff. and 378 ff.).

The peculiar type of thought of which Paul is the earliest representative appears also in a fragmentary way in the First Epistle of Peter; and the Fourth Gospel and First Epistle of John are dominated by it (so also the Epistles of Ignatius of the early 2nd century). Though Jesus is represented as speaking so extensively in the Fourth Gospel, it is the thought of the author rather than of Jesus Himself that appears both in Gospel and Epistle. In both we find the conception of the need of the transformation of man's nature by the indwelling of the Divine, and the belief in the Deity of Christ, through union with whom the transformation is effected. In spite of many divergencies between John and Paul, the general type of thought is the same, and the agreements far outweigh the differences.

In the other writings of the NT and in Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians an altogether different type of theology appears, unknowingly, the first of the early Jewish disciples. The influence of
To Paul, as has already been seen, Christianity was an altogether different thing. He had experienced a serious moral crisis, and had passed through a severe moral struggle such as the earlier disciples had not known, and he found in Christianity, above all else, the satisfaction of his moral needs. Christianity, as he conceived it, was a religion offering to him and to every man a new moral power sufficient to transform him from an evil to a good being, from a sinner to a saint. His theory of redemption did not find general acceptance,—in fact it was commonly quite misunder- stood that his concept of Christianity—thought to do fundamentally with release from sin and with the promotion of holiness speedily became wide-spread. From him, too, came the sharp contrast between 'flesh' and 'spiritual,' which was common at an early date. Holiness thus came to be regarded as the principal mark of the Christian life, and sins of the flesh were esteemed the worst of all sins. Primitive Christian literature is full of exhortations to purity, and of denunciations of unchastity and lust. The lenient view taken of sexual immorality by the contemporary heathen world, and the close connexion between it and some of the religious cults of the day, doubtless had much to do with the frequent pronouncements on this subject in early Christian documents; but behind it all, even though seldom coming to expression, lay the Pauline contrast between flesh and spirit, and the conviction that those who receive the Holy Spirit and makes His continued presence with the individual and with the Church impossible (cf., in addition to the many passages in Paul's own Epistles, 1 Cor 6; 1 Cor 7; and esp. the 2nd cent. writings—Hermas, Mand. v. and x., and 2 Clement 14). Paul himself was not an ascetic in any strict sense; he even opposed asceticism in matters of food and drink, when it appeared in Rome and Colossae (Ro 14 and Col 2); but hints of an ascetic tendency appear in his Epistles (Ro 13, 1 Cor 5; 97), particularly in connexion with the relation of the sexes (cf. 1 Cor 7). In fact, the subsequent development of Catholic asceticism was already foreshadowed, though the process was still in its incipiency, in the Apostolic age (see the protest against it in 1 Ti 440). See ASCETICISM (Chr.).

Another controlling contrast in primitive Christian ethics, due in part to the same cause, in part to the prevailing expectation of the second return of Christ, was that between this world and the next,—promoting a spirit of unworldliness, or other-worldliness, which has remained a permanent feature of the Christian view of life. The primitive Jewish disciples, Christianity was primarily not an ethical but a Messianic movement. It is true that they believed, with John the Baptist and with Jesus, that the sign of the coming Kingdom (cf. Ac 329). It was because of the unrighteousness of the people that Jesus had not established it during His earthly life, and not until there was such repentance would He return (Ac 329). But they interpreted righteousness in the ordinary Jewish way as the keeping of the revealed Law of God in all its parts, and introduced little change in current ethical conception. The personal act of repentance in the keeping of God's commandments as revealed by Jesus Christ. This must be preceded by repentance, and repentance by faith,—which means, primarily, the conviction that God will reward those who keep, and punish those who break, His law,—without which faith no one will repent and obey God's commandments. The work of Jesus Christ was to bring to men a knowledge of God's law and its sanctions, and by Him they would be judged. He was thus at once Mediator of salvation and Judge of the world, and the titles 'Saviour' and 'Lord' were both commonly applied to Him. The exalted position which He occupied led Chris- tians to conceive of Him in a more immediate and peculiar intimacy with God, and in course of time to speculate about the origin and nature of that relationship. By some it was thought that His supernatural endowment began at the time of His baptism, when He was called by God and equipped for His work by the gift of the Spirit (cf. the accounts of the baptism in the Gospels, esp. the text given in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, 105, and also the testimony of Justin, ib. 48, and Eusebius, HE v. 28, 3). By others He was given a supernatural origin, being represented as the child of the Holy Spirit (as in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke); while still others pushed His origin even further back, and thought of Him as a pre-existent Being who had come down from heaven (thus, e.g., the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, Apocalypse, and Clement). Where this general type of thought prevailed, an adequate motive for assuming the Deity of Christ, and for committing Paul and those who felt the influence of his theory of redemption, was lacking. Endowment with the Spirit at baptism, supernatural birth, pre-existence —all of these were demanded of the Deity as such. It was not due to these Christians, but to Paul and his school, that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ finally became a part of historic Christian dogmatics.

The two types of thought that have been des- cribed developed for the most part independently of one another for some generations; but even in writings representing controllingly one or the other type, traces of the opposite tendency sometimes appear, and towards the close of the 2nd cent. the two were combined by Ireneaus, bishop of Lyons, who made both man's obedience to the Divine law and the transformation of his nature through the infusion of Divine grace necessary to salvation, and so laid the foundations of historic Catholic dogmatics. In the combination much of Paul's thought was lost; but the essential feature of it,—that humanity is evil and must be transformed by union with Him on equal terms to men of a new sort, and became the basis of the sacramental system, which we find, as a matter of fact, already foreshadowed in 1 Co 10 and in Jn 3 and 6. The primitive Jewish disciples, Christianity was primarily not an ethical but a Messianic movement. It is true that they believed, with John the Baptist and with Jesus, that the sign of the coming Kingdom (cf. Ac 329). It was because of the unrighteousness of the
regarded as the truly Christian attitude (e.g., 2 Co 6:17, Gal 6:7, Ph 3:19, Col 3:1, Ja 4:6, 1 Ja 2:2; and also the striking passage in the 2nd cent. Epistle to Diognetus, 5:4). Not harmony with one's environment, as in classic Greek ethics, but revolt against it, and in the long run a life entirely detached from it—this was the Christian ideal already in the Apostolic age. And this spirit worked together with the controlling emphasis upon fiercely purity to promote asceticism, and also with emphasis in the Apostolic age on its natural fruit—monasticism (cf. the prophetic remark of Paul in 1 Co 5:9).

The sharp contrast between the two worlds, and the recognition of the present world as evil, did not result in a desire to change existing conditions; no social revolution was contemplated. The division of society into rich and poor, master and slave, was treated as normal. The effort was made to introduce Christian principles into all the relations of life, but the desire to escape from the class to which one had belonged was not encouraged (cf. 1 Co 7:27).

There is frequent emphasis in the writings of the age on one's conduct toward one's father, husband, wife, child, servant (Eph 5, Col 3, 1 P 3, 1 Ti 6, Tit 2), and even occasionally as citizen (Ro 13:1, 1 P 2:17, Tit 3:1, 1 Clement 60.61). However evil the present era of Christianity, there was a desire to walk in such a way as to give no just ground of offence to outsiders, to show proper respect to all men, and to live honourably, quietly, peaceably, and blamelessly with every one (Ro 12:13, 1 P 2:1, 1 Th 4:1 etc.).

The ideal of social service and the desire to promote the spirit of brotherhood in the world at large had little place among the early Christians. Rather to gather out of the world a company of holy men, heirs of the promised Kingdom—this was their great aim (cf. the Euchistic prayers in the early 2nd cent. Didache, 9.10). It is true that love is frequently insisted upon in the writings of the Apostolic age, but it commonly takes the form of love for the Christian brethren, which is to be manifested in charity, hospitality, sympathy, concord, forbearance, tender-heartedness, forgiveness, humility, etc. And even when it is not so limited, it is toward only a limited number—e.g., the virtues (cf. 1 Ti 2:2, 3; 4:7, 8; 5:2, 3; 6, 1 P 3:7, 1 Clement 49 if. is hardly sufficient to justify us in making an exception of the author). But the influence of Jesus is seen nevertheless in the general emphasis—common to most of our sources—upon the virtues of gentleness, peaceableness, forbearance, and humility. Nothing is said of the duty of insisting upon one's rights and demanding proper recognition from others. Self-abnegation in one's relations with one's fellows, rather than self-assertion, is the recognized ideal.

But the contrast with the prevailing ethical sentiment of the Roman world was not confined to a difference in ideals. The Christians recognized the moral law, which it was their duty to obey, as given directly by revelation from God, the revelation involving also an announcement of the future sanctions attending obedience and disobedience. There was no difficulty or confusion about the Christian ethics not commonly found elsewhere. Emphasis upon the hope of reward and the fear of punishment, as grounds of moral conduct, is very common in our sources (cf. 1 Co 6:10, 15:10, 2 Co 3, Gal 6:7, 1 Th 2:3, 1 P 3:17, 1 Ti 6:9). But motives are also frequently urged: to walk worthy of one's calling as God's elect, to please and glorify God, to be like Christ, to be true to one's opportunities and responsibilities, to help, not harm, one's brethren, to promote the good name of Christianity in the world at large (cf. 1 Co 6:6, 1 P 2:9, Col 3:1, 1 Th 2:3, 4, 1 P 2:12-14, 1 Clement 30).

It meant much more than that the early Christians believed that Christianity was for all men, low as well as high, and that they recognized the moral possibilities even of the meanest. Christianity, indeed, supplied a new and higher basis for the admission for the masses of the people, and that in spite of the fact that already the ominous distinction between two grades of morality, one for the common man and the other for the spiritual elite, was beginning to appear (cf. 1 Co 7 and Didache, 6).

So far as moral performance was concerned, it evidently left much to be desired. Of this the repeated exhortations and warnings in the Christian literature of the period are sufficient evidence, and we have direct record of some striking examples of immorality (e.g., Ac 5, 1 Co 5:11, Jude 8). It is worthy of notice, too, that the Christians bore a bad moral reputation; their Pharisaic enemies, by degrees, largely, no doubt, to prejudice, but also in part well founded (cf. 1 Th 4:4, 2 Th 3:1, 1 P 2:9).

But in spite of all this, it is clear that Christianity was a controlling moral movement, and that it involved a real moral revolution, as well as one of its adherents. The very insistence upon the matter in our sources shows that there was a strenuous ethical ideal, and that the Christians themselves recognized its binding character; and we have also documentary testimony to the effects of Christianity upon the lives of its converts (see not only the writings of the Christians themselves, but also the tacit witness of Pliny's letter to Trajan). In general, it may be said that the common notion of the Christians was that the aim of Christianity is to make men purer and better here, in order to a blessed immortality hereafter.

6. Development of organization.—In primitive Jewish Christianity no organization was needed in the beginning, for the disciples regarded themselves simply as heralds of the coming Kingdom. It might perhaps have been expected that they would form in Jerusalem a separate synagogue, but this they apparently did not do, and the failure to do shows how little they regarded themselves as a distinct sect. Their desire was to convince their fellow-countrymen of Jesus' Messiahship, and to win an unprejudiced and unattached hearers to form a religious cult or society of their own. Certain Christians, particularly James the brother of Jesus, and others who had stood in relations of intimacy with Him, such as the Twelve, naturally had large influence in the Jerusalem circle, but there is no sign that this involved any official position or appointment. Some sort of an organization, however, the disciples had at an early date. As a brotherhood they felt it their duty to care for the necessities of the needy among them, and so a committee was appointed for the distribution of aid (Ac 6). Beyond this we do not know that the early Jerusalem Christians went; but ultimately, after the final break with their unbelieving brethren, the Christian Jews were organized as independent institutions, though the exact form which the organization took is unknown to us.

In the non-Jewish world conditions were different. Here, too, the expectation of the speedy consummation made any careful organization seem unnecessary, and the conviction of the presence of the Spirit made bands of unbelievers form (cf. Ac 16, 19), the founding of churches began at an early date; and in them, although for some time leadership devolved naturally upon men specially endowed
by the Spirit, such as apostles, prophets, and teachers, gradually the necessities of the case led to a more formal organization, substitutes being required for the inspired men who might not always be present. This led to the establishment of bishops and their assistants, the deacons—existed in some churches before the end of the Apostolic age; but the development of the threefold ministry—apostle, prophet, and deacon—belongs to the 2nd century.

7. Religious services.—The early Jerusalem disciples were devout Jews, and continued to observe the religious practices and attend the religious services of their people. Their common religious life as Christians expressed itself not so much in formal services as in informal gatherings from house to house, where their community of feeling as disciples of Jesus and heirs of the approaching Kingdom found natural and familiar expression. Concerning the subsequent development within the Jewish Christian Churches we have no information.

In the Gentile world all seems at first to have been equally informal; but the attitude of hostility towards the religious practices and principles of the heathen world, taken by Paul and other early missionaries, made it necessary for converts to Christ to renounce their old customs and find to their religious life wholly within the Christian circle. Thus it was inevitable that a Christian cult should early develop, to meet the need of those who were cut off from the religious exercises to which they had been accustomed. Christian worship became ultimately very elaborate and ornate, and took on many of the features of the cults which it displaced, but in the Apostolic age the prayer meetings or the morning and evening assemblies for the development of one's soul became the central feature of the Christian cult. A very elaborate ceremonial grew up in connexion with it, and it was regarded as the most sacred and mysterious of all religious rites (see art. AGAPE and Eucharist).

In the Didache, 9, it is commanded that none except baptized persons be allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper. This is the earliest explicit statement of a general rule which, it may fairly be supposed, was long observed, but not formally stated. For the sacred meals of the early Christians can hardly have been shared by any not belonging to the Christian circle, and admission to it was not commonly, if not universally, granted by the ceremony of baptism (see art. BAPTISM).

8. Significance of the Apostolic age.—The Apostolic age is the period of Christian origins, and as such has a significance attaching to no other in the history of the Church. It was during this period that the Church as an organization came into existence, and the foundations were laid upon which all subsequent ages built. Most of the tendencies that appear in Christian history are to be found at least in germ in the Church of the 1st century. It is through the Apostolic age also that we get our knowledge of Jesus Christ. To it owe not simply the written accounts of His life, but also the impression of His personality which constitutes an integral part of our picture of Him. It is true that the very change of emphasis from Christ's message about God to His personality involved a change in the interpretation of His controlling purposes, which has coloured Christian thought ever since. Nevertheless, it is through the Apostolic age that we approach Him, and from it that we get the impression of the attitude of these two principles towards the original freedom. If an individual fails to exercise discretion in the use of his gifts, he must be controlled by his brethren, and thus the way the prepared for a regular order of service, and for the appointment of certain persons to take charge of the meetings, and to see that all is done decently and in order. There is no sign that Paul himself contemplated such a result, but the stereotyped process ensued in course of time. In Rome, before the end of the 1st cent., it was already well under way, and regularly appointed officials were in the control of the services (cf. Acts 20:14); and before long the early freedom had given way almost everywhere to liturgical rules (cf. Didache, 91; Justin, Apol. 67; Ignatius, Magn. 7, Trall. 7, Smyrn. 8).

In addition to the meetings already described, the Christians at Corinth were in the habit of gathering from time to time to share in a common meal. At this meal they not only partook of food and drink for the ordinary purpose of satisfying hunger and thirst, but it was their custom, as was apparently the case among the early Jerusalem disciples, to eat bread and drink wine in commemoration of Jesus. At the time when Paul wrote, the meals had degenerated into scenes of disorder and debauchery. Under these circumstances he informed the Corinthians that the commemoration of Christ's death was the chief purpose of the meal, and not eating and drinking for their own sake; that they ought to purchase wine to be kept at home, that they might be able to commemorate Christ in the right spirit, and make the meal wholly a religious service (1 Cor. 11, 23). The immediate effect of Paul's attitude in this matter we do not know; but common meals continued in some quarters for generations, but ultimately they were everywhere given up, and the religious ceremony known as the Eucharist or Lord's Supper alone remained. In subsequent centuries it became the central feature of the Christian cult.
Him face to face were still alive and influential must always stand apart from other days in the record of His followers.

On other accounts, too, the Apostolic age will always have peculiar religious value. As the period of beginnings, there is an incomparable freshness about it. Its close association with men of the first generation leaves it an inspirational quality not found elsewhere; and in it were produced the classic documents of Christianity from which all Christians since have drawn religious sustenance. There were supposed to have come in line with the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, and to have remained the cornerstones of Christian faith, so that the Christian Church has been built on the basis of Apostolic correctness.

But another significance has been ascribed by Christian tradition to the Apostolic age. During the 2nd cent, there grew up a conception of Apostolic authority which has prevailed ever since, and has given the 1st cent. a worth and dignity to which the fact that it is the period of Christian origins and nearest in time to Jesus Christ would not of itself entitle it. In the effort to repudiate the errors of the Marcionites and Gnostics, which were spreading rapidly in the 2nd cent., certain leaders of the Church began to insist upon the teaching of the Apostles, that is, the Twelve and Peter and Paul, and it so faith, on the ground that they had been chosen by Christ to be the founders of His Church, and had been endowed with the Spirit in such measure as to render them infallible guides in word and truth of God. In the effort to define the teaching of the Apostles, and to show that they gave no support to the vagaries ofMarcion and the Gnostics, it was claimed that they had left certain writings together constituting an authentic Scripture canon, and had framed a creed containing the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith. Whoever would be a member of the true Church, and so an heir of salvation, must unfeignedly accept all that was taught both by canon and by creed. A sharp line of demarcation was thus drawn between the age of the Apostles and all subsequent generations. In the Apostolic age was found the standard for all time to come. The Apostles themselves came to be regarded as figures supernaturally endowed for the unique work of establishing the Church, and raised above the ordinary frailties and limitations of humanity. Their official character was so emphasized that the supposition of the individuality was lost. The differences between them were forgotten, in the conviction that as men divinely inspired they must all have been completely of one mind. Apostolic from Paul, history knows practically nothing of their several careers, of the regions where they laboured, and the work they did; and not until the 3rd cent., long after all authentic sources of information had disappeared, did tradition begin to busy itself with them as individuals—a striking illustration of the indifference to historic reality to which the 2nd cent. theory of Apostolicity gave rise. As a result of that theory, all that the Apostles were supposed to have taught, whether by precept or example, acquired infallible authority; and nothing in doctrine, in polity, in ritual, or in practice could be regarded as Christian unless directly or indirectly of Apostolic origin. Development on all these lines was made possible by the belief that the Apostles had also instituted a perpetual Apostolic office for the government and guidance of the Church, the incumbents of which were endowed with the inspiration of the Apostles, and with the infallible authority of the truth of God. Bible and creed were thus supplemented by the living voice of the Catholic episcopate, and the Church was enabled to conform to normal conditions and to meet new needs, without ostensibly breaking away from Apostolic foundations or giving up its theory of Apostolic authority. The Protestant reformers of the 16th cent. rejected the Catholic notion of an infallible episcopate, but the Catholic belief in Apostolic authority was retained, and the Bible was regarded as the complete and final expression of Apostolic teaching on all conceivable subjects. Reformers were supposed to have become acquainted with the age of the Apostles, and the development that had taken place under the aegis of episcopal authority was repudiated. The effort was made to return to the conditions of the Apostolic age, and to bring the Church into conformity with its principles and practices in all respects, nothing being regarded as truly Christian unless it enjoyed the authority of Apostolic precept or example.

This belief still prevails widely in connexion with doctrine, but in the matter of ritual and polity it has been generally abandoned. Moreover, the whole conception of Apostolic authority has been given up by many in modern times, and it has come to be widely held that the age of the Apostles was essentially similar to any other in the history of the Church, that it was confronted with its own problems and difficulties, and that the men who met and solved them were like those of other ages.

This change of attitude has been of immense historical and religious value. A reality attaches to the Apostolic age and to the persons of the early leaders of the Church which they never possessed before. For the first time an understanding of the period and a genuinely historical treatment of it have become possible, and from the religious experiences and teaching of the Apostles and their followers we can now more clearly understand and appreciate, modern Christians are gaining new inspiration and instruction.

LITERATURE.—Of older books on the Apostolic age should be mentioned Neander, Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel, 1833 (Eng. tr. 1842), Baur, Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi, 1846 (Eng. tr. 1873), Baur, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte (Eng. tr. 1875); Ritschl, Entstehung der altchristlichen Kirche, 1856 (2nd ed. 1857, entirely worked over) (in its second edition another epoch-making book, which did more than any other to break the dominance of the Tubingen interpretation of early Church history); Renan, Histoire des Origines du christianisme, 2 vols., 1863; ed. of modern science and of apostol. Zeitalter der christl. Kirche, 1856 (3rd ed. 1852; Eng. tr. 1859) (the most influential of modern histories of the Apostolic age); Pfeiffer, Der Ursprung der Urchristen, 1872; Zahn, Die Entwicklung des Christentums, 1905 (Eng. tr. 1901); Mcgiffert, History of Christian Church, 1907, tr. of modern science and of apostol. Zeitalter der christl. Kirche, 1856 (3rd ed. 1852; Eng. tr. 1859); William, Die Ausflüge unserer Religion, 1901 (2nd ed. 1904; Eng. tr. 1907); Dobricez, Die kirchlichen Gemeinden, 1902 (Eng. tr. 1904), and his brief sketch, Das apostolische Zeitalter, 1906 (in the Religionsgeschichtliche Volkbilder); Kneip, Das nachapostol. Zeitalter, 1905; Ropes, The Apostolic Age in the Light of Modern Criticism, 1906. The various standard lives of Paul, works on NT literature and theology, Church histories, and histories of doctrine, which deal more or less fully with our subject, it is not necessary to specify.

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.—1. The principle of ministry in the NT.—That from the Apostles' time there has existed in the Christian Church a ministry exercising official functions by regular devotion of authority is a fact which few historians would dispute. But had been made on its behalf to be a necessary part of the institution of Christ. But as this claim is put forward on behalf of Churches retaining the canonical orders and also the other missionaries, Apostolic succession becomes a significant fact, and therefore a doctrine. Consequently it demands a closer and more vigorous scrutiny than would otherwise attend an investigation into the origin of the Christian Ministry. The theory is that Christ, having established a society primarily
visible and historical, gave to that society a recognizable unity and cohesion, not only by instituting in Baptism a sacrament of initiation, and in the Eucharist a sacrament of corporate life, but also by perpetuating its collective witness in a continuous and authoritative ministry.

Theapostolic office was not unambiguously in the creeds and confessions of faith. It has, for example, been conceived as a function of the Church as a whole, and with that of the manner in which this principle has been realized in history. This has led to discussions on the Divine Right of bishops as an expression of the church's governing power, and caused stress to be laid on an all or nothing approach to doctrine by which Church history, so far as known, do not justify, and which is too formal to be consistent with an organically developing society. Hooker was right when he commented on the authenticity and historical, but he contended himself with affirming that episcopacy ‘best agreed with the sacred Scripture’ (Stat. Pol. iii. 16, cf. vii. 11).

Or, again, the sacerdotalism of the third century has been un-warrantably intruded into the first, and the whole matter treated as though it was a question whether Christ had set up a priestly caste, to which the mysteries of religion were entrusted, and without which spiritual life was not only hindered but impossible. These methods of thought have led to narrow and technical inquiries into the sacramental character of the Presbytery, the form and nature of the office by which the Church was constituted, and the precise conception of the various powers which from time to time it has been intended to convey. To this end, the present section will deal with the personal qualifications of the presbyters, setting the pattern in the early presbytery, as well as the structure of the Church, and then go on to consider the subject of the presbytery, in particular the question of the episcopal office and the ecclesiastical authority of the Church.

The structure of the argument, in spite of Macaulay’s reference to it as a ‘fanatical work’, witnesses to a certain fact of the Church’s development which may not be ignored. The Church was, as a matter of course, not built up in a single piece, but was formed from many different parts, as is seen in the course of the development of the Church, the descent of which from Apostles was not questioned, but the tradition of the Church is valid. The question is, whether the Church was an universal episcopate, the ordination of which was valid, without the form and nature of the office. The Church of the apostles, therefore, is not a mere ‘name of the Church’ (Tratt. 3). It is not, therefore, scientific to discuss the doctrine of Apostolic succession because the statement of the facts has been inadequate or extravagant. This is true of most, if not all, Christian doctrines.

The object of the present essay is to show what reasons there are, in view of the facts and principles of the NT, for believing that the great institution of the Christian ministry belongs to the substance of Christianity. Whatever variations may have occurred in the transmission of the Church, the Church of the Middle Ages, great stress is laid upon the teaching of the early church, in the case of the supposed right of the Alexandrian presbyteries until the time of Bishop Hieranias, A.D. 233, to consecrate their own chief pastor (Jerome, Ep. 146; Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iv. 40, 42, 45, v. 39; and Tertullian, De Presbyteris. 32, ad. Marc. iv. 5; Apol. 47; cf. Hesages, in Euseb. iv. 22). In the early days of the Church, Ignatius wrote that, after the primitive ministry, there is no such name of the Church (ibid.). It is not, therefore, scientific to discuss the doctrine of Apostolic succession because the statement of the facts has been inadequate or extravagant. This is true of most, if not all, Christian doctrines.

A. IN THE GOSPEL—The Gospel of Mark registers the stages by which the Christian community, with its characteristic message of forgiveness and endowment of the Holy Spirit, was established. The Church (cf. St. Mark’s Account of the Birth of the Church, pp. 3-5, cf. his Gospel History and its Transmission, ch. 3). It is important to observe, as revealed in this Gospel, the principles which appear as an important part in the formation of the Church. The headline of Mark’s narrative is, ‘The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God’ (1). That the gospel is virtually identical with the description of the coming of Christ, as described by Mark, is apparent from vv.14, 15 in which Jesus is described as taking up the work of the Baptist and announcing as His message the approach of the Kingdom (cf. Mt 4:17, Lk 4:43). The identification of the forerunner, e.g., in this case to the evangelical prophet (Is 40), was to herald the return of God’s people to the sacred city (Mt 19), and the recognition of Jesus in His baptism as uniting the attributes of the expected Messiah with those of the Nazarene, Messiah’s agent in the process of restoration (11; cf. Ps 2, Is 42), mark out the coming of Jesus from Nazareth to Jordan and the descent of the Spirit (vv. 9-11) as the first stage in the development of the Kingdom.

The second stage is its proclamation by Jesus Himself on His return from the wilderness to Galilee (vv.14-15). This is immediately followed by the call of the first disciples, who obey may be, to work in the function of the Church, whether it be the teacher of truth or the dispenser of sacraments, the inquiry is not vitally affected. Where, as in the case of the Church of the Middle Ages, great stress is laid upon the teaching of the early church, the mission will appear rather as the Divinely appointed guardian of the Apostolic witness to evangelical truth. The two questions that are fundamentally inter-related are: (a) Is the Church of Christ as the object of salvation, the true center of the Kingdom? (b) Does the Church as established by Christ present any of the features of a historical institution? It
of His 'disciples,' who become a society resting upon the Lord's choice, no longer a promiscuous following united only by the uncertain bond of a common Master. Within this circle Jesus constitutes twelve (v. 19); Luke adds 'whom also he named apostles' (6: 6). But the importance of this appointment is clearly seen by what in a narrative context concludes with Matthew (10: 6), Mark (3: 16-19) cannot be without significant. He selects the list (3: 16-19) repeated by each of the other Synoptists (Mt 10: 2-4, Lk 6: 14-16), and also in Acts (1: 19). The words 'He made twelve' (ταξιν ο��ηκαν) are necessary on the part of the Evangelist, the purpose of which was to extend His own mission by proclaiming the Kingdom and exercising authority in casting out the rival kingdom of Beelzebub (Mk 3: 20-21). To this end those who now in a narrower sense become 'the disciples' are first to be 'with him' (3: 14, cf. Lk 22: 29), so that from this point the narrative acquires a different character, being a record, on the one hand, of growing opposition in the part of the movement now definitely embodied in an organized society, and, on the other, of the training of the Twelve for thrones in the Kingdom which Christ has appointed to them (Lk 22: 28). The call to the Twelve as the own ministry disciples is the preliminary mission on which they are sent throughout the villages of Galilee. Their commission corresponds to the stage which Christ's work has already reached. They preach repentance, cast out demons, and heal the sick. The exact words of the Evangelist (Mk 6: 7) are worthy of attention: 'He began to send them forth' (ἀποστέλλειν). Just as the whole narrative is the beginning of that Gospel the history of which is still in the early stage of development, so here we have the beginning of the Apostolate, ultimately to become universal in its scope.

Two further preparatory stages are, however, necessary, before the Church can be built upon the Twelve (Mt 16: 18; cf. Eph 2: 20, Rev 21: 4)—the confession of Jesus' Messiahship, and the disclosure of suffering and death as the channel through which the gospel of the Kingdom was to become the witness to a crucified and risen Master.

The critical conversation at Cesarea Philippi is narrated with greater detail by Mt. (16: 16-20; cf. Mk 8: 27-30, Lk 9: 18-20). Mt. connects with the Apostolate the first of the two stages, the conversation as the occasion as a further stage in the building of the Church, against which the gates of Hades are not to prevail. The authority to bind and loose here committed to St. Peter was, according to Cyprian (de Unitate, 4), extended to the Twelve on the occasion recorded in Mt 18: 18-20. It is, however, difficult to suppose that the Ecclesia in v. 17 does not primarily refer to the local Jewish synagogue (see Hort, Christian Ecclesiastic, p. 9), especially in view of the words 'Gentile and publican'; and it is quite in accord with Mt.'s manner to string together utterances not originally related. When, therefore, καὶ ἄριστα came to be interpreted of the Christian society, it would be quite natural to add, not only the promise of vv. 16, 17, but the charter of authority given in v. 18, which is at least evidence that it was not regarded as applying to Mt. Peter only. And it is probable that the authority in question was extended to the Twelve, and that v. 18, even if not originally spoken in that connexion, accurately expresses the fact. The Fourth Gospel, in recording one of the apocryphal conversation of Jesus with the Twelve, and with the importation of the Holy Spirit by breathing on the disciples, and renewing the authority, not now in the old Hebraic form, but in language connecting the Apostolic ministry with the onrming work: 'Whosoever sins ye forgive, etc. (Jn 20: 23). The suggestion that Jesus here addressed not the Eleven, but a promiscuous gathering of disciples (see Westcott, Gospel Acts, to i. Jn 20: 23 n.) seems to be negatived by the whole course of the Johannean narrative. It is true that John notes the absence of Thomas (v. 24), but he is specially mentioned as 'one of the Twelve,' and it is difficult to suppose that the Evangelist, who gave the length the last discourses addressed to the Eleven only does not intend to convey the same impression to the end. Nor can the renewed commission to St. Peter recorded in 21: 17 be regarded, in the light of the Denial otherwise than as a specific restoration to a position that might else have seemed to be forfeited.

We find, then, in the Gospels a Christian society already in existence, within which the Apostles are an inner circle of more immediate disciples, recapitulating and intensifying the characteristics of the general body. This becomes apparent from the moment of the choice recorded in Mk 3: 16, and is emphasized in the conversation at Cesarea Philippi. Hort favors the view that the words 'whom also he named apostles' (Rv, cf. Lk 6: 16) belong to the genuine text (Christian Ecclesiastic, p. 22). But it is clear that during the Lord's own ministry discipleship is the preliminary mission on which they are sent throughout the villages of Galilee. Their commission corresponds to the stage which Christ's work has already reached. They preach repentance, cast out demons, and heal the sick. The exact words of the Evangelist (Mk 6: 7) are worthy of attention: 'He began to send them forth' (ἀποστέλλειν). Just as the whole narrative is the beginning of that Gospel the history of which is still in the early stage of development, so here we have the beginning of the Apostolate, ultimately to become universal in its scope.

When we reach the last Passover, the importance of the narrative attains its height. From the conversation at Caesarea, the training of the Twelve takes a course clearly differentiating it from that of all others. The acknowledgment of Messiahship is not to be considered as a commission than that of death, in respect that he alone the term ἀποστέλλειν is subsequently used (6: 26), but see above). Luke, however, clearly employs the word in the light of its subsequent use in Acts (Lk 6: 22 17: 22; 24: 49). Matthew uses it only in connexion with the Galilean mission (10: 6), but it is in giving the name of the Twelve—apostles—a fact in itself significant of the wider purpose lying behind the immediate commission.

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the Church is thus made to stand upon them. The Eucharist became theirs in virtue of the conditions under which it was first celebrated; and only through them, and as they transmitted it, does it pass to the community. This is in accordance with the relations brought out by John. Those who are hereafter to believe are to do so "through their word" (176). The High Priestly Prayer reaches out through the disciples, who are to bear the primary witness, to those who are mediately called "brethren" of the Apostle and the Lord. The post-Resurrection narratives do but confirm the impression of the special separation of the Twelve which culminates in the seclusion of the Upper Room. The narrative of Mark is explicit, but the command given to the women, themselves Jesus' disciples, to "tell his disciples and Peter" (16) of the empty tomb, shows the Eleven as a distinct body. Mt. gives the commission to make disciples and to baptize as entrusted to the "eleven disciples" (20). Lk. shows other disciples gathered at Jerusalem when the risen Christ appeared to them (24). But the Eleven are distinguished from them (16), the rest being expressly spoken of as a constant in Mt. Even if, therefore, the appearance recorded in Jn 20:19-23 refers to the same occasion, the words 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit,' etc., must also certainly have a special bearing upon the Twelve. 

B. IN THE ACTS.—With the Acts we reach a further and a final stage in the foundation of the Christian society. The gospel of the Kingdom now becomes the organized witness to the Resurrection. The ministry of reconciling, which finds its full expression in the proclamation of forgiveness through the Cross, we find specially committed to the Apostle (Lk. 6: 22 10) — a term which gains a correspondingly determinate meaning. The list of the Eleven is again given in the following development (12), and the choice of Matthias is based upon the necessity of completing the number of the official witnesses (Lk. 2: 22). The phenomena of the early chapters are precisely what a study of the Gospels would suggest. The Church enters upon its career as an organized body, the Apostles being differentiated from the brethren. From the first the brotherhood continues in "the apostles, and the brethren, and praised in Jerusalem, and those that were deviated to the Apostolic despotism appears in the choice of Matthias and of the Seven. In the former case, two were put forward (12), apparently by lot. In the latter, the choice, from among the Seventy, was reserved for the unseem present Master (Lk. 2: 24). In the latter, the brethren were expressly charged by the Apostles to "look out" from among themselves seven men (6), who, after prayer, were set apart with the laying-on of Apostolic hands (Lk. 6: 6). All the elements of ordinance are here. At the outset of ministerial appointment it would seem as though the Apostles claimed any lordship over God's heritage. They do not even exercise a vote. The responsibility of supplying the need of ministrations, as the circumstances of the Christian community disclose themselves, belongs to the society itself. The Apostolic imposition of hands is, like the sacrament, a form of covenant prayer (Col IV. 11. Instit. iv. 19, § 31: 'I admit it to be a sacrament in true and legitimate ordination'). Those set apart represent, not the Apostles, but Christ. The Sunday assembly of the Christian community is thus defined. If this be so, it is obvious that what subsequently became the third order of the ministry was not explicitly appointed by Christ. The general idea conveyed by Acts is that of a society extending and organizing itself on the basis of their own powers and circumstances. But the laying-on of hands in this instance represents a principle conspicuous throughout the book, viz. the requirement of mission from Christ Himself, of which Apostolic recognition was the pledge. But there is no evidence even that the ministry of the word, which, in directing the appointment of the Seven, the Apostles of Peter and John, transferred to them full and plenary submission. No doubt, the actual gospel itself was inviolate and unchangeable. But not even an Apostolic, according to St. Paul, was to be believed if he deviated from that standard (Gal 1). As the primary witnesses to the Resurrection they have no successors. The gospel is an Apostolic report of incommunicable experience, once for all delivered to the whole body of the saints (Jude). The formation of the NT canonic was based upon the test of Apostolicity, and consequently the appeal to Scripture has become the permanent form in which, as regards matters of faith, the Church of every age sits at the Apostles' feet.
charging a sort of general episcopate and including the Twelve, whose precise relation to one another is not clearly defined. Within these communities are exercised certain spiritual gifts, among the possessors of which the prophets seem to approach most nearly to a regular order, but are nevertheless not, like the presbyteral deacons, in the accomplishment of Christ's purpose and command—that the Apostles should be His witnesses to the uttermost parts of the earth. When the writer had brought St. Paul to Rome, the task, as his contemporaries would view it, was in a sense fulfilled. A delay of centuries in the return of Christ visibly to reign in the midst of His people was not contemplated. That is the true answer to the suggestion that the method of continuing a Christian ministry was among the things pertaining to the Kingdom, of which the risen Christ spoke to the disciples during the Forty Days. This could not well have been without a revelation as to the procedure of the local pastor of the Church in the midst of the earth, which it is clear the primitive community did not possess. The continuity of the Apostolic office itself beyond the lifetime of the original witnesses is, however, possible. The terms of their appointment involved personal testimony to the facts of our Lord's life. The question, therefore, of ministerial succession could not arise until it became probable that the Apostles were not to tarry with His earth any longer.

C. IN THE EPISTLES. — The Epistles confirm, and in some points render more explicit, the testimony of the Acts. Here we are mainly concerned with the Pauline group, where the corporate aspect of Christianity is always prominent. But the Epistle to the Hebrews enjoins obedience to 'them that have the rule,' clearly implying accountability, not to the congregation, but to that 'great shepherd of the sheep' to whom reference is immediately made (He 13:17. 20. 24). And as the general tendency of the Epistle is to isolate the eternal priesthood of Christ in contrast with the transitory and therefore successive priesthood of the OT, it is well to remember not only the teaching of the earlier Pauline epistles, but also that of Christian believers is here represented as a flock with many under-shepherds, but that the same idea is definitely presented under the figure of the house, in a passage distinctly anticipating a later, more developed view of the ministry (3:16). St. James, apparently witnesses to a part of the Apostolic commission, viz. the healing of the sick, as vested in the presbyterate (5:14); and St. Peter develops the conception of the Christian congregation as a flock entrusted to the presbyters under the Chief Shepherd (1 P 5:4; cf. Mt 26:33, Lk 12:32, Jn 21:15, Acts 15:3, 1 P 5:2). And it is noticeable that, calling himself a 'co-presbyter' (2 P 1:1), St. Paul regards the presbyterate as inherent in his own office, and yet again in that of Christ Himself as the 'Shepherd and Bishop' of souls (20). The Apocalypse, being mystical, has little to the purpose beyond the clear fact that the twelve Apostles of the Lamb are investi- gated as the foundation-stones of the heavenly city (21). The angels of the Seven Churches are almost certainly their mystical representatives, not their actual persons (Rev 1:20; see Swete, Apocalypse, p. 21 f.). But the conception of an ordered life in the unity, inseparable from the idea of a city, is here, as elsewhere in the NT, prominent.

St. Paul in his earliest Epistles recognizes the two lines of leadership. On the one hand, there must be no quibbling of the spiritual gift of the Aaronic temple, the command of the free ministry of prophecy (1 Th 5:21). On the other, Christians are to know and esteem those that are over them in the Lord (vv. 17, 20). The importance of the latter becomes clearer in 2 Thessalonians, where the form of apostolic deaconage in the accomplishment of Christ's purpose and command—already operating through the disorders consequent upon the expectation of an immediate Parousia (3:6). That the function of government and discipline is in its origin an 'apostolic' gift, exercised by those entitled to a sense of divine election, is witnessed by St. Paul's treatment of the Corinthian offender (1 Co 5:2) and his vindication of his office (1 Co 15:1, 2 Co 1:1, III, 6, 10). The Pastoral Epistles show Timotheus and Titus, in Ephesians and Crete, entrusted with a larger measure of government than the presbyters, as delegates of an absent Apostle (1 Ti 3:1). The invariable principle of Apostolic deputation is transmuted into a principle of succession. There is nothing to show that the same method was adopted in the case of other Churches, or that, in ministerial succession, the writer was doing more than developing, in relation to the immediate needs of the Churches concerned, an authority capable of many applications. But none insists more strongly than St. Paul on the structural character of the Body of Christ (Ro 12:3-8, 1 Co 12:28-31, Eph 4:11-16), or on the due subordination of spiritual gifts to the development of a society (1 Co 12:15-31), a building of which Christ is the cornerstone (Eph 2:20). The foundation is twofold (ib.), the Apostles and prophets—the latter representing in principle the ministry of the Word, the former, in so far as the office is disciplinary, that of the sacraments. Both would seem to have been united in the ordination of Timothy (1 Ti 4:11—14, 20), as though the historic, external cull and the free activity of the Spirit were both approved in the development of the primitive community. It was the separation, which inevitably arose in days of decaying fervour, between the outward links of continuity in the historic body and the manifestation of the Spirit, that raised the question of the source of Apostolic authority in the Christian society.

Note on priesthood in the NT. — One other point remains to be discussed before leaving the NT. We have already seen that the problem of the ministry is capable of consideration, and ought to be considered, apart from any sacerdotal theory. In the hieratic sense of a caste which, by interposing between the worshippers and God, denies, while it appears to guarantee, the priestly character of the people for whom it acts, sacerdotalism is an idea foreign to the NT. On the other hand, the NT is by no means to be considered as the idea that every individual is in his own right a priest is evidently consistent with the Christian idea. It is primarily the society that is a royal priesthood (1 P 2:8-9, 5:4), having boldness of access to the throne of grace in Christ (He 4:16, 13). It is the people of God, the holy nation (1 P 2:9, 10), the commonwealth of the spiritual Israel (Eph 2:11), that answers to Israel after the flesh, differing from it only in those points wherein the priestliness of the latter was imperfect. The NT, then, implies an absence of differentiation, which is essential to the life of the Church. And the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, the Epistles of St. Paul, especially Galatians, are the essential character of Christ as 'brought again from the dead with the blood of the eternal covenant' (He 9:16), at once derived from Christ, the great Shepherd of the sheep in His priestly character as 'brought again from the dead with the blood of the eternal covenant' (He 9:16), at once derived from Christ, the great Shepherd of the sheep, who have just been spoken of as having rule in the Christian community, and are considered 'the living stones' (1 P 2:4). This, then, is the logical and essential character (see Lightfoot's dissertation on 'The Christian Ministry in Philippians, pp. 335-345), with the consequent reversion to Jewish, if not pagan, ideas. The
ministry of reconciliation (2 Co 5:19) never in the NT loses its ethical character. There is nothing to suggest that the perfection of Christ's life is in any sense restricted to a certain order, or that a ceremonial investiture must precede the exercise of functions precisely defined and limited. On the other hand, the apostles, as the representatives of the moral authority dependent for its sanction upon results, with which the ministry of Christ was vested, is the clearest example of organic life.

2. The principle as preserved in the facts of Church history.—Passing from the NT to ecclesiastical history, we have to ask, not what were the characteristics of the apostles, but what subject of the ministry, but how as a matter of fact the principles embodied in the Gospels, continued in the Acts, and attested by the Epistles, were retained in the succeeding life of the Church. How was the apostolic succession changed or transformed from degenerating into a concourse of unrelated units? The Apostolic teaching is preserved in the canon of Scripture, in the formation of which Apostolicity was the invariable test. Where is the corresponding mark of Apostolicity in the structure of the Christian society?

A. WRITINGS OF THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE.—(1) The Epistle of Clement (c. St A.D.), in which, as if in the presence of the Sacerdotal episcopacy (the word ερεσίας being still, as in the NT, apparently synonymous with ερασισμός), definitely asserts the Apostolic character of the ministry as succeeding to a pastoral authority.

"And our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the Gospel. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed certain well-meaning men, and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fail, men should succeed to their ministration." (The translation and readings are those of Lightfoot in The Apostolic Fathers). A variant, which G ore adopts, and which Clement's "men,\) does "priests" (in the parallel connection, will be found in that author's Church and the Ministry (xii. 4), certain and constantly). But the text of Clement shows that the ministry was propagated on a plan directly sanctioned by Christ. His words show that in the West, where the method of "comminution" was distinctly traceable than in the communities of Asia Minor, the principle of Apostolic order was unquestioned. The facts of the Church's life are stated in succession of the Apostles. "The Apostles appointed their firstfruits to be bishops and deacons" (xii. 4). "Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ" (loc. cit. 2). What is thus handed on is a ministry of the gospel and a priesthood of offering (xxvi. 1, cxII. 5-5, xiiI. 4). The latter phrase, as also the comparison between the resistance of the Corinthians to their presbyters and the rebellion of Korah against the Levitical priests (xiiI. 4), lends itself in a hierarchical accommodation for a sacerdotal interpretation, but for Clement himself the point of the analogy is, in a word, that to the orthodox Christian, the "sceptre of God... came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride" (cxvI.), Clement sees the law of service in the adjustments of the Epistles (cxv. 1), rather than of the primitive form of the Pastoral, and which provoked the uncomprehension of the Corinthians, and wrought the division between the Churches. "Every one of the Church is as much an expression of the Spirit as Apostolic appointment (xxvI. 2). Not passive obedience, but observance of the limits which his "ordinances" impose upon him, is the duty of every member (cxI. 3-9). The relations of the several ranks are moral rather than technical.

The Epistle does not suggest a rigid system by which the performance of sacred rites is the exclusive function of a mediatorial class. But it is conspicuously plain that for Clement the Christian society is prior to the individual, and that the continuity of its vital relation to Christ depends on the persistence of facts of Church life not dependent on the change of the several units.

(2) The testimony of Ignatius is not altogether easy to appreciate, because words and phrases are apt to be misunderstood in the light of later developments. Unlike Clement, he nowhere explicitly states that the composition of the world from a spiritual point of view, within the sphere of his experience a ministry of three orders is the type of Church government, and is apparently regarded as universal. The argument from salvation is largely upon the observance of ministerial orders in the epistle to the Romans similar to those which abound elsewhere, is of doubtful force in view of the statement in Trall. 5, that 'apart from these there is not even the name of a church.' Though there is little reason to doubt that monopresbytery was established in the Churches of Asia by St. John, as Tertullian and others assert, and though the frequent association in Ignatius between the moral authority of the bishop and of the observance of the Divine commands (Mag. Philad. 1, Smyr. 8) suggests the inference that he regards this action of the Apostle as resting upon the explicit injunction of our Lord with respect to the Church, it is possible that we are not justified in concluding, apart from direct evidence, that any such injunction was in fact given. Ignatius seems to say the same about the work of the four Evangelists; but his mention of the mystical necessity of a fourfold Gospel (ad. Hier. 112, parallel to the declaration of Ignatius, that Christ is the mind of the Father, even as the 'bishops that are settled in the fairest parts of the earth are in the mind of Jesus Christ' (Eph. 3), —a mystical inference from the facts of Church life which has no certain value for history. This vein of mysticism in Ignatius must never be forgotten in estimating the evidence of his letters. Nor in his most euphemiastic allusions to the power of the Apostles. Ignatius appeal only to the word of Apostles, or even of Christ Himself, but to the moral and spiritual results of sacerdotal action already apparent in the current experience of the Church.

The main idea of Ignatius is unity (εὐνοτὸς, εὐγενικός) (Magn. 7, 13, Philad. 5). All things are from God and unto Him (Eph. 1, Philad. 14). This is regarded (after the Incarnation of the Father and the Son (Eph. 3, 5, Magn. 7, etc.). It is the purpose of Christ to unite men to God through Himself (Eph. 5, 3, etc.). The apostle Ignatius in his case feels to be not yet fully attained. He only begins to be a disciple (Eph. 3). Martyrdom he believes to be necessary that this union may be conterminous, and in which "man attains unto God." The relation is thus no mere technical association through external bonds, but what it is to have become with Christ in death, body, and life which is the blood of Christ (Trall. 8). It is checked by spiritual experience. The Divine method by which the union with Christ is achieved is the Incarnation, expected in the four facts of the Virgin-birth, Baptism, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus (Smyr. 1)—those limitations of hard fact which alone give reality and assurance to Christ's work (Magn. 11: προφεξεαί διὸ τῆς συνήκριμης τῆς προφοτείας). Here is the second appeal to experience. The teaching which St. Paul combats in the Epistle to the Colossians, which appears in a yet more virulent form in the Pastoral, and which provoked the uncompromising reaction of the bishops, is worrisome to the NT. That the "water flow from Jesus' side, had spread like a moral pestilence throughout Asia in the form of Docetism. As in the first age the retention of Christ's Humanity secured his inalienable dominion in 'the apostles' doctrine and fellowship,' so now a faithful adherence to Apostolic consecrations, is enjoined by the bishop (Eph. 6, Trall. 2, Philad. 7, Smyr. 8), with the presbyters (Eph. 4 and passim) and deacons (Magn. 6, etc.) established everywhere in the communities as constituted in the Apostles themselves, give the only pledge of that union with Christ through the Incarnation by which the believer attains to God (cog. Trall. 7).

We must observe: (a) That acceptance of the limitations imposed by loyalty to a duly constituted Christian society follows, in the thought of Ignatius, the principle of the Incarnation (cog. Eph. 3). (b) Obedience to episcopal authority is represented as a moral obligation rather than as a technical condition of salvation. To follow one of the bishops 'is to be safe' (Philad. 11), without episcopal ministrations, is condemned. 'Do nothing without the bishop' is an injunction expressed in terms so general as to include more than the celebration of sacred rites, and thus indicates that the bishops and the Eucharist are dependent on their 'validity' not upon the official character of the ministrants (a question not raised), but upon episcopal sanction (Smyr. 18). The position of the bishop and the spiritual importance of which is apparent in the case of the latter—a sacrament of unity—the neglect of the principle resulting in decline of faith and love. (d) 'Validity,' i.e. assured spiritual
efficiency, admits of degrees. Disregard of the ministry is the beginning of the internal de- 
clension which is perfected in the denial of the Son. "Invalid" does not mean null and void. 
There is nothing to show that persons baptized ‘apart from the bishop’ would have been treated as unbaptized. St. Basil as the successor to St. Ignatius must be interpreted in view of the wider use of the word and its cognates in these epistles (Mogn. 4. 7. 13.

The best translation will, perhaps, be ‘regular’ or ‘standard.’ (6) While we must refrain from 
fixing upon St. Ignatius a certain body of doctrine which reduces it to a nicely adjusted hierarchical 
machine, the principle of his thought warrants us in claiming him as an undeniable witness for the 
continuance into the sub-Apostolic age of this society. At least, the evidence is so scanty and so fragmentary in the facts of its exterior order that the alternative to structural continuity, are foreign to his whole conception. In that sense Ignatius is an 
unimpeachable witness to Apostolical succession in the early 2nd century.

Appointing his friend and pupil Irenaeus to have been appointed bishop of Smyrna by 
Apostles (Iren. iii. 4), writes to the Philippians, like Clement to the Corinthians, and Ignatius to 
Epheesians or Trallians, a letter addressed publicly to the whole Church, not only in his own name, 
but in that of his prebystyrs. The evidence is equivocal as to the existence of a bishop at 
Phillyr; for, though mention is made only of pre- 
bysters and deacons, the former are not called 
τιμιατος as in the Pauline Epistle to the 
whole Church (Polyc. 5. 6. 11). But it does show 
that ministerial authority is a particular determination 
that attaches to the whole community acting constitutionally. It is the principle of 
obedience that Polycarp emphasizes—‘Be ye all 
subject one to another’ (10). God is the Father, 
Jesus Christ His Son the eternal High Priest 
(πουστιφαξ) (12). His coming and those command- 
ments which are its issue, i.e. not moral precepts merely or chiefly, but the witness of the Cross, the 
Passion and Resurrection, which form the subject 
of the gospel, involve obedience on the part of 
Christians to the voice of the proclamations of 
the Church, and to that voice the Apostles who proclaimed the gospel (6).

The perversion of this truth, its accommodation 
to human lusts, by a Docetic teaching which 
denies the efficacy of atonement, is still the 
chief danger to faith (7). Though milder in 
form, Polycarp’s teaching evidently tallies with that of 
Ignatius, whose letters comprise ‘every kind of 
edification which pertaineth unto our Lord’ (13). 
The Philippians are to submit themselves to the 
presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ (5).

The importance of the Didache depends upon 
its character as a Hebrew-Christian document of a 
date not later than the early 2nd century. In-
ternal evidence suggests that it represents a con-
dition of affairs such as would exist among a 
community of Jewish disciples in Syria, whose 
numbers had been baptized on conversion, and 
the Pentecostal message that Jesus was the Messiah, 
had adopted the primary Christian practices of the 
breaking of bread and prayer, and were subject to 
the leadership of a presbyter and deacons, if not of the Twelve 
directly, yet of original presbyters and deacons, as is plain from 
the Epistle of St. Philip, but were strangers to the developed theo-
logy of the Epistles (see J. Wordsworth, Ministry 
of Grace, pp. 16. 17). In observing the life of this 
community at this early stage, we have only the principles 
as indications of the way in which 
organization was taking shape in an inchoate and 
rudimentary stage. We notice: (a) That the community acts and may be addressed as a whole, 
resembling in this particular both the societies to 
which Clement and Ignatius write and the Churches of 
the NT. (b) Prophecy, which at a later date 
was emphasized in opposition not only to Gnosti-
icism but even to the Christian ministry, occurs fre-
quent place, not, however, as a promising gift, 
but as realized in a more or less well defined order 
(Did. 10. 11. 13). Here again there is correspondence 
with the Acts and NT generally, where ἡ 
προφητεία is already tending to become a title 
for the entire Church. In the Didache they possess a λειτουργία or right of service (15), which, while it evidently includes 
leadership in worship, is not precisely defined, does 
not apparently depend on ordination, and is moral 
rather than technical in type. As in the NT, so 
here ἠπόστολος is not confined to the Twelve, but 
seems to be applied to the προφητὴς as a class (11: 
‘if [the apostle] ask money, he is a false prophet’), 
together with another name, ἄρτεσαλος (15). They 
are described by such vague phrases as αἱ τεταμενων (15), which devolves also upon the prebystyrs and deacons as admitted to a share in the same λειτου-
ρια (15). Clem. speaks of other ἀδέλφαι διδώντες 
there as being assigned to the Church (Clem. Rom. xlv.). Taking this passage along with the 
Didache, there is some ground for the 
suggestion that the prophets, in addition to the 
Twelve, St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John were 
an original source of the succession, which 
would therefore be Apostolical rather as possessing 
the sanction of the Twelve than as flowing by 
direct delegation from them (see Gore, Ch. and 
Min. ch. 6). It is at any rate clear that there have 
been the case with appointments made by St. 
Paul. Whether prophecy might reappear from 
age to age as a constantly renewed and immediate 
source of authority, is a question not contemplated 
by the Didache, which 1s essentially in the spirit of 
expected Parousia, is not concerned with a remoter 
future. But the community is to exercise its 
right of 
testing the prophet’s claim by the standard of 
disinterested sincerity and conformity with a rule of 
fact (11. 12). If, however, he satisfies this 
test, he is to be admitted either temporarily or 
permanently to an authority described as that of 
high priest (13)—the type, if not the source, of 
all other ministries. The same applies to ordination 
for themselves bishops (i.e. prebystyrs) and deacons, who are to ‘perform the service of the 
prophets and teachers’ (15). Though ξέφωτοτέρων (does not 
mean necessarily ‘elder prebystyrs’), yet the word 
clearly involves action similar to that required of 
the Church in the election of the Seven (Ac 6)— 
a choice which was not an alternative to the imposition 
of hands. The presumption would rather be, 
as noted above, that the prophets, whose ministry 
they were to share, would repeat the action of 
the Apostles at Jerusalem.

B. DISCIPLINARY CONTROVERSYS OF THE 
THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH CENTURIES.—The 
limitations of the principle of historic succession 
are defined in the course of the discussions 
concering discipline (A.D. 200-450), which gather 
round the controversies involved in Montanism, 
Novatianism, and Donatism. The question in all 
these disputes was in reality not. What did the 
Apostles ordain, but What do the facts of the 
continuous history of the Church involve? The 
problem is parallel to that which centred round 
the Person of Christ, and involved the definitions of the 4th and 5th centuries. It may 
be admitted in either case that the matter is not 
merely one of terminology, but that a certain 
body of truth, often confused with the value 
of the facts, leading not unaturally, under stress of new conditions, to positions
ultimately found to be departures from primitive Christianity.

(1) To describe Montanism as an innovation, in the sense of a conscious rejection of an authoritative system, is to misconceive the situation. But at the very least it is clear that Hegesippus gave expression to a view which had been articulated by insistence on submission to the principle of unity expressed in the organization of the Christian society. The appeal of Ignatius was developed by Irenæus (II. 2, 3, 4, 40 (ed. Tertullian) who pointed to the episcopal succession as a guarantee for the preservation of Apostolic teaching. Nor were these alone in their contention. Hippolytus speaks of bishops as 'successors of the Apostles' and guardians of the word (Harr. proem. p. 3). Hegesippus, again, after speaking of the Corinthian Church as continuing 'in the right word' till the episcopate of Primus, says that he had made a list of the succession (baptism) up to Anicetus (ap. Euseb. iv. 29). Such evidence, together with that of the 'Church Orders,' which belong to the same period and in which we find careful regulations for ordination (e.g. the Roman Church Order, commonly called the 'Ecclesiastical Pontifical') points to the importance attached to the structural unity of the Church by men who, inheriting the spirit of the Fourth Gospel and the Pastoral, regarded Christianity as a universal and in family, not a system. In the knowledge. Montanism was not in intention a denial of this position. Writers like Tertullian fell back upon what seemed to them a more sure defence of orthodoxy in the spirit of prophecy. As with Novatian in the next age, who was careful to obtain a regular consecration to the episcopate, there was no separation from the external form of the Church. It was the Church itself that condemned them. Nor was the opposition to Montanism based on the idea of the illegitimacy of prophecy when unconnected with any outward delegation of authority, but simply on the nature and circumstances of the utterances themselves, which were pronounced on their merits to be not of God. In the continuance of prophecy there was nothing inconsistent with the authority of the ministry, and, though doubtless the claim of Montanus might in its issues become fatal not only to a canon of Scripture, but also to the historical fabric of the Christian society, it was only the authority to absolve sinners and repress prophecy that was actually assailed. The 'Church of the Spirit' was not a rival to the historic body, but rather the authority of which it was a part. And in the immediate expectation of the Parousia, characteristic of the Montanists, absolved them from the necessity of thinking out the problem of continuity. There is no evidence of the creation of a fresh local ministry, as with the Irvingites, by the voice of the Spirit. There were Montanist bishops and presbyters, as subsequently there were Arias or Nestorian clergy. But though the question was brought to a final issue, the problem was essentially the same as had been involved in Gnosticism, and it was met by the Church in the same manner. Just as there is a form of doctrine, an Apostolic gospel, a written word, such as is common in the Christian society, the 'word of life' and keeper of Holy Writ, 'the pillar and ground of the truth.' This was involved in the claim to 'try the spirits' made on behalf of the Church acting through its ordained ministry.

(2) Novatianism produced a definite theory of the facts of organized Church life in Cyprian's de Unitate. To discuss the historical value of the claims of the episcopate put forth in that treatise need not fall within the scope of this article. It represents as they are they had been from Apostolic times. As a vindication of the Apostolic authority of the Church acting in a corporate capacity, it is in general agreement with Ignatius, Irenæus, and the opponents of Montanism. Its weakness lies in the fact that it was not the activity of the Church itself, but the activity of the Spirit to official channels (see Lightfoot, Philippians, p. 258). So far as Novatianism, following in the wake of Montanus, was resisted by others, it stood for the freedom of the Gospel. The movement involved: (a) deference to the confessors, who, as manifesting the Spirit, were in deed what the prophets had in word; (b) supersession of such bishops and other ministers as did not manifestly fulfil certain spiritual conditions. The Roman Cornelius was accounted no bishop, because, like Callistus, he was held to be deficient in a genuinely spiritual vigour. This was in effect to make the voice of the Spirit, not Apostolic succession, the decisive Church principle. Against it Cyprian elaborated his famous doctrine of the episcopate as the true centre of unity. The Apostolic authority, first entrusted to St. Peter, was extended to his other eleven Apostles (de Unitate. 4), was transmitted by succession from them to the bishops (5). Each bishop, representing the particular Church which he ruled, possessed an unbroken continuity of jurisdiction and similar jurisdiction conferred upon his neighbours, the episcopate being regarded as exercised jointly and severally ('Episcopatus unus est cujus a singulis in solumdi pars tenetur.').

It is not easy to see precisely how Cyprian expected this principle to work out, and difficulties arose within his own lifetime in the controversy with Stephen of Rome concerning re-baptism. But there is no uncertainty that Cyprian considered Christ founded a society, which from the first He entrusted to his college of bishops, which represented Him in the world and was the organisation of his power in the universal college of bishops. Though, however, the days of exact constitutional limitations had not yet arrived, Cyprian does not appear to have contemplated an episcopal absolutism, for in practice he allowed, and even insisted upon, something in the nature of an organic exercise of authority on the part of the several dioceses, giving due recognition to presbyters, deacons, and even the laity, in synodal decisions (Ep. xvii. 1, xxvii. 1, xix. 23). The right of the laity to withdraw from the communion of a sinful bishop is recognized (Ep. lvii. 3). To the voice of the People the bishop himself owed his seals. But the tendency of this explicit theory and the character of an age which needed a disciplinary system were undoubtedly towards the idea of the bishop as the 'head of the Spirit.' This principle was assigned to the various grades of an accredited hierarchy. If a Novatian applied a narrow human concept of the Spirit, by referring to his presence, when such manifestations as the members of a Church, itself imperfectly spiritualized, were found, were found, was the whole idea of the Church as a religious society which led him to refuse recognition to the baptism of schismatics, which denies spiritual validity outside its own borders, and which finds its latest development in what Cyprian would have vehemently resisted—Ultranovatianism and papal infallibility.

(3) The earliest form in which this exclusiveness organized itself was Donatism, appealing to the authority of Cyprian for the re-baptizing of all who had been drenched in the schism. They differed, however, in one important respect, for whereas the latter inconsistently declined to break communion with bishops who, unlike himself, received baptism. Novatianism, without a fresh baptism, refused to recognize as Christians any who held the validity of what, as they viewed it, was a schismatical sacrament. It was claimed that, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit belonged to the Church, schismatical society did not possess something which therefore could not convey it. Against this narrow asceticism Augustine, while not invalidating the principle of authority as expressed in the historic ministry, affirmed a conception of the Christian universal purpose of Christ. The Church is Catholic; no good thing can fall outside its unity. If there is no salvation outside
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the Church, the Church for this purpose cannot be interpreted in a merely constitutional sense. The 'validity' of baptism depends on the authority of the minister, but upon Christ's intention. How far-reaching this principle is does not at once appear.

That 'valid' are means, as with Ignatius, not 'genuine,' but regular, is clear from the fact that Augustine did not re-

gard baptism as spiritually operative so long as the recipient adhered to heresy, but while in Ignatius there is nothing to show whether baptism administered without episcopal sanction would have been treated as valid, Augustine asserts that it could not be valid, because 'the binding to grace is the absence of charity, which in experience is found to be in opposition to the spirit of charity and love, not the formal agreement from covenanted channels of those who create division. What Augustine failed adequately to realize, probably owing to the historical fact that on the whole 'the fruits of the Spirit' were consequently lacking among the Donatists, was that responsibility for separation is usually divided, and that it is difficult to determine which of two contending parties is schismatic. It is this fact that makes apparent historical parallels seriously de-

fective when applied to later controversies. What is of per-

manent value is the recognition that schism is a moral fault, not an ecclesiastical situation; that it is to be recognized in spiritual experience and healed by the appeal to conscience, not refuted by technical argument. A third point to observe is that apparently the validity of a sacrament is not dependent on the order of the minister who dispenses it. If it be argued that, as baptism is the sacrement which may be the minister of baptism, 'Hilt. of Lay-baptism; but cf. Waterland, Letters on Lay-

baptism' is alone in question, the ordained ministry is not in-

volved, and hence it may be that the whole matter of baptism

in the basis of want of jurisdiction, which applies equally to the case of 'ordained' and 'lay' ministers. For Cyril had maintained his atti-

tude towards re-baptizing on the ground of separation from the Catholic Church, which equally nullified schismatic ordina-

tion. In Art. 13, its power had not yet arrived of distinction between character and jurisdiction in the matter of orders (see Bingham, 

Art. xvii. §§ 5, 6). A deposed cleric became lay by virtue of being a schismatic priest could create the Real Presence in virtue of a mystic power inherent in his ordination, would he have not deposed to the means no more than due subordination to 'them that had the rule' in the common discharge of the universal priesthood. Naturally, therefore, a schismatic would be the real repository of authority. Clement of Rome indeed says that the layman is the minister of layman's ordinances (c. 5), but this is simply whether a sacrament administered without authority was null and void. The reply was in the negative. In the ante-Nicene period the clerical order was simply the normal repository of authority. Clement of Rome on the other hand, requires the presence of bishops, and hence it was wiser to choose between the two, the ordination of things why, if occasion had arisen, a similar recognition should not have been extended to the other sacrament so ministered. It seems clear that, though in the NT presbyters tended to labour in the word and teaching (1 Thess. 5:12), the Church is never charged with this duty. Tertullian distinctly affirms that 'where there is no bench of clergy, you offer, baptize, and are priest alone for yourself' (de Exh. 

Catt. 7). It is usual to discount this statement on the ground of what it appears in its context, and is contradicted, for example, by his own earlier opinion that 'offering' is a distinctive 'minus' of the clergy. In de Prescriptione he charges the 'priest of the clergy' with writing the letter of ordination and of granting even to the laity sacer-

dotal functions ('nam et laicis sacerdotia multa inimicantur,' 41). Not only in the later work he seems totally unaware that his statement is contrary to the teaching of the Church, but is condemned, "where three are, there is a church, although they be laics" (ib.). 'The difference,' he says, 'between the order and the people rests on the authority of the Church' (ib.). And it was precisely this authority not as a branch of authority, and therefore derived from Christ, which he emphasized against the Gnostics. There can be no question that from the time of Clement and Ignatius, or rather from the days of the Apostles (Ac 2 38), the Church was, as he said, the seat of worship was as vital to the continuity of the Church as a stability of doctrine, and that an Apostolic ministry was the guarantee of both. But it is also true, as Eastern Christendom testifies, that the territorial conception of 'one bishop one area,' though it may have been the ideal (see Nic. Cas. 8; Bingham, Ant. ii. 13), is a development that belongs rather to the West. The point, however, is that, although the formally and naturally officers were duly appointed by 'Apostolic' authority to fulfill the various functions of both discipline and worship, the dominant conception of priesthood asserted by one early writer after another (as, e. g., Vatican, Tryst. 116), and never lost even in the most narrowly hierarchical age, attached this character, inherited from the OT, to the whole institution. Within the society the ministry, belonging as it did to its structure, was the permanent guarantee of its continuity as a vertebrate institution both in faith and in life. When this ministry is likened to the Auronic priesthood, the shifting manner in which the analogy of the juristic writers shows that this aspect is not essential.

It is the merit of Augustine, in his handling of the Donatist controversy, to have pointed out the lines along which alone Apostolic succession can be given its true place in the Christian economy. Machinery cannot be exalted at the expense of spiritual experience. Had the Eucharist, like Baptism, been a sacrament Incapable of repetition in the life of the individual, it cannot be doubted that the 'validity' of 'schismatic' Eucharists would have been decided in the same sense as that of Baptism. Both sacraments, as so administered, were equally regular or irregular according to the meaning and nature of the minister. In both cases, they may be called the 'channel theory of sacraments, which regards Christian ordinances as vehicles of grace down which spiritual energy may be fed, has operated disastrously, to produce a technical view of a principle of conjuration, the whole Church and all, often called the 'miracle of the altar.' It is not affirmed that this theory is purely medieval, and that it was not present in germinal form in the first five centuries, and possibly none even in the Apostolic Church. But it is the view of succession as preserving the fulness of Apostolic authority, and as the guarantee of a gospel which is 'not of men neither by man,' i.e. as realizing the principles upon which Christ established His society, that is alike primitive and permanent.

While any theory of the ministry, which involves a denial of the personal consciousness of the Spirit in the experience of individuals or the manifestations of His presence in the corporate life of any Christian communities in any age, is inconsistent with plain facts and the Christian con-

science, it is yet, in the opinion of the present writer, probable that the principle of reunion among Christians, with the instinct of social and corporate witness which it manifests, will inevitably, as it progresses towards yet wider amalgamations, reveal Apostolic succession as a subject of more than local and territorial views, and there is really no opposition between them. That both the Eucharist and Baptism are rightfully administered by the ordained ministry; he expressly declares, even when he affirms that 'where three are, there is a church, although they be laics' (ib.). 'The difference,' he says, 'between the order and the people rests on the authority of the Church' (ib.). And it was precisely this

authority not as a branch of authority, and therefore derived from Christ, which he emphasized against the Gnostics. There can be no question that from the time of Clement and Ignatius, or rather from the days of the Apostles (Ac 2 38), the Church was, as he said, the seat of worship was as vital to the continuity of the Church as a stability of doctrine, and that an Apostolic ministry was the guarantee of both. But it is also true, as Eastern Christendom testifies, that the territorial conception of 'one bishop one area,' though it may have been the ideal (see Nic. Cas. 8; Bingham, Ant. ii. 13), is a development that belongs rather to the Wes. The point, however, is that, although the formally and naturally officers were duly appointed by 'Apostolic' authority to fulfill the various functions of both discipline and worship, the dominant conception of priesthood asserted by one early writer after another (as, e. g., Vatican, Tryst. 116), and never lost even in the most narrowly hierarchical age, attached this character, inherited from the OT, to the whole institution. Within the society the ministry, belonging as it did to its structure, was the permanent guarantee of its continuity as a vertebrate institution both in faith and in life. When this ministry is likened to the Auronic priesthood, the shifting manner in which the analogy of the juristic writers shows that this aspect is not essential. It is the merit of Augustine, in his handling of the Donatist controversy, to have pointed out the lines along which alone Apostolic succession can be given its true place in the Christian economy. Machinery cannot be exalted at the expense of spiritual experience. Had the Eucharist, like Baptism, been a sacrament Incapable of repetition in the life of the individual, it cannot be doubted that the 'validity' of 'schismatic' Eucharists would have been decided in the same sense as that of Baptism. Both sacraments, as so administered, were equally regular or irregular according to the meaning and nature of the minister. In both cases, they may be called the 'channel theory of sacraments, which regards Christian ordinances as vehicles of grace down which spiritual energy may be fed, has operated disastrously, to produce a technical view of a principle of conjuration, the whole Church and all, often called the 'miracle of the altar.' It is not affirmed that this theory is purely medieval, and that it was not present in germinal form in the first five centuries, and possibly none even in the Apostolic Church. But it is the view of succession as preserving the fulness of Apostolic authority, and as the guarantee of a gospel which is 'not of men neither by man,' i.e. as realizing the principles upon which Christ established His society, that is alike primitive and permanent. While any theory of the ministry, which involves a denial of the personal consciousness of the Spirit in the experience of individuals or the manifestations of His presence in the corporate life of any Christian communities in any age, is inconsistent with plain facts and the Christian conscience, it is yet, in the opinion of the present writer, probable that the principle of reunion among Christians, with the instinct of social and corporate witness which it manifests, will inevitably, as it progresses towards yet wider amalgamations, reveal Apostolic succession as a subject of more than local and territorial views, and there is really no opposition between them. That both the Eucharist and Baptism are rightfully administered by the ordained ministry; he expressly declares, even when he affirms that 'where three are, there is a church, although they be laics' (ib.). 'The difference,' he says, 'between the order and the people rests on the authority of the Church' (ib.). And it was precisely this
which shall be necessary to make the fabric of universal Church life in the future structurally one with the Church of a continuous, though not undivided, past.

*Lightfoot,* *The Christian Ministry* (1893), and *Jesuitæ Ministerii Rationes,* pub. by the Provincial Assembly of London, 1604; *Bingham,* *Antiquities of the Christian Church* (1843–46, ii. chs. 17, 18, 26, 27, 29, 30), *Hooker,* *Ecclesiastical Polity,* bk. v. chs. 76–78, bk. vii. 1–27, *Calvin,* *Institutes,* bk. iv. chs. 3 and 4; *Latham,* *Pastor Pastorum* (1890); *A. W. Haddan,* *A Peripatetic Succession in the Church of England* (1903); *Lightfoot,* *Discourse on the Christian Ministry* in *Con. on the Philippian* (1888); *E. Hatch,* *Organisation of the Early Church* (1906); *C. G. Chace,* *Church and the Ministry* (1900); *R. C. Moberly,* *Ministerial Priesthood* (1907); *E. W. Benson,* *Cyclical* (1897); *J. W. Ramsay,* *The Ministry of Grace* (1901), chs. 1, 2; *G. W. Sprott* and *T. Leishman* in *Scottish Church Society’s Conference,* 1st series (1904); *J. Cooper,* *J. Ramsay Sibbald,* *G. W. Sprott,* *T. Leishman,* *The Pentecostal Gift* (1903). For a general criticism of *Institutional Christianity* the reader may be referred to *A. M. Fairbairn’s Catholicism* (1900). *J. G. Simpson.*

**APOTHEOSIS—See Deification.**

**APPRECIATION.**—The term ‘apperception’ was introduced into philosophy by Leibniz, being derived from the French *s’appercevoir,* ‘to be aware of.’ Its use appears to be wholly free from obscurity even in its inventor, while it has been applied by his successors in at least two widely different senses. With Leibniz it indicates: (1) a higher degree of perception—a perception which is distinct, and relatively persistent, in contrast with perceptions which, lacking these qualities, affect the soul only in the mass, and which, as they do not emerge into individual consciousness, may be called incognitones. ‘There is an arrangement of an infinite number of perceptions in us, but without appreciation and reflection, i.e. changes in the soul of which we are not conscious, because the impressions are either too slight, or too great in number, or too even (unites), so that they have nothing sufficiently distinguishing them from each other; but, joined to others, they do not fail to produce their effect and to make themselves felt at least confusedly in the mass’ (*Gesammelte Schriften,* ed. [Langley’s tr.] p. 47).

Leibniz’s favourite example—the noise or roar of the sea as made up of the insensible noises of the separate wavelets—does not really hold; but a modern instance may be given from Helmholz: the over-tones which give the peculiar quality or colour of different instruments cannot be separately noticed or ‘apperceived’ by the untrained ear, although in their mass they have a quite distinct and recognizable effect (Helmholtz, *Tonpsychologie,* p. 107; *Ellis’s tr.* p. 62). In Leibniz also a perception is a distinction in kind between beings or ‘monads.’ The lowest monads, which have perception alone, are merely passive mirrors of external events, while the higher monads or ‘spirits’ rise to *apperception,* which is consciousness, or the reflective knowledge of this inner state (perception), and which is not given to all souls nor to the same soul at all times (Principles of Nature and of Grace, § 4 [Latta, p. 410]). In perception proper the mind is passive: in *apperception* it is active, self-conscious. ‘There is not only an order of distinct perceptions which constitutes the *empire* of the soul, but also a mass of *perceptions* or *apperceptions,* which constitutes her *slavery*’ (*Theodicee* [Janet’s ed.], p. 143).

Although not incompatible, these two uses of the term in Leibniz are at least distinct. The second meaning, in which it suggests an internal sense of accurate and self-conscious perceptions, is that in which Wolff, and after him Kant, understood the term; but it was applied by the latter in a quite distinctive way (see KANT).

With Herbert, the theory of *apperception* enters on a new phase. It now means a process taking place between one presentation or idea and another idea or group of ideas (Psychol. als Wissen. ii. § 1, ch. 5 [Hartenstein’s ed. vol. vi. p. 190]). When a new sensation, perception, or memory enters the mind, it awakes or reproduces a number of older presentations or ideas referring to the same object. So far as these contain similar elements, it coalesces with them, and assimilates or is assimilated to them (Verschmelzung); so far as they contain opposite elements, there is mutual competition and conflict (Heimungen), each restricting the normal development of the other in the mind. The same process takes place between ideas in the same or different series, masses, or systems, of ideas and thoughts, which result from combinations of all kinds at lower levels. The appropriation or absorption of an idea, from whatever source, by a more complex idea or system already present in the mind, is what Herbert calls *‘apperception.’* It is *external or internal,* according as the idea to be appropriated is a sense-perception or a representation of any kind; but this distinction, really inconsistent with Herbert’s psychology, was afterwards rejected by Steintahl. The characteristics of the *apperceived* mass are, (1) that it succeeds the *apperceived* idea in time, and (2) that it is stronger, more powerful, from some causes it therefore continues to modify in accordance with it, while it itself continues to develop according to its nature (ib. p. 194; cf. *Lehrbuch zur Psychol.* § 41). Thus it is relatively the active, the other relatively the passive. An instance is the way in which our habitual modes of thought and action influence our apprehension of new ideas, our criticism of the conduct of others, etc. Not only how we see things, but what we shall actually see, is determined not by each of us by our past experience and the use we have made of it. Psychologically, such experience is active only as a *present* system of ideas, according to Herbert. *Apperception* does not take place in the child or in the savage, because sense and system are as yet undefined; it fails also under intoxication, fatigue, passion, etc., because the existing systems are disorganized. Education, intellectual and moral alike, is the gradual formation and strengthening of the due *apperceptive* masses. The slow and painful beginnings, the final rapid mastery and assimilation of a science, give further illustration. The modification is not wholly on one side, however; the ideas *act* as a basis of new systems of ideas, and new ideas are attached to the existing system, decomposing one another and entering into new connexions. *Apperception* is also the basis of *memory:* nothing can be recalled unless it has been built into a system or system of ideas, forming links by which the mind unites similar ideas (Wittgenstein, *Psych. Untersuch.*, iii. [Hartmann, vii. p. 591]). A further feature is the suppression, by the *apperceived* mass, of whatever in perception or recollection conflicts with itself; in this, with the correlative raising up and isolating of the *apperceived* element, *apperception* is identical with attention (Briefe, p. 407). See ATTENTION.

In Volkman also *apperception* is defined as the coalescence of a new and isolated mass of ideas with an older mass which exceeds it in the number of its constituents, and in internal adjustment or systematization (*Lehrbuch der Psych.*, ii. p. 180). With both Leibniz and Steintahl the range of *apperception* is greatly extended; it becomes, indeed, coextensive with mental life. It is the *creative* process in mind; in it one content does not merely become aware of another, but becomes something richer and higher third. ‘An idea becomes a centre of *apperception* through its *Macht,* or force, which does not imply either intensity or clear consciousness, but depends upon the number of connexions which it has with other ideas, and on the closeness of the ties by which its constituents are bound together. Steintahl recognizes four chief forms of *appercep-
APPETITE

J. LEWIS M'INTYRE

APPETITE.—I. Psychological.—Appetite may be defined as a recurring sense or consciousness of want in the bodily organism, accompanied with a craving or desire for satisfaction, leading to efforts at fulfilment, under the impulse of uneasiness, which may become, under certain circumstances, more or less pronounced. It belongs to the animal side of our being, and is primordial to the human constitution. Most of the appetites—hunger, thirst, sleep, repose, rest—are connected with the conservation and welfare of the individual; sex has reference to the propagation and continuance of the species.

The characteristics of these natural physical wants (over and above uneasiness and efforts to remove it) are:—(1) They are not permanent, but intermittent: they disappear on being satisfied, but recur at stated times or periods. (2) If pressed beyond the natural limits of satisfaction, they breed satiety, and injury is done to the system. (3) They constitute our only distinction to the higher or ideal wants of our nature, such as knowledge and friendship: we do not identify them with our inner self—they are nature, but they are not us.

The uneasiness in an appetite leads to action, mainly reflex and instinctive, not deliberately purposive, for the removal of it, and the gratification of the appetite brings peace. Hence, the original propensities to act under uneasiness may come to assume the form of desire for pleasure (as we see in the gourmand or the epicure), and what would be quite sufficient to remove the bare appetite (as in hunger) may be superseded by elaborate and refined modes of ministering to the desire, as shown in the art of cookery. It is thus that appetite may be specially effective on the will: it prompts to the acquisition and continuance of pleasure, not only to the getting rid of uneasiness or discomfort.

These two things—the pleasure that accompanies (say) eating, and the conscious and deliberate pursuit of the pleasure of eating—are by no means identical. On the contrary, if desire of the pleasure become the predominant fact, the original normal and healthy craving in appetite may be supplanted by an abnormal craving, such as we see in gluttony; or an artificial craving, an acquired appetite, may be produced, as we see in the craving for tobacco or for alcohol. There is here, obviously, no appetite proper, but an induced desire, under the prompting of anticipated pleasure, which, in turn, is the product of individual pleasurable experience.

Hence, we must discriminate between appetite and desire for pleasure. Appetite simply craves for its object (the means for the attainment of the object being included in the apprehension of the object itself), and, given the object (food, for instance, for hunger), the appetite is satisfied—satisfied, no doubt, gradually, as the object is gradually realized, but fully in the realization of it. On the other hand, a desire for pleasure, or a consciously representative process, ideational in its nature, dependent on experience of pleasure (therefore, involving memory), and craving for that pleasure and, in the case of "acquired appetites," for the increase, as well as for the repetition, of it. Appetite, like instinct, is native to the human being; but it differs from instinct in the following respects:—(1) It is an organic craving, whereas instinct acts under external stimulus. (2) In instinct, while there are an end to be and means to be used for the purpose, the individual is born with ability to employ the means without requiring to be taught how (as seen, for instance, in the suckling of the child)—in other words, the individual can unhesitatingly employ the means from the beginning, without, however, any consciousness of the end or deliberate purpose to achieve it. (3) In instinct there is also an untaught propensity, or a natural urge, to act—an "acquired" prior to experience, and independent of instruction.

The pleasure that the satisfaction of an appetite gives is in general proportional to the craving. But there are cases where the craving is far greater than the pleasure of the gratification. Such a case we find in the glutton or the drunkard, whose passion, being persistent and unquenched by successive gratifications, craves an indulgence which the object of it is incapable of adequately meeting. Here, excess has created a situation where pain has got the mastery—the craving does not disappear in its own fulfilment and periodically return, but persists and thrusts itself unreasonably upon attention; in other words, the object of desire when reached fails to appease completely, and the craving for satisfaction continues lower and lower.

Although, therefore, in appetite proper, there is not involved the deliberate control of reason, nor is there any need for such, this control comes to be required when appetite would transgress its bounds. Such transgression is easy because of the pleasure associated with appetite, and because of the readiness with which abnormal conditions of the bodily system may be induced through excess. Hence, the appetites come to have a distinct and an important bearing on Ethics. Although in their normal action and in their rightful sphere they guide us in a way that can reason could not—prompting us effectively, for instance, to eat for the support of life at the time and to the degree
that the body requires, and not leaving the ‘when’ and the ‘how much’ to be settled by rational calculation— their plea is whether her ‘felicitic’ property has to be watched, lest it make volu
tuaries or debauchees of us; and thus reason has
its function in relation to them. This would seem

to mark the distinction between man and the lower
invertebrates; in man, the appetites are rationalized
in the brutes, not so.

2. Ethical.—The appetites in themselves are

neither selfish nor unselfish, neither virtuous nor

vicious, so far as they are the moral and spiritual

element in man; and the gross and sensual tendencies of human

nature find their symbol in the dark and untract

able steer. But the task of the charioteer is far

from easy—not only to guide, but to govern a

team; the taming of the refractory steer costs

him many an effort, and hard work and skill.

Obedience is the result of a strong hand and a
determined will, and of sore punishment repeated;

but simply ‘when’ and ‘what’ the appetites desire

is decided, the villain has ceased from his wanton way, is be

tamed and humbled, and follows the will of

the charioteer.

The right by which reason rules the appetites, or

the rational basis of the distinction between higher

and lower in our nature, is found here:—The

appetites are non-ideal, and, consequently, indi

vidualistic. We cannot share them with any one

else, neither is an appetite in itself susceptible of

indefinite gratification. On the other hand, all

the natural wants that we regard as higher—

knowledge, friendship, virtue, religion—are dis

tinguished by this, that (a) we share them with

our fellow-men, and that they have a tendency to

overstep the limit, and (b) we do not feel that all the

happiness that we know is a necessary concomitant of

the more we desire to know. They aim at an

ideal; and it is the ideality with which they are

bound up that produces their insatiability: no limit

is placed by nature to their culture, and so

their very satiety cannot be. The capacity increases

with what it feeds on.

It is needless to say, further, that both human

happiness and human progress depend on this

control of the lower nature; and this control is effective only when it becomes self

control, only when the individual acts as his own

‘plagious Orphius,’ gains the mastery over himself

and exercises it spontaneously. How this self

control is directed, is another matter: here directing the will, may be read in any good treatise

on Psychology (e.g. Höfling’s). Anyhow, if the

different’s soul becomes, as Plato puts it, a well

ordered State—where there are gradations of

functions, human beings forming a natural sub

siveness of the parts to the interests of the whole

in the making of the highest good—then the appetites and their pleasures count for

much and have their own part to play in the

economy of the human being; neither will they be

ignored or starved (as Stoicism would fain effect), nor will they be made supreme and culti

vated without stint (as some forms of Hedonism

would appear to countenance).

But while there is thus a ground for the rationalizing of appetite, and for the subordina

tion of the lower to the higher, in the nature of the different natural wants themselves, there is a further ground in the ethical dangers connected

with the appetites. These are mainly as follows:—

(1) In the first place, an appetite, strictly speaking,
is neither selfish nor unselfish; but a depraved or

unrestrained appetite is essentially selfish—thus

turning a neutral thing into a positive evil. Yile

appetites minister to the individual’s cravings, but

they may be made the means of corrupting others.

(2) Depraved or unrestrained appetite and character,

are the same thing: the same moral moral

progress—they bring ‘leanness into the soul; for it is a

law of the human mind that we cannot indulge

intemperately without lessening our moral force,
just as we cannot harbour pain without thereby shutting out noble ones, or choose false-
hod without rejecting truth. Consequently, while they vitiate the taste, they enfeebly the will—i.e. they deprive of the power of resisting temptation, which, of course, we expressed, means that they leave us the prey to impulse, and so the end thereof, in Scripture language, 'is death.' (3) Perverted appetites are a bondage: they drag us at their heels, and through the whole course of our lives, in a state of slavery.

The peculiarity is that, while we yield to them, we protest: the will is overborne, but we still retain our perception of the right and our appreciation of it,—saying, 'I know that these things are not so.' (Ovid, Met. vii. 21.) In other words, our moral energy is felt not to be adequate to our moral insight; we are conscious of being coerced. This fact of the bondage of the appetites and passions is the theme of all great ethicists, from Plato downwards: it was kept before the mediEval world by the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius, and it is a heritage to modern philosophy from Spinoza, the fourth part of whose Ethics deals with this very subject of 'Human Bondage,' and the fifth with 'Human Liberty.' It is also a leading theme of the Christian religion, and lies at the basis of the scheme of salvation. (4) Appetite unduly gratified will not only deprive me of what shall I say of the pleasures of the body? This—that the lust thereof is indeed full of uneasiness (anxiety), but the eating, of repentance (Boethius, Consod. Phil. Lib. iii. prosa 7).

3. Religious.—The ascension thus drawn between the appetites and reason, the estimation put upon it, and the conception of the soul as a well-ordered, self-governed State, were taken over by Christianity; only, it is to be observed, that Christianizing has its own way of explaining the conflict between the lower and the higher in man, and it has its own means of ending the conflict. That is its peculiarity, marking it off from mere Ethics. On the one hand (using St. Paul as our guide)—more especially, as he expresses himself in Ro 7 and Gal 5), the lower and concupiscent element in man is identified with 'the flesh' (adag). This unraiy principle—the black horse of Plato—rebells against the human reason and overrules the man with 'mind' or vtois in Pauline phraseology), and causes the individual to exclaim in agony, 'O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death?' (Rom. vii. 24.) It,-is from the man himself, not even from his active reason, although the natural function of active reason is to control; but from without—"I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord." For man's impotence of will, according to Scripture, arises from a religious cause and needs a religious remedy; it arises from the fact that man is 'fallen,' is 'sold under sin,' has deliberately rebelled against God, and so has forfeited his rightful power of self-mastery; and the rectifying and conquering force must come to him from above—it must be a gift from heaven. This Divine gift, in accordance with the whole Christian doctrine of regeneration and spiritual life, is the Spirit. And so, in order to be delivered from the hard bondage of the lower self, which is the bondage of sin, man must be raised from the 'natural' or 'psychical' into the 'spiritual' being, the man himself become a temple of the Holy Ghost, and the indwelling Spirit he will conquer. 'But, I say, walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfiil the lusts of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are in conflict one against the other; that ye may not do the things that ye would. . . . And they that are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof (Gal 5:23, 24). Thus the Christian faith incorporates Ethics, but transcends it. It is, consequently, effective on human life and practice in a way that Ethics, standing alone, cannot be.


II. ETHICAL: Spinoza, Ethics, Parts iii. & iv. (Eng. tr. by White and Stirling, 1899); Dugald Stewart, The Active and Moral Powers of Man, Bk. i. ch. i.; T. H. Green, Prehgomena to Ethics?, Bk. ii. (1884); James Seth, A Study of Ethical Doctrine (1893); F. H. Maurice, Chapters from Aristotle's Ethics (1890); J. S. Mackenzie, A Manual of Ethics (1901); W. L. Davidson, The Logic of Deduction, p. 228 (1895).

III. RELIGIOUS: The Bible—particularly the New Testament, with any of the standard Commentaries (e.g. Lightfoot's on Galatians,Philippians, Colossians); T. B. Strong, Christian Ethics (1896); W. L. Davidson, Christian Ethics (1907); W. S. Bruce, The Formation of Christian Character (1908); Newman Smyth, Christian Ethics (1907); T. B. Kilpatrick, Christian Character (1909); H. H. Scullard, Early Christian Ethics in the West (1907).

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

A PRIORI.—A Priori is one of those terms, by no means rare in philosophy, the meaning of which has in the course of centuries undergone divers changes. Originally denoting an ordinary mental act about which there can be no controversy, it has eventually become the index of one of the most stubborn problems which set the minds of men at variance. According to Brounard, the earlier occurrence of the phrase, in denoting the writings of Albert of Saxony (14th cent.), who draws a contrast between demonstratio a priori, the proof from what is before, i.e. from the cause, and demonstratio a posteriori, the proof from which retrocedes from the effect, the phrase can be traced to Aristotle, who in the Second Analytics states that that upon which proof is based must be prior to, and better known than, that which is to be proved, and continues thus: 'The earlier and better known has a twofold meaning. That which is prior by nature is not identical with what is prior for us; nor again is that which is in itself better known the same as what is better known to us.' The prior and better-known in relation to us is the name I give to what lies nearer to our sense perception; what lies farther from that I call 'the prior and better known in itself.' The most remote of all thus becomes 'the individual object.' The connexion of the term A Priori with Aristotle is thus quite evident. But while he differentiates the meaning of 'prior' according as the starting-point is the thing perceived or the process of perception, Alberti of Saxony does not take this difference into account: with him demonstratio a priori signifies the proof from causes. It merely denotes a special mode of mental operation; in other words, a priori is a term of formal logic. The knowledge which proceeds from cause to effect, or knowledge a priori, rightly claims a higher degree of certainty than knowledge a posteriori, or from effect to cause, so long as the terms keep rigidly to the meanings assigned, and so long as the limits of formal logic are not transgressed. But the problem of knowledge goes beyond the scope of formal logic. The moment any shifting takes place in the meaning of A Priori and A Posteriori, and they show a tendency to coalesce respectively with knowledge based upon conceptions and knowledge based upon experience, and when, further, the province of logic is relinquished for that of psychology, it is no longer possible to maintain the highest certainty of a priori knowledge. For, with such change, perception appears as the earlier and more certain, while the general conception is the latter, and thus A Priori and

* Geschichte der Logik, iv. 76.
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A Posteriori have simply exchanged meanings. Hence, Gassendi, in his polemics against the Aristotelians, impugns the dictum that the demonstratio a priori is more certain and conclusive than that a posteriori, and demands its warrant. Since on his view the demonstratio a priori becomes the proper cause of our judgments, and the posteriori, since the demonstratio a posteriori becomes the proof from effects and less general conceptions, he shows that he has abandoned the strictly logical usage of the terms. But in that case it is clear that one is about on the question whether effects are not better known than causes; and the inevitable inference is that a priori knowledge depends upon a posteriori.† Gassendi's criticism shows that the term A Priori had become ambiguous; it was so far free to assume a new meaning.

Its new content was supplied by Leibniz. It is indeed true that Leibniz did not always use the term in one and the same sense. Thus, in connection with the ontological proof of the existence of God, he argues that existence does not follow from conception, but that the possibility of the fact signifies this, the conception must first of all be procured. Consequently, man, however, may not be recognized either a priori or a posteriori; the former, if the various characteristics of the concept are mutually consistent; the latter, when the thing itself is an object of perception. A similar usage appears in the passage where the creation of the clear and distinct idea is said to be its capacity of yielding the knowledge of a number of truths by a priori proof.‡ Here A Priori is really concerned with the elucidation and explanation of conceptions, and with knowledge won from conceptions by correct reasoning. It is employed in a somewhat different sense in the passage where the knowledge which proceeds from God to created things and that which proceeds from created things to God are respectively designated a priori and a posteriori.§ Still another usage is observable in the statement that in regard to the mysteries of the Christian faith, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, a priori proofs on rational grounds are neither possible nor requisite, and that in this case the knowledge of the fact is sufficient, though the why remains unknown. A priori proof is here employed in a general sense, not in a restricted sense, as the word is to be explained below.

In discussing the relationship subsisting between the human and the animal soul, Leibniz comes to the conclusion that the faculty of simple empirical association is common to both. A dog being trained to perform a trick gets a tit-bit; a Dutchman travelling towards Asia will ask for his beer, perhaps even in a Turkish inn. The connexion between trick and tit-bit, between inn and beer, is in each case casual, not necessary; but the man differs from the animal in that he seeks for a necessary connexion. The mere data of experience are not sufficient for him, nor does he rely on experience alone; he goes beyond them a priori, by means of first principles. A Priori thus acquires an implication of necessary relation.† According to Leibniz, then, knowledge a priori is found in the following contingencies:—(1) when the possibility of a fact is established by showing the self-consistency of its conception; (2) when from a clear and distinct idea further cognitions are deduced; (3) when thought proceeds from God to created things; (4) when the rational grounds of an act is established by investigating it when an essential relation is established. Thus A Priori has various shades of meaning; but it may be asserted that, as used by Leibniz, the expression tends generally to become identified with knowledge gained "without qualification and in the strictest sense the term a priori can be applied only to that in regard to which we owe nothing whatever to experience." Lambert and others have been of opinion that 'without qualification and in the strictest sense the term a priori' means when he contrasts knowledge par la pure raison on a priori with philosophie expérimentale qui pro- cède a posteriori;* and when, in the Nouveaux Essais, the reason which is the basis not only of experience but of reason itself is defined as "la raison qui peut, sans aucun besoin d'expérience, se rendre à son objet, considérant que l'objet est, c'est-à-dire que l'objet est vrai, et peut donc le nommer.

Lambert and others have been of opinion that 'without qualification and in the strictest sense the term a priori can be applied only to that in regard to which we owe nothing whatever to experience.' Wolff, on the other hand, has been of opinion that such are general sense of the term, applying it to any kind of knowledge arrived at by reasoning, even when the conceptions employed in the premises are derived from experience.

The view of Kant demands a somewhat fuller treatment, since in this as in other respects he marks the consummation of the previous development, and the starting-point of the new. Besides, the problem indicated by the phrase a priori, according to his view, is a problem of the very data of human thought, as it does with no philosopher before him. His entire system, indeed, may be regarded as an answer to the great question, How are synthetic judgments a priori possible? Alike in his theoretical and his practical applications, the question of the harmonies of aesthetics and of religion, his aim was to discover and establish synthetic judgments a priori. He is at one with his predecessors in assuming the existence of synthetic judgments, and it is to be noted that it cannot be regarded as originating in experience. But he felt that justice had not been done to the problem involved.

If such a priori knowledge really exists, he argues, it must be expressible in judgments which are a priori, and, indeed, synthetic. Merely analytical judgments, i.e. those which do no more than analyse and elucidate a given concept, while they render our knowledge explicit, do not augment it; only synthetic judgments, i.e. those which link a new predicate to the subject, furnish a genuine addition to knowledge. Hence the judgments a priori which are of any use at all are precisely those the predicate of which goes beyond the subject, adding something that was not contained therein. Such a synthetic judgment is exemplified in the dictum, 'Every event has a cause.' It is synthetic, not analytic. The concept 'cause' has the idea of a cause; the predicate, therefore, adds something new; and as it is a priori, spiritual, mental, causality can only be shown to exist in the human and animal soul. Leibniz gives the example of the development of the human soul from the animal soul in the act of creation. Leibniz, in the three essays, attempted the exploration and explanation of the non-mathematical objects of human thought. The human and animal soul are both conditioned by the universal law of cause and effect. In every case of causation, Leibniz holds, the cause must necessarily be prior to the effect. Leibniz's system is opposed by the system of Gassendi and others, who hold that the natural and mechanical objects of human thought can be explained in terms of the purely mechanical objects of the universe. Leibniz's system is opposed by the system of Gassendi and others, who hold that the natural and mechanical objects of human thought can be explained in terms of the purely mechanical objects of the universe.

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of reason. Such rules, however, will be suggested by the following conclusions.

First, we must isolate it by eliminating all alien material. Now, since the faculty of knowledge has two aspects, namely, the universal forms of it, or the categories, and the discrimination of the pure reason, we may perhaps define this territory, if only we can disengage it from what we are not sure to be of critical sense; and content ourselves with the universal forms of perception, namely, Space and Time. As much as this has already been said, the material elements from the products of active thought, i.e. our judgments. Clearly the pure form of the judgment itself. This point is to be supposed that by means of the categories of understanding, and the sum of such forms will give us the complete list of these functions, i.e., the categories of understanding, which has already furnished all the possible forms of the judgment, and has tabulated them under four heads, each head exhibiting, as it were, the complex of the substance, ideas, or forms of consciousness.

Thus the quantity of judgments as universal, particular, or singular, gives the categories of quantity: Urgent Physiko. Totality; the judgment and are modified by positive, negative, or procedural, and gives the categories of relation: Substance and Accident. Cause and Effect. Reciprocity; while, finally, the modality of judgments as possible, impossible, and necessary, gives the categories of modality: Possibility—Impossibility, Existence—Non-Existence. Necessity—Contingency. Thus the a priori elements are the pure forms of the judgments themselves, and the Categories. They are a priori, because they are truly universal and of fact concerned with the act of pure understanding, and alone remain after our exhaustive process of elimination. Our first problem is therefore solved.

As to the determination of the function of the a priori elements, and the vindication of their applicability, its universal validity, and its necessity, this is the task an easy one. They are forms of perception, since every object of perception is presented to us in our experience; and it is the inherent property of every such experience to understand, to perceive, and to form an idea. Their validity and truth are beyond question, viz., geometry and kinematics for space and time, and experience, for geography, not finding its figures to hand in nature, common experience, or common arbitrariness; and in the same way kinematics elucidates its propositions without the help of perception, and the possibility of its truth can never be denied. How then are these sciences possible? Clearly because, on the one hand, geometry reduces to the fact that there is a priori in the perception of Space, while, on the other, kinematics rests upon the fact that there is an a priori perception of Time. The existence of these two sciences, then, vouchesags for the efficiency and validity of the a priori forms of perception. It is moreover difficult to demonstrate the function and competency of the categories, which are not forms of perception. What significance must we assign to them? It is not enough that all objects of perception should manifest themselves in Space and Time, and are the categories not therefore superfluous? What can the relation in which the phenomena and the categories be so as to account for the distinction of phenomena from things in themselves? Again, it is not accurate to think that bare perception, i.e., perception conditioned by Space and Time alone, can ever account for a thing. The whole, to which the phenomena without the categories are reducible, is arrived at by this point at which the function of the categories reveals itself, and their validity is established. They exhibit the various ways in which the unity of consciousness effects the orderly synthesis of phenomena. Knowledge, genuine experience, becomes ours only when, by means of the categories of Quantity and Quality, we come to understand, arrange, and grasp to things in such a way that the phenomena are accessible to us as an a complete for the full sentence. For example, a complete representation of space and time is not to be found in our mental concepts. We cannot conceive space and time as separate, disconnected, or isolated. They are always inseparable and interrelated. This is why we can never fully understand the concept of time and space. We can only understand them as part of a larger whole, such as the universe.

A psychological interpretation was given by Schopenhauer, who writes: 'The philosophy of Locke was a criticism of the functions of sense; Kant furnishes a criticism of the functions of the brain.' Helmholtz agrees with this, as also F. A. Lange, who states that 'the psychological equipment which constrains us to condition objects by space and time, is certainly anterior to all experience.' But this is not the case. We cannot understand the concepts of space and time without understanding the concepts of the categories of Quantity and Quality. We can only understand the concepts of space and time as part of a larger whole, such as the universe.
the psychological subject and its relations to the surrounding world, whether that world be looked at from the standpoint of Realism or of Idealism in the Berkeleyan sense. The true A Priori compasses both the psychological Ego and the world. A variation in our psychological organization would make a difference more than the alteration of a part of our knowledge. If, for instance, the faculty of colour-perception were to become more sensitive or less so, were it even to disappear altogether, then, with an extinction of its functions, everything would be as before; and, in fact, were the senses as a whole to suffer any drastic change, some being lost, some displaced by others, it would signify no more than the donning of a new garment; the intrinsic constitution of the mind would remain inviolate. But an alteration in the A Priori would be nothing less than a revolution. Take away space and time, and the world itself falls to pieces. We must accordingly guard against a psychological reading of the A Priori.

The difference between the A Priori and the psychological may be further illustrated as follows. The a priori-space-perception of Kant and psychological space is not identical. It may be the case that Kant ignored the distinction, but that is irrelevant meanwhile. It is a mistake to suppose that we refute Kant by showing that the faculty of space-perception is not congenital, but is acquired along with the psychic space, for this space-perception presupposes the a priori. Psychological space is limited, and we can in a manner discern its limits; a priori space knows no limit. Hence we may assert that what is a priori is not psychological, and vice versa. Once a psychological interpretation was put upon A Priori, it was quite proper to proceed to its analysis, as was done by the evolutionists. They maintained that what is so now an A Priori for the individual was at first an A Posteriori for the race; that in the course of thousands or even millions of years mankind at length acquired what is now the congenital endowment of the individual person (so Spencer, Haeckel, etc.). Kant, however, holds that no empirical valid end is against what we may call the psychological A Priori, cannot infringe the true A Priori.

(2) The proof of the second thesis, viz., that a principle in principle to innate, is contained in what has just been said, and for its elucidation a few words will suffice. We may rightly apply the term 'innate' to anything which belongs to the natural endowment of the psychological subject, but precisely on that account it is not a priori. The innate is what is given, but, from Kant's point of view, the given and the A Priori are antithetical. What is given must needs be capable of being set forth as a quality or as something passive; but this is impossible in the case of the A Priori, which is from first to last an activity of the mind. We do not discover it as we discover an external object of perception; it forms the presupposition of all our knowledge. We do not seek, for it as for other things, for in our very search that which we are looking for is already in operation. If, on the other hand, we wish to elicit the innate, the object of our search is not a factor in the process. Kant also insists that the A Priori must be taken as applying to supposed inborn, ready-made ideas. He writes: 'Criticism admits the existence of no such ideas as all, but regards all ideas, whether congenital or acquired, as a priori. There is, however, also a acquisitio originaria (as writers on Natural Law were wont to say), and therefore also of something which did not previously exist, nor belonged to anything before this or that.' Hence, if criticism has to do with the A Priori, it has, for that very reason, nothing to do with the innate.

Having thus explained the A Priori in Kant's theoretical philosophy, we proceed to deal with his assumption of a similar element in the practical activity of reason or mind. In respect of morality and religion, no less than of logical thought, reason possesses such a pre-requisite, everything is derived from experience, which can be expressed in synthetic judgments a priori. This consists, in a word, of Ideas, by which the empirically real must needs be controlled. The demands of the moral law and of the Kingdom of God must be realized in the external world. It has, indeed, been recently questioned whether we can justifiably speak of a practical A Priori. Thus Stange, in his Einleitung in die Ethik, holds that there is hardly any resemblance between the A Priori of the Critique of Pure Reason and that of the Critique of Practical Reason, and points out the following contrasts: (1) The Critique of Pure Reason treats of an A Priori both as empirical and as congenital. But the pure perceptions, Space and Time, and the pure forms of judgment, viz. the Categories; the Critique of Practical Reason treats only of an A Priori of Reason. (2) According to the first Critique, the A Priori presupposes itself, i.e., is necessary, for the A Priori is the ground of the a posteriori. According to the second Critique, the A Priori alone must determine the will. (3) In the former work, universality and necessity are given as the characteristics of the A Priori; in the latter, those traits are not applicable. The space-time ideas are combinative rather than universal and subjectively necessary, but it is not a priori. These strictures are canvassed by Hagenström in his comprehensive exposition of Kant's Ethik.

Admitting, however, as we must, the differences between the two Critiques, viz., that we likewise admit the propriety of applying the term A Priori in the practical sphere. There, too, we discover an endowment peculiar to the mind, and not derived from experience—a fact which is evinced by the Categorical Imperative, which regards itself as a synthesis of the pure a priori, but which in its universality and necessity imposes unconditional commands upon the will, declaring that it must regard whatever to human desire or pleasure, to natural disposition or circumstances—hence it is a Priori; and further, because the obligation, though valid and capable of being deduced from the concept 'will' by simple analysis, is at the same time non-empirical and synthetic. In the practical A Priori we may be said to pass from the concept 'will' to the concept 'pervious to' (as regards morality) universal and subjectively necessary, but it is not a priori; these strictures are canvassed by Hagenström in his comprehensive exposition of Kant's Ethik.

action; on the contrary, it is necessarily concerned, not merely with the individual contents of our own reason, but with the

Generale der moralischen Welt. The proposition, 'There ought to be a moral world, as beyond the empirical consciousness, add-

ing only: 'As the Ego generates everything for itself, so everything—not merely this or that concept, or, as has been supposed, only the form of thought—all knowledge whatever, indeed, as one and indivisible, is a priori. But as the empirical consequences of this generative process, there is nothing a priori for us: everything is a posteriori.'* Hegel, too, draws a distinction; a posteriori knowledge is

the a priori conceptions, but also the objective world, as beyond the empirical consciousness. But as

§ Kant's posteriori was priori—hence, the idea of the universal is not only contained in, but revealed itself only when to the conception of morality there is added that of an immoral action. How, then, is the moral world possible? Manifestly not in virtue of human action only, since we cannot conceive how the moral action of mankind should evolve a moral world. Nevertheless, we cannot admit to entirely different laws for our pro-

position, therefore, not to be a mere futility, we must inevita-

bly agree with the existence of an a posteriori science, which will secure the result aimed at in human morality. We can accordingly assert that there is a God—a proposition shown to be an a priori synthetic judgment, by the manner of its deduc-

tion. We must finally note that, as the realization of the moral

ideal is an endless task, it postulates the endless existence of

man. To it we arrive at the a priori synthetic judgment that

man is immortal. Religion also, then, has an A Priori, and is

indeed based upon it. The religion that we actually find in the

world is often but a sorry mixture, but in the process of develop-

ment its a priori element is able to realize itself, even under

ever purer forms. For it does not subsist in severance from

empirical reality, any more than does the A Priori of the theo-

real or the practical sphere.

It was Kant's belief that every genuine form of human experience was a combination of a priori and a posteriori factors. The absence of either was a sure sign of sophistry; no knowledge was possible save in some combination of the two. In accord with this, in the A Priori, our perceptions were formless and law-

less, and thereforefitful and evanescent; without the A Posteriori, we should have but the blind play of

morality must the empirical data be controlled and

moulded by the A Priori. In the absence of the

latter, we should have no morality, no religion,

only the lawless flux of desire, only the figments and

hollow formalities of superstition, while in the

former, the empirical factor were absent, the a priori ideas,

having no material to organize, would resemble the

shades of the under world in the Odyssey, which

must first have blood in their veins ere they can

can to life.

It was Kant's design in these conclusions to arbi-

trate between Rationalism and Empiricism. He had

striven to do justice to both the contending schools, and at the same time to confine each to its proper

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something of its own. Green, again, sets forth the real universe as an all-embracing system of relations, the presupposition of which, however, is a unifying principle, a combining agency, essentially identical with the absolutist Dogma of "things.* Moreover, the matter of the universe is conceived by Green as a personal being, a superhuman personification, a thoroughly natural soul, which we may term "mankind." Thus we have here a kind of religious dogma, a spiritualizing of the material world, a union of heaven and earth, which is essentially a metaphysical system, distinguished by the fact that it inhere in the one experience. An A Priori is therefore out of the question.

In the question as to the recognition of an A Priori in Consciousness, the point at issue is really whether the mind is like an empty vessel, filled only from without, or whether it manipulates its own materials. When we state the question in this manner, we need not consider necessarily the consciousness of the experience, but with something more than a problem in Epistemology. The matter cannot be settled in reference to knowledge alone; it also involves morality, art, religion, culture, and philosophy in a more marked degree. The utterly misleading character of the empty-vessel metaphor appears from the fact that knowledge never simply comes to us, but is won only by effort. Such a passive acquisition as the metaphor would imply is a sheer impossibility. Even natural science, the experimental science per excellence, depends upon and advances by mental activity. Consciousness, therefore, is not anything quiescent, or merely receptive; it is the source of something of the new and the practical. It is necessary further ask, however, whether the mind works simply as a machine, elaborating raw material into definite shape, and is thus of a merely formal character, or whether it is as creative and essential as the present-day thinkers, whose views have been touched upon in the foregoing survey, the mind’s contribution is entirely restricted to the formal, the material quota being furnished in full by experience. Now it must certainly be admitted that natural science—to refer to it once more—is grounded in experience; it must begin with experience, and keep in constant touch with it. But it is none the less certain that natural science is continually begetting ideal entities, without which it could not make headway; such are, for instance, the conceptions of atom, law even ‘matter’ itself, not one of which is yielded by the senses. Thus the mind interweaves the data of sense with its own products. Nor is this discredited by the fact that such ideas as atom and matter are vigorously assailed at the present day, and may even be abandoned, since any conceivable surrogate thereof may be built from the mind itself, as is illustrated, for example, in Ostwald’s Vorlesungen über Naturphilosophie, where the conception of matter gives place to that of energy. Everywhere, be it short, does the mind work by means of ideal construction, without which it would fall to pieces. Thus the mind exhibits even in this sphere a real productivity, which is certainly called into operation, but is in novishe created, by experience.

When we come to Art, the case is clearer still. To think of art as having no other function than to reproduce the external world as accurately as possible is totally to misconceive it. In its tradition art, such extrinsic work may be of importance—e.g. in painting, the representation of light, atmosphere, and colour, and in the drama, the imitation of vernacular dialect and idiom; these things make for a more flexible technique. Nevertheless, they are but preparatory. Genuine art begins in the bodily forth of spiritual entities. It must express the better and finer side of the human nature, in fact, it has often a prophetic cast; it is the herald of what ought to be; or, again, it wrestles with the deepest problems of life, being intimately connected with the philosophy of things. In short, however, it does not draw upon external reality, but manifests
creative power, and is thus an additional witness to the fact that the mind has something all its own.

In **Morality**, again, everything depends upon the inner life. Morality cannot conceivably be a product of experience. For in this province the mind furnishes its own laws, and frames the ideas to which, indeed, only the fact depends the conception of justice, the idea of justice, of brotherly love. The man who sees in morality nothing more than the rules of conduct indispensable to human intercourse, is simply blind to its essential character. It is not designed to establish relations between men, but to realize the realization of truth and purity in the individual; indeed, it may even be the most uncompromising enemy of a given social state, and, should unveracity, luxury, or baseness have become dominant therein, it must threaten the fabric with destruction, whatsoever outward grandeur may perish in its fall. It was thus, for instance, that early Christianity sapped the foundations of a civilization which had become a sham.

Now, it forms no reasonable objection to this theory of a productive energy in mind to say that, since these Ideas are, like all else, facts of consciousness, we might as well identify philosophy with psychology, they are therefore evolved from mere experience. If consciousness is to cover everything, then all its various kinds of representation would mean nothing more than any other. Amid such conditions we could not even so much as ask for the truth. Now, in point of fact, all distinctively mental creations claim to have judicial authority; judgments purport to be more than collocations of psychical products; aesthetic and ethical Ideas involve more than feelings and desires. They claim, in short, to be authoritative, to be the standard of truth and law for what is given in experience. We must distinguish between the *quaestio facti* and the *quaestio juris*: it is one thing to ask what is, quite another to ask what ought to be. In dealing with the distinctively mental, we discover something more essential than causality is as such; such essential laws, namely, *regulative law*. The laws of logic, of aesthetics, and of morality, unlike the laws of nature, formulate that which ought to take place, not that which actually and invariably does take place. Thus we cannot deny the fact of the mind's peculiar heritage, as evinced by this unique claim to regulative authority. We must allow, nevertheless, that the objection indicated above, namely, that even these peculiar intellectual products must manifest themselves in consciousness, is something more than a truism; it expresses the fact that the real cannot be evolved by purely logical processes from abstract conceptions alone. Speculation at large is mere sophistry; typical examples of the method are Hegel in philosophy, and in theology Rother, who, in speaking of thought, says: 'While engaged in speculation, it shuts its eyes for the time to all else that is external, and looks only within, contemplating the dialectic movement amid which it has placed itself. Without a single side-glance, it pursues only the dialectic necessity with which each conception as it comes to birth in turn appears to itself as its inherent fertility.' But it is manifest that this speculative method cannot evolve reality, even spiritual reality, from conception. It is therefore quite legitimate, in opposition to a mode of thought which arrogates to itself creative omnipotence, to emphasize the experiential character of our knowledge. But, on the other hand, empiricism is in error when it narrows down experience to experience of what is external; the mind has also an experience of itself. The real nature of mind can be manifested only in consciousness—and upon this experiential character depends the experience of mental life; but what concerns us here is the mind's experience of its own peculiar endowment, which, as we have seen, claims to possess regulative authority, and thus carries us beyond the bare existence of empiricism.

This doctrine is not only in conflict with the purely speculative method, but is also at variance with the view of Kant. Kant believed that he could completely and finally determine that which belonged to mind or reason; but his conclusions were of a purely formal kind. The view advocated here involves not only a much greater amplitude in our mental life, but also a capacity for producing ever new and ever real elements. What the mind really is cannot be determined once for all; an avenue must ever be left open for further developments. In other words, there is a historical element in consciousness, or at least in human consciousness. We are not for ever tied down to the same varying forms, into which all kinds of material must be pressed; the truth is, rather, that we possess creative Ideas which are ever proposing new problems to experience, and seeking new tasks. We must insist upon the fact of development and movement in our intellectual life, and strive to identify its essential principle with the invariability of its formal determinations. In giving birth to Ideas, the mind puts definite limitations to the empirically real, and assimilates the answers thereof, thus winning for its Ideas a structure increasingly delicate, and an organization increasingly rich.

The answer given by empirical reality varies according to the kind of question put to it. It is obvious that, on the one hand, Aristotle's investigation of nature by means of the conception of entelechy, i.e. a form realizing its own Ideas in matter, and, on the other, that of modern science, with its conception of a causal uniformity reducible to mathematical formulae, must result in wholly diverse views of the world. Neither entelechy nor mathematics present any ground for believing that Ideas are concepts of the mind, both purport to be questions regarding the materials of sense, to which appropriate answers can be given by empirical reality, and thus to be capable of bringing the world under the domain of mind. That the Aristotelian conception has been supplanted by the modern does not imply that the former was an illusion pure and simple, or that it was inferior to the latter; as a matter of fact, each is a hypothesis; but the modern conception of causal uniformity has shown itself better adapted to certain purposes than the ancient entelechy. Even the belief that the world can be interpreted on mathematical and mechanical-causal principles was at first an Idea, regarding which it could not be ascertained beforehand whether experience would ratify or confute it. But the Idea has proved fruitful, and has accordingly become increasingly rich in content. From the first it was more than a purely formal, involving indeed a conviction regarding the actual constitution of the world.

Similarly the manifold aesthetic and ethical Ideas, which are certainly not mere inferences from their function in organizing the real, we need not go further into that matter here. Suffice it to say that the human mind has brought a great variety of Ideas to bear upon the real, and that it did not begin its task with the same inherent
equipment with which it pursues it. In fine, the mind also has a history. Now the question arises whether these Ideas should be called a priori. If they are related to history, they must also be related to experience. Nothing save the tedious discipline of facts could have compelled man to form a fresh Idea, for we may say with absolute certainty that the mind is not something ready-made, anterior to all experience; it is in reality built up by intercourse with the facts of experience and history. But for that very reason it is not the product of these. What they supply to the mind is but the stimulus to its own creative activity. Accordingly the fresh element generated by this spontaneous activity is an A Priori in reference to the whole province of empirical reality, which thus becomes the mind's palestra, that which is to be organized by means of the Ideas. Just as, according to Kant, the a priori forms of reason are the necessary condition of experience in the higher sense, so also are the Ideas generated by the mind. We must likewise note that these Ideas exist only in virtue of the mind's own activity, and that, were this to cease, they would forthwith be swept away—like links of affinity with the A Priori of Kant. We must accordingly assign to them the efficiency which marks the A Priori. The fact that they undergo changes and transformations, or that they supplant one another, need not perplex any one who does not postulate the original perfection of the mind. We must grant, of course, that we can win a truth only by much effort, and that our approach to the ultimate and supreme end is asymptotic, never issuing in complete realization. Nevertheless, as in all other cases, we must assume the reality of absolute truth; we must, in fact, make this assumption, else were all our striving fruitless, and even partial truth beyond our grasp. Just as the various parts of space lie within one and the same Space, so partial truths are constituents of the one absolute Truth. That this eternal, absolute truth is ignis fatuus appears from the fact that there exists in us a mighty unrest, ever urging us beyond the position we have won. Whence this unrest? Certainly not from without. Were our mind sufficient to itself, no external force could move it onwards. There must exist, therefore, something in itself, which logic furnishes the best example; (2) the Ideas generated by the mind, and (3) the contents of the absolute mind. This view, or one all but identical, is championed by the new Idealism, whose principal representative is Prof. R. Eucken, of Jena. It remains to deal shortly with the significance of the A Priori for Religion. It was Kant's conviction that a complete and profound method of formulating religion—that genuine religion has its source in pure reason. All externals, according to him, such as rubrics and creeds, are incidental, and to look for the source of religious feeling in the forms of religion without understanding what common reason leads to such error. Here we have a truth of paramount importance. For religious is possible only in virtue of an original, inherent resource of the mind. It is clear that every attempt to trace the origin of religion to something which is not religion is foredoomed to failure. Research into the most primitive cults never discovers the spot where religion issues from a non-religious soil; it can never be done by the mind. It may perhaps have some connexion with the anti-

mony between our feeling of dependence upon the environment and our consciousness of freedom. Man sees himself conditioned at every point, and in thrall to non-spiritual forces, yet at the same time he is cognizant of his freedom and of his superior dignity in comparison with all that is merely natural; and so, in order to preserve his spiritual personality, he seeks to attach himself to the Absolute Spirit, the result being religion. But it is simply inconceivable how religion should originate in this way—to say nothing of the unproved assumption that such ideas as dependence upon environment and personal freedom prevailed among primitive men. Of old days, when man was but a child, may perhaps have some connexion with the anti-

mony in question; its natural growth may even be accelerated thereby; but it cannot possibly arise therefrom. We must carefully distinguish between what can and what cannot be done by historical and psychological research in this sphere. Histori-

cal investigation may disclose a continuous regress from highly developed religions to forms ever more simple, till at length the ostensibly lowest is reached; in fact, and travails we must, in actuality, have postulated an even more primitive state, but what is thus elicited is still of the nature of religion. Again, by psychological study we may try to ascertain the particular modes of thought, feeling, and volition with which religion is specially connected—to determine, for instance, whether it is mainly concerned with the conserva-
tion and furthestance of the physical or of the moral life; but religion is presupposed in the very inquiry. Kant is therefore quite justified in recog-
nizing an A Priori in religion. His characteristic error lay in the attempt to fix its limits once for all. Here also, however, we must insist upon the fact that from mere dissatisfaction with the results of development, as, for instance, in the prophets of Israel, or in Jesus. That religion has a link with history is beyond controversy; only in the fulness of time—and there it is not end but such a character as cannot be deser-

ably ascertained, but are revealed in what they create. Kant's results require modification in still an-
other respect. He approached religion from the side of morality. He regarded the A Priori of the former, in contrast with that of the latter, as in some degree derivative. In point of fact, he was not resolute enough in regard to the independent position of religion, and it is Schleiermacher who makes good the defect. The idea of Kant created the distinctive character of religion as something independent of thought or moral action. True, his own definition of religion as the feeling of absolute dependence was in many respects far from being often been, misunderstood, since 'feeling' has a psychological reference which tends to obscure its
AQUINAS

Wörterbuch der philos. Begriffe, 1904; Scheler, Die transzendentalen und die psychologische Methode, 1900; Prantl, Gesch. der Logik, 1885 ff.; Trützsch, Psychologie u. Erkenntnistheorie in der Rhetorik, 1878; Vaihinger, Die Erkenntnissprobleme in der Philosophie u. Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit, 1906 ff. The works of the philosophers themselves must be studied: above all, Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft, to be read along with Vaihinger's Kommentar zu Kant K. der r. r. f. i., 1892, ii. 1892. The author's studies are dealt with by Stange, Einleitung in die Ethik, 1890; contra Stange's view, Härter, Kant, 1894; the A Priori and Kant's philosophy of religion, by Kalweit, A Qurantes Wissenschaft, 1904; A Priori, in Crit. Phil. of Kant, 1889, passim, see Index.

PAUL KALWEIT.

AQUINAS.—In the church of St. Catarina at Pisa, at the third altar on the left, is a picture by Francesco Traini, the most gifted pupil of Orecagna, representing St. Thomas of Aquino. The figure of the saint is of colossal size. Upon his knees are four books, representing the four parts of his Summa contra Gentiles. In his hands is a larger volume, the Sacred Scripture. Displaying Pr 8' Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum, et labia mea detestabantur impium.' Above is Christ enthroned in a mandorla, surrounded by cherubim. From his mouth proceed rays of light, one to each of the six Biblical teachers, more or less prostrate. This picture is referred to His left Moses, St. John, and St. Mark; to his right St. Paul, St. Matthew, and St. Luke. Three rays pass down to the head of St. Thomas, which also receives one ray from each of the Biblical teachers. To the left of the Saint stands Aristotle, holding up his Ethics; to the left Plato, with the Timaeus. From these proceed rays reaching the ears of the saint. From his own books proceeds a ray, illuminating the faithful, grouped to right and left. In all, 10 rays were thrown out. The fresco was executed in 1906-7. As a whole the picture is powerfully and moving, and in its execution by the pupil of Averroës, struck down by the light—the impious, whom the lips of the great teacher abhor. By his side lies his Great Commentary, transixed by a ray proceeding from the books on St. Thomas' knees.

This picture faithfully represents the position of the greatest teacher of the medieval Church, her greatest philosopher, who was also her greatest theologian, absorbing into himself all the sources of wisdom, human and Divine. In his teaching he brought Scholasticism to its highest development, harmonizing the Peripatetic philosophy with the doctrine of the Church.

i. Life.—Aquinas was born in 1225 or 1227 (the date is uncertain), most probably at the castle of Rocen Secco, 5 km. from Aquino. His father was Count of Aquino, a rich lic in the kingdom of Naples. His mother Theresa was a pupil of the old Norman kings of Sicily. His family was therefore connected with the Hohenstaufen, and so the great doctor of the Church was related to Frederick II., its scourge. At the age of 5 he was placed under the charge of his uncle, the Abbot of Monte Cassino, and he there received his first instruction. This he completed at the University of Naples, recently restored by Frederick II. (1224), and specially favoured by him in opposition to Bologna, which had incurred his wrath by joining the Lombard League. The mendicant orders were then at the zenith of their fame. Thomas was drawn towards them, and in the year 1243 joined the Dominicans without the knowledge of his family. His pious mother was at first not at all dissatisfied with the decision. She only wanted to be allowed to see her son. This the friars were not disposed to permit. After testing the claims of family ties might make them lose his promised convert. The mother made known her grief to her other sons, who held high rank in the Emperor's

* Sandys, Hist. of Classical Scholarship, 5, p. 552, gives a copy of this picture from Roselli, Pitture Toscane, p. 184; Vaihinger, Abruètes, 2, p. 306; Gsell, Ents., Mittel-Italien, p. 561. For a similar picture in the Cappella degli Spagnuoli at Florence (Taddeo Gaddi?), ib. p. 285.

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Literature.—Special treatises on the subject are few; particular mention must be made of Eucken, Gesch. und Kritik der Griech. Philosophie, 2nd ed. 1874, 2nd ed. 1895 (under the title Gesammelte Schriften der Gegenwart) (1904 [the three editions differ thus: the 1st is mainly historical, the 2nd mainly analytical, and the 3rd mainly philosophical]; and especially favoured by him in opposition to Bologna, which had incurred his wrath by joining the Lombard League. The mendicant orders were then at the zenith of their fame. Thomas was drawn towards them, and in the year 1243 joined the Dominicans without the knowledge of his family. His pious mother was at first not at all dissatisfied with the decision. She only wanted to be allowed to see her son. This the friars were not disposed to permit. After testing the claims of family ties might make them lose his promised convert. The mother made known her grief to her other sons, who held high rank in the Emperor's

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array, and besought them to get their brother back again. They succeeded in recovering him from the Dominicans, but no pressure could induce him to lay aside the habit of the order, and even two years' imprisonment in the castle of Rocca Secca could not break this purpose, and he retired to a third time of solitude in studying the Bible and the Sentences. When his mother was convinced that it was impossible to change his will, she herself helped him to escape. He let himself down by a rope from the window, and rejoined the Dominicans. Towards the end of 1254 he accompanied Johannes Teutonicus, the head of the order, to Cologne, to study under Albertus Magnus. They travelled to Rome, 1256, and reached their destination in 1257, after a journey of three months.

The many stories told of his youth, e.g. the well-known one of the Dos mutus Scolarius, show that, as is the case with many great intellects, his development was slow, but before the age of 20 Albertus had discovered his powers, and made him a alter ego. On the 4th of June, 1245, at a general chapter of the order held at Cologne, it was decided to send him both to Paris. In 1248 the question was again referred to Cologne. In 1252 Thomas was sent back to Paris to receive his degrees, and to establish an independent school there. This residence was interrupted by the contest of the mendical orders and the university authorities because of the University bore him no ill-will, and shortly afterwards referred to the young doctor the much agitated question whether the accidents in the Eucharist really exist, or are only appearances. In 1261 he was summoned to Italy by Urban IV., who tried in vain to persuade him to accept high ecclesiastical preferment. He taught at Ostia, Viterbo, Anagni, Perugia, Bologna, and Rome. In 1259 he returned to Paris, and taught there for three years.* He was then sent by the Order to Naples at the request of the king of Sicily, brother of St. Louis, to give the authority of his name to the school where he had himself received his first important instruction. In 1275 he was summoned by Gregory X. to the Council of Lyons, which was convened to promote the Crusade and the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. Though in bad health, he started, accompanied by Brother Reginald, his ever faithful assistant. At the Castle of Magenza—the possession of one of his nieces, the Countess of Cereano—he fell into a long ecstasy, which much enfeebled him, and after which he felt his end to be near. As he wished to die in a house of his own order, he continued his journey, but was obliged to stop at the Cistercian Abbey of Fossa Nuova near Terracina. There he died, 7th March, 1274. At the time of his death, he was, at the request of his hosts, dictating for them an exposition of the Song of Solomon. He had got as far as 'Filie Jerusalem de dilecto meo, quia pro amore moralis, when his strength gave way, and it is reported that he had been poisoned by Charles of Anjou.†

For nearly a century the Dominicans and Cistercians disputed the honour of possessing his remains; but they were settled when, 49 years after his death, he was canonized by John XXII. It was finally decided in 1308, by a bull of Urban V., that the body should be surrendered to the Dominicans of Toulouse, the

* On the disputed point of the length of this stay at Paris see Mandrand, 'v. s. iv., 143, and Sartazzini's note.
† See Dante, 'Par. xii. 67 ff., and Sartazzini's note.

mother church of the order. An arm was given to the Convent of St. Jacques at Paris, where St. Thomas and B. Albertus had taught. In 1296 he was raised by the Dominicans to the rank of Doctor Ordinarius. In 1297 he was made by Pius v. the fifth Doctor of the Church, and placed on an equality with St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory the Great.‡

His works fill 17 folio volumes in the edition of Pius V. (1725). The expository and rhetorical order is not yet completely decided, and the genuineness of some is disputed. He began his literary work at Cologne with the de Ente et Essentia (No. 30 of the Operaecol. in the Roman edition). The most important are the Summa contra Gentiles, which contains the materials for which he began to gather at Paris, during his first period of teaching there, at the request of Raymond de Penmforte; the Summa Theologica, begun in 1255 in Italy and left incomplete at his death; the Questions disputata (1261-1264); the Quodlibet, of which the first five were composed at Paris, the last six at Rome; and the Aristotelian commentaries, begun at the instance of Urban IV.† There are commentaries on the books of Sacred Scripture, of which the best known is the Catena Aurea, properly called Expositio continu, and the commentary on the Sentences, which was the first extensive work of this kind.

This enormous literary output is all the more remarkable, when it is remembered that it was far from being the only occupation of these strenuous twenty years. During the whole time Aquinas was largely engaged in teaching. The attraction of his lectures was so great that it was difficult to find a hall large enough to contain the audience. At times he employed three or four secretaries at once, and dictated to them about different subjects without confusion. He would not take to speak of him as 'pure embodied intellect perfectly passionless.' This is not the meaning of the primacy of the intellect over the will as taught by him. His hymns are proof enough of this—the famous sequence, ‘Lauda Sion Salvatorem,’ ‘Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium,’ ‘Verbum superne prodien,’ (there is a hymn of St. Ambrose beginning with the same line), ‘Sacris solennis jura quondam,’ and ‘Adorans devotissimam Dei latens Deitas.’ They were written for the festival of Corpus Christi, the observance of which was decreed by Urban iv. at his instance (1264). They are 'powerful in thought, feeling, and expression,' and probably composed by brethren him. On the general acceptance of the dogma of transubstantiation, the doctrine of which is set forth in them with a wonderful degree of scholastic precision.§ Every day he had a portion of a book of edification read aloud to him (Bustini collectione Patrum); and when asked why he withdrew this time from speculative thought, he answered that he considered the rousing of the spirit of devotion to be the due preparation for the subtlety of speculation. When the feeling of devotion was roused, the spirit rose all the more easily to the contemplation of the highest truth. He never began to study, to lecture, or to write, without first giving utterance to the desire thus to obtain Divine illumination. When doubts intruded upon his investigations, he interrupted them to seek en

‡ On the Aristotelian question and the prohibition of Paris see Rubrici, c. 11. 17.
§ Milman, Latin Christianity, c. 187.
∥ Lord Selborne, 'Bib. xii. 384; cf. also on the hymns of St. Thomas, Julian of Norwich, etc. in Dict. of Hymnody, xx. 525, 662-654, 869-890, 1217-1239.
lightenment in progress. The fact that the Summa
Theologica was left incomplete was not due en-
tirely to want of time. In the Acta we read:
'The witness—Bartholomew of Capua—declared
that brother Reginald, seeing that the holy doctor
did not continue the third part of the Summa
after his illness, was aware of the sacrament
of penance, asked him why he had stopped this
great work, which he had begun for the glory of God,
and which would enlighten the world.' St. Thomas,
tells us in his mystical exposition of the Pentecost,
before the Supreme Judge, replied that he could
not continue: that all he had written so far
appeared to him to be nothing in comparison with
the wonderful things that God had been pleased
to reveal to him recently. St. Thomas had a same
mysticism of his own, not the sporious
kind that would banish reason from religion alto-
gether, and drown itself in the wild fancies of the
Evangelium externum, but that which recognizes,
with St. Augustine, that no real progress in the
religious life can be made without corresponding
progress in knowledge, and for which the supreme
union with God has no other content than that
of the 'perfect effect of union.'**
2. Sources. (1) The Sacred Scripture.—St.
Thomas has, of course, a profound knowledge of
Scripture according to all the four methods of
interpretation (Sum. Theol. i. 1 art. 10). He
insists on the importance of not sacrificing
the historical. For instance (ib. i. cii. i), in
discussing the question Utroque Paradisus sit
locus corporis, he says: 'Es, quae de Paradiso
in Scripture dictur, verum narrations historiae
proponentur. In omnibus autem, quia
Scriptura tradit, est pro fundamento tenenda
veritas, et de super spiritualis expositiones fabri-
cante. It is to be noted that in his exposition
of Isaiah 8 he has so faithfully presented the science
literaturae, that Cornelius a Lapide and others
declare it 'judaeica expositio, Divi Thomae ingeni
prorsus digna.' The three other senses are ex-
plained (ib. i. cii. 10): 'Secundum vero quod
sunt veteris legis significant ea quae sunt
nove legis: est sensus allegoricus. Secundum
vero quod ea quae in Christo sunt facta vel in
his quae Christus significant sunt sigilla eorum
quae sunt nobis jucundiora vel sania, vel utiliora.
In hand at some who were not unacquainted
with Hebrew (e.g. he knows that ס is feminine),
but this does not prevent him from falling into
pitfalls of translation, e.g. the use of verbum in
Lib. 11° (Sum. Theol. i. xxv. 3).†
(2) The Fathers.—De Rubeis has counted 50
Greek and 22 Latin Fathers as used by Aquinas.
The greater part are taken at first hand. He
indicates us himself that his extensive doc-
torum Graecorum in Latinum fecit transferri!
(Preface to Catena aurea.) He makes special use
of Dionysius. The charge of Monophysitism made
against this author, which has recently been re-
vived, has been fully examined and refuted by de
Rubeis in his ninth Dissertation.
(3) Secular authors.—Dr. Sands has noted that
the Summa Theologica is an embodiment of the
scholastic spirit of the 13th cent., which stands
in a wonderful contrast with the literary and classical
spirit of the 12th.*
(4) History of Scholarship.—Pritchard
has written a careful history of the life and
works of Thomas Aquinas, which is
historically important, and published
in 1903 (History of the
Scholastic Movement, 1202–1350).
(5) Theology.—Theologia, which
was published in 1904, is a
comprehensive study of
theological terms and
concepts.

For a full list of works
See Harnack, Doyen of
History, i. 553. He
declares that Thomas
Huxley did not
consider the
work to be
worthwhile.

† See also Manders, "Studien über Thomas von Aquin," p. 261.
‡ See Bagster, "History of the Schools," p. 236.
§ See also, "Theological Works," pp. 24 and 252; and see
also, for the whole question, Schneider, "Theological Works,"
pp. 73–75.
|| See also, "Histoire de la Philosophie," pp. 24 and 252.

References:
1. Gesch. der Logik, i. 114.
4. See also, "Theological Works," pp. 24 and 252; and see also,
for the whole question, Schneider, "Theological Works,"
pp. 73–75.
5. See also, "Histoire de la Philosophie," pp. 24 and 252.
6. See also, "Theological Works," pp. 24 and 252; and see also,
for the whole question, Schneider, "Theological Works,"
pp. 73–75.
7. See also, "Histoire de la Philosophie," pp. 24 and 252.
8. See also, "Theological Works," pp. 24 and 252; and see also,
for the whole question, Schneider, "Theological Works,"
pp. 73–75.
10. See also, "Theological Works," pp. 24 and 252; and see also,
for the whole question, Schneider, "Theological Works,"
pp. 73–75.
11. See also, "Histoire de la Philosophie," pp. 24 and 252.
12. See also, "Theological Works," pp. 24 and 252; and see also,
for the whole question, Schneider, "Theological Works,"
pp. 73–75.
14. See also, "Theological Works," pp. 24 and 252; and see also,
for the whole question, Schneider, "Theological Works,"
pp. 73–75.
15. See also, "Histoire de la Philosophie," pp. 24 and 252.
16. See also, "Theological Works," pp. 24 and 252; and see also,
for the whole question, Schneider, "Theological Works,"
pp. 73–75.
17. See also, "Histoire de la Philosophie," pp. 24 and 252.
been raised as to St. Thomas' own knowledge of Greek. This question cannot be answered des-
cisively until all his works have been critically edited. De Rubeis has shown that he was certainly not
trained as a Greek scholar. His knowledge of the
language of the Talmud is beyond question; the
Greek of his commentary on the *Ethics*, the presentation of
the right reading misspelt, and of a ludicrous
etymology side by side with one that is very nearly
right, seems to show that, while Aquinas had about
him a knowledge of the Greek language, he had no
substantial knowledge of it."

3. Main points of system.—The age of St.
Thomas was also that of Frederick II. of Hohen-
stenburgh and of St. Louis, and these names are
representative of the conflicting tendencies of the
period. The 13th cent. had witnessed a revival of
learning, which was less important than that of
the Renaissance, only in point of literary form.
It had two sources—Arabic and Byzantine. The
former has been fairly well investigated. There
is a great deal about the latter that is still obscure.
The result was seen at first in the rapid growth of
speculative heresy, popular pantheism (David of
Dole), and more serious, the tendency of thought
which afterwards crystallized into Averroism. Hence
the prohibition of 1210, and the letter of Gregory IX. to
the Papal chamber of the 1220's, very briefly:
The question at issue was whether the Church would be able to
assimilate the new learning, or whether its doctrines
would be gradually corrupted by it. That
the former was the case is due to the work of
Albertus as completed by St. Thomas. That work
was therefore twofold—to harmonize the new
scientific teaching with the doctrine of the Church,
and to refute heresy.

The distinctive characteristics of the system of
philosophy which St. Thomas displaced in the
Western Church are well summed up by de Wulf
as follows: 'Absence of any formal distinction
between the domain of philosophy and that of
theology, i.e. between the orders of natural
and revealed truth; primacy of the notion of the
good over that of the true, and in consequence
primacy of the will over the intellect both in
God and man; the necessity of an immediate Illuminative
action of God in accomplishing certain intellectual
acts; actuality, in a low degree, but still some
positive actuality in primitive matter independent of
any substantial form; the presence in matter
of substantial seminates; even, spiritual substances are
composed of material and of spiritual elements,
in natural things; individuality of the soul in
independence of its union with the body, especially
in man; the identity of the soul with its faculties' (*Gilles de
Leauxes*, p. 15). The philosophical element incorporated in this school was essen-
tially Platonic.

For this Thomism substitutes Aristotelianism:
not blindly, for 'locus ab auctoritate est infr-
missimus' (*Sum. Thel.* 1, 8, ad 2), but critically,
'si audierit omnes quasi adversarium dubitantum'
(*Metaph.* iii., Lect. 1), though respectfully.
The novelty of the teaching of St. Thomas is
universally felt by no one who does not look for
novel acts, not only not in method, but in matter.
The moderns avowedly strict distinction between Natural and
Revealed
Theology; unity of the substantial principle, as
opposed to the plurality of forms; passive evolu-
tion opposed to the activity of reason in things
sentire; the doctrine of substantial forms, as
opposed to the notion of spiritual substances being
composed of matter and of form; the real
existence of such a substance and its faculties,
*Sanctus*, i.e. p. 65; *De Sancto*, p. 55; *De Sancta*

4. This letter is given in Denziger's *Enchiridion*, § 379.

5. On *rationes seminates*—an idea derived from St. Augustine—
see Kliegen, *Philos. der Vorzeit*, i. 129.

6. As opposed to the Augustinian doctrine of their identity; the primacy of the intellect over the
will. The new system was, of course, not received
without a struggle, which continued long after the
death of St. Thomas. The bulls of 1272 were
directed not merely against Averroism, but against
Peripateticism in general.†

Notwithstanding the vast extent of St. Thomas' writings, a sufficient knowledge of his whole
system may be attained from the following:
The *Opuscula* are useful for giving a more elaborate
treatment of special subjects, but the whole is to be
found in the two great works. There is little
sign of gradual development in his writings, because
he early reached his complete system. In the *Acta*
*p. 670*, we have the evidence of Aegidius of Rome
(whence bishop of Bourges): 'In this marvellous
and memorable doctor, it was a manifest token of
the subtility of his genius and the accuracy of his
judgment, that as a master neither in teaching nor
in writing did he change the new opinions and
arguments which he upheld as a bachelor, with very
few exceptions.'‡ The fact is that Albertus
had laid the foundation of such a doctrine,
but the other, which is in consequence often called 'Summa
Philosophia.' In the short preface to the *Sum.
Thel.* the author says that it is intended to be a
compendium for beginners, and that he will deal
thereafter with the questions 'breviter et dulcissime.' These
questions are dealt with in the Commentaries on
Aristotle at even greater length; but it is a mistake
to expect to find in these invariably St. Thomas'
own opinions. Those of Albertus are modelled
after Avicebron, and are there upon the principal points dealt with by the Greek philo-
sopher. St. Thomas proceeded 'quodam singulari
et novo modo' (*Acta*, p. 601). This new method was
that of Averroism, not following the text scrupulously,
but expressing its meaning as faithfully as possible.
They therefore are intended to give Aristotle's own
meaning, which may or may not be that of the
writer. They ought not, therefore, to be quoted as always giving St. Thomas' views; there may
even be found in them some traces of the influence
of the great commentator whose system it was the
object of St. Thomas to overthrow.

**SUMMA PHILOSOPHIA.**—Summa de veritate
christi et regno mundi. A 1231, under the title of
which it is given by Ucelli from the autograph MS,
though the work is not addressed to Gentiles in
the proper sense, but to Muhammadans, Jews, heretics,
and unbelievers of all sorts, i.e. all outside the Church.
Since the opponents either do not recognize the
authority of sacred Scripture at all or only
imperfectly, and do not recognize that of the Church,
it is necessary in their case 'to have recourse
to natural reason, although in things Divine this is insufficient.' The work is divided into four books.
In the *First*, Aquinas deals with the existence and
attributes of God. In the *Second*, he shows how
all things proceed from God as regards their being
and their development in the natural order. The develop-
ment of this subject leads him to speak of the
different kinds of substances, and especially of
the *substantial intellectuales*, regarded in them-

*On this matter Mandonnet, I. e. p. 66; de Wulf, *La Philos.
de la Scholastique*, 5, p. 9; and *Gilles de Leauxes*, p. 15.

† One of the strongest opponents of Thomism was John
Peckham, Abp. of Canterbury. See the translation of his register (vol. ii., p. 894), to the Chancellor and
University of Oxford, and (p. 870), to certain cardinals.
See *La Philos. de la Scholastique*, 5, p. 9.†

‡ These exceptions are to be found mainly in his commentary
on the "Enchiridion." For them we refer to Mandonnet, I. e. 122 and
559; de Wulf, *La Philos. de la Scholastique*, 570; de Enkels, *Philos.
der Vorzeit*, cap. 5, xxvii. cap. 2.
themselves, in their relations to body, and in their operations. He dwells specially, of course, upon the human soul, demonstrates its spiritual nature and immortality. (ii. 4) He regards the knowledge of the human mind as not merely of the highest importance, but as the very key to our understanding of God. His whole system, in fact, is based upon the idea that the human mind, through the power of reason, can reach the highest truths about the nature of God and the universe. (i. 1)

The second way is faith. The knowledge of God by faith comes to us by Divine revelation (Sum. E. Gent. iv. 1). Since the knowledge of God is in us by reason, He has, out of His superabundant mercy, to make it more perfect, revealed to us certain things about Himself which transcend human knowledge. In this revelation a certain order is observed, such as is suited to man, so that he may proceed by degrees from the imperfect to the perfect. At first they are so revealed as not to be understood, but only to be believed, as it were, on hearsay, because the intellect is naturally limited; it is not bound to things of sense, cannot raise itself at all to behold those things which exceed all the analogies of sense; but when it is freed from the bondage of sensible things, then it can rise to contemplate the things that are revealed (ib.). There is therefore in one sense a triple division of man’s knowledge of Divine things, on account of this division of faith into two degrees (ib.)

This second means of reaching truth is needed: (a) On account of the imperfection of natural reason. The human intellect cannot succeed by its natural powers in grasping the substance of God, because the knowledge of our intellect according to the mode of this present life begins with sense. We see that there are various grades of intelligence. The simple rustic cannot understand what is intelligible to the philosopher, nor can the philosopher understand that which is intelligible to the angel (ib. i. 3). (b) Out of mercy it extends even to those things which natural reason could discover, because few could thus attain to them. The process of investigation takes a long time, and is not certain to be successful, because falsehood creeps in on account of the weakness of the intellect and the disturbing element of the fancy (ib. i. 4). Faith, therefore, supersedes but does not destroy reason. The lesser light is not darkened by the greater, but is rather increased, as the light of the air is by that of the sun; and in this way the light of science is not darkened, but rather grows brighter, in the soul of Christ by means of the light of Divine knowledge (Sum. Theol. III. 1 ad 2). Still less is it contrary to it. Because it transcends reason, it is thought by some to be contrary to it; but this is impossible (Sum. E. Gent. i. 7).

The relation, therefore, between philosophy and theology is clear. Philosophy is universal and comprehensive. In the teaching of philosophy, which considers the creatures in themselves, and leads us from them to the knowledge of God, it is the creatures who are considered first, and finally God. But in the teaching of Faith, which considers the
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creature only in its relation to God, it is God who is the first object of consideration and the creatures afterwards (Sum. c. Gent. iv. 1). (ii.) Natural reason must keep to its own department. Only those things can be known about God by natural reason which belong to the unity of His essence, but not those which belong to the division of things. Therefore Aquinas did not prove to prove the doctrine of the Trinity by human reason injures faith in two ways: (a) as concerns the dignity of faith itself, i.e. that it is concerned with things invisible. It affects the human reason, in making it believe truths beyond reason; (b) as regards the benefit of bringing others to the faith. For when a man brings reasons that are not cogent to demonstrate the faith, he only provokes the scorn of the unbelieving (Sum. Theol. i. xxxix. 1).* But natural reason can defend the Articles of the Faith, by showing that they are not repugnant to reason (Sum. c. Gent. iv. 1). (iii.) Those truths that can be discovered by natural reason, though they form part of revelation, are not cogitativa sedet, but only preambula ad articulatos (Sum. Theol. i. ii. 2).†

Ethics.—To Ethics is devoted the third part of the Sum. c. Gent. and the second part (in two divisions) of the Sum. Theol. The numerous sources of St. Thomas' learning have led to much complexity in his ethical system. It is based on that of Aristotle, but the fourfold division of the division of virtues is introduced (P. a. lxii. 5 from Macrobios). In the development of the ideas of virtue and the division of virtues into moral and intellectual, he follows Aristotle. The intellectual take precedence, as the contemplative life, if the contemplation be theological, stands higher than the practical. (1) Everton non potest esse nisi in visione divina essentia (P. a. iii. 8), and 'beatitudo est premium virtuosarum operationum' (P. a. v. 7). The moral value of actions is determined by three elements: (1) expeditum (virtus moralis constitutiva); (2) euntem (virtus moralis operationis); (3) intellectum (habitus primorum principiorum, P. a. ivii.). The moral virtues differ according to their objects. Some regulate actions, some passions. The first are comprised under the general name of praecepta (such as 'respondeas pacificat' because the head of each particular virtue is itself at command, and so to speak transforms itself into it). Fides without caritas is infirmus.

The question of the will and its freedom is discussed at length (Sum. Theol. i. iv.), viz. faith, which completes our knowledge by the truths, which can only be known by revelation; hope, which renders accessible the Divine end, which passes the forces of nature; and charity, by which the will unites itself to that end, and so to speak transforms itself into it. Fides without caritas is infirmus.

* This point is elaborated in his contra Gracces, Armoens et Saracenos, cap. 2, No. 3 of Opuscula in Roman edition.

† In the development of the doctrine of municipium cap. 4 of the third part of the Sum. Theol., and possibly in the division of virtues, Aquinas compares the operation of the human reason to the work of a man upon a stone, as if it had no power at all, because it is not the kind of thing to be expected, and of which the intellect is powerless. This is the result of the study of Civil Law at Bologna as the most brilliant achievement of the intellect of modern Europe (from Sandys, i. p. 588).

* See Onamaste et at. Philo. p. 317 f.

† Villari, Sarracena, vol. i. p. 5; 'Le opere di San Tommaso lo attirarono con una forza quasi magica ' (Cronache Teresiana, vols. 5 and 6, 1894, 1895), especially the votes of the people and of the prince, so that they have been called in the legislature and study San Tommaso as a man and as a priest, and the latter as a saint.

The influence of Aquinas has been all-powerful over those who have come after him, not merely within the scope of the seven theological virtues. Dante's Paradiso, x. 2. is St. Thomas who speaks in heaven; † his writings had a mysterious influence over Savonarola; ‡ and Baillot tells us that St. Thomas was the favourite author of Descartes, and that the order of the three virtues, of which, he wished to insist on the importance of reason, how much Hooker was his debtor any one may see who compares the first book of the Ecclesiastical Polity with St. Thomas' section upon 'law.'

Is Thomism a system still valid for our times, or are we to look for a new order of ideas? Of the first thing one may be disposed to say, 'Nulla forma substantialis suspecta magis et minus' (de Potentia, iii. ix. ad 9: de Wulf, Gilles de Lessions, p. 89). But is Thomism compatible with the theology of the Catholic Church as a whole? This is the question that lies at the root of the debates about the Ecyclical Pascendi. One thing is clear, that Thomism is absolutely incompatible with the conception of Evolution—than to which modern theology is devoted. * Nulla forma substantialis suspecta magis et minus (de Potentia, iii. ix. ad 9: de Wulf, Gilles de Lessions, p. 89). But is Thomism compatible with the theology of the Catholic Church as a whole?

The principal works on St. Thomas are:

Jourdain, La Philosophie de St. Thomas d'Aquin, 2 vols., 1858;

Werner, Thomas d'Aquin, 3 vols., 1856 (new ed. 1889);

Shenkel, Thomas d'Aquin, 2 vols., 1897;

Guttmann, Das Verhältniss des Thomas von Aquino zum Judenthun, etc., 1921.

For the translations of St. Thomas' works into other languages, see de Rabais, xii. c. 8; and Steinshneider, Hebr. Uebersetz. des Mittelalters, pp. 483-504; also Jennyk, Thomas von Aquino in der jud. Literatur, 1883.

Werner, Hessische Gesch., i. die jüd. u. die jüd. Lit., vol. ii, pp. 448-472; Schütz, Thomas Læusio, 1885.

In this bibliography the writer desires to express a general sense of indebtedness, especially to Werner, Jourdain, and de Rabais, in addition to what is expressed in direct references.

J. M. Heald.

**ARABS (ANCIENT).**

[TH. NÜLDEKE]

The term 'ancient Arabs' is used in this article to denote the pre-Muhammadan population of the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula and of the neighbouring districts to the North, which were inhabited by Arabs (i.e. the Syrian Desert, etc.).

But the ancient civilized population of Southern Arabia, the Sabæans or Himyarites, is not included, on account of their religion demanding a separate treatment. See SABAENs.

The evidence which we possess does not enable us to form anything like a complete and vivid picture of the ancient Arabs. Many of the ancient Arab historians was therefore quite justified in entitling their treatise Rostc Arabischen Heidentum's ('Remains of Arabian Heathenism') a work which throws into the shade all previous books on the subject, and some of them may be gathered from the polemical allusions in the Qur'an. Moreover, the ancient narrators which deal with the manners and customs of the heathen Arabs contain some traditions on the religion of their times. Much credit is due to a few of the early Muhammadan scholars, who laboriously collected, and handed down to posterity in a systematic form, whatever it was possible to ascertain about the Arabian heathen mythology and ritual. Among these scholars a specially prominent place must be assigned to Hishâm b. Muhammad al-Kalbi, usually known as Ibn al-Kalbi († 819-820 A.D.), the author of the 'Book of Idols' (Kitâb al-Idolat), the substance of which is known to us in the form of quotations, though the work itself is no longer extant. Finally, we have to take into consideration the fact that Muhammad incorporated in his religion a number of heathen practices, with little or no modification, and also that various relics of heathenism, which are alien to orthodox Islam, have been retained by the Arabs down to the present day. That the adoption of a new faith does not completely transform popular beliefs, and that the old conceptions, disguised under somewhat different names, frequently persist, with or without the sanction of the religious authorities, is a matter of common observation.

But, scanty as the evidence is, it suffices to show that Muhammad's contemporaries and the generations immediately preceding them were, as a rule, little influenced by their religion. They followed the religious customs of their ancestors, and, with due respect for tradition, the genuine Arab being essentially conservative; but no great significance was attached to such things. Nowhere do we find an instance of real conversion to a heathen deity.

The hardships of nomadic life were remembered that the great majority of the Arabs were nomads—ar in general, unfavourable to the development of religious feeling, as we may perceive even at the present day. Moreover, the devil worship, without being clearly conscious of the fact, had to some extent outgrown the old religion, which, as a whole, was of a very low type, and, in addition to this, Jewish and Christian influences had begun to make themselves felt. Finally, the influence on the part of the Arab was the opponent's no trace of heathen fanaticism appears.

A marked tendency to religious fervour, and even to fanaticism, is generally characteristic of the Semites; among the Arabs of the period these capabilities existed in a latent condition, and were manifested on a great scale as soon as they had imbibed the new religion. Similarly, at the present time, Bedawin, who are lukewarm about religion, no sooner adopt a settled mode of life than they become transformed into bigoted Muhammadans.

Of the deities who were worshipped in Arabia a long list might be drawn up. They are known to us chiefly through so-called 'proper names', that is, names which describe the being as 'servant,' 'gift,' 'favour,' etc., of this or that deity. But as to the nature of the gods, these names do not tell us much. How little should we know of the more important Greek gods? All information about them were derived, to a great extent, from such names as θείος, θείφων, etc., the Geographical Dictionary of Yaqût († 1229 A.D.), the 'Book of Idols' (Kitâb al-Idolat), or in the time of the author of the History of Arabia († 1062 A.D.), who quotes it independently.

See, for example, Lucius, Die Anfänge des Heidenglaubens in der christlichen Kirche (Tübingen, 1904), where the survival of ancient hero-worship, in the form of the veneration of martyrs, is elaborately proved.
The evidence for the worship of Sirius (ash-Shîrîn) is not altogether above suspicion. Possibly the statements on the subject—here more frequently drawn from the Qur'an, Sūra lii. 50, where God is called 'the Lord of Sirius'; this may have been interpreted as a condemnation of the belief that Sirius itself is a divine power.

Far more important, at least in historical times, was the cult of the planet Venus, revered as a great goddess under the name of al-'Uzzâ, which may be rendered 'the Most Mighty.' The Syriac poet Izaq, of Antioch, who lived in the first half of the 5th cent., bears witness to the worship of 'Uzzâ by the Arabs of that period; in another passage he identifies 'Uzzâ with the planet Venus. In the first half of the 6th cent., Mundhir, the Arab king of Ḥira, sacrificed to 'Uzzâ a large number of captive nuns, as we learn from a contemporary Syriac author. Procopius, also a contemporary, tells us that this same Mundhir slaughtered in honour of Aphrodite, i.e. 'Uzzâ, the planet Venus) the captive son of his Christian rival, Aregathas (Ḥārith). The Arabian cult of the planet Venus is mentioned likewise by Ephraim Syrus (who died in A.D. 373), by Jerome, Théodoret, and later still by Evagrius. Nilus† in the 8th cent. gives us an account of a wild Arab tribe who offered sacrifices of a singularly barbarous kind to the morning star, doubtless under the name of 'Uzzâ (see below). As early as the 5th cent., or theretofore, references to a priest of this goddess occur in two Syrian inscriptions, found not far from the district in which the scenes described by Nilus took place. Another Syrian inscription mentions the name 'Abd al-'Uzzâ, which at a later time, just before the rise of Islam, was extremely common among the Arabs.‡ The phrase by the two 'Uzzâs,' used in swearing, presumably refers to Venus as the morning and as the evening star. In the same manner we may explain the two pillars or obelisks, called al-Ghārîyān, 'the two objects smeared with blood,' which appear in connexion with human sacrifices offered by a king of Ḥira, the very place to which reference has been made above the figures in the Qur'an (Sūra viii.) as one of the three great goddesses of Mecca, who were supposed to be daughters of Allah. That Muhammad himself offered sacrifices to her in his younger days is expressly stated in the Qur'an, Ḥajj vii. 111. Najla, near Mecca, this goddess had a sanctuary, which is said to have consisted only of three trees. Whether the Meccans and the other inhabitants of central Arabia at all realized the astral character of 'Uzzâ is very doubtful. A deity is, in the eyes of its worshippers, an actual person, and does not necessarily represent anything else. We are not to suppose that the pious men who sacrificed to Apollo or Athene thought of inquiring what was the original significance of these deities as personifications of natural phenomena.

The expression 'by the Lord of the blessed (aṣṣīda) 'Uzzâ and by the god before whose house (i.e. the Mecca) he is once used by a poet as a form of oath, hence Wellhausen very plausibly argues that the term aṣṣīda 'the Blessed,' which occurs nowhere as the name of a goddess and of a sanctuary on the lower Euphrates, whereas the Arabs made pilgrimages, is nothing more than an epithet of 'Uzzâ which had come to be regarded as a proper name.

Kuthrâ, which probably means 'the Most Rich,' the name of an idol destroyed by order of Muhammad, is perhaps only another title of 'Uzzâ. We also read of a man called 'Abd al-'Uzzâ belonging to the tribe of Ṭai, in the very centre of Arabia. Here the absence of the definite article proves that the name Kuthrâ is ancient.

Qozâh was possibly at one time a god of storms.

Finally, 'Uzzâ has been found to be a goddess of the Sabazios too.†

‡ This is probably a Muslimahian correction for 'by the life.'

† Sarif is a place about 55 miles from Mecca.
Thus, for instance, Time in the abstract was popularly imagined to be the cause of all earthly misery and especially of all calamities. Muhammad in the Qur'an (Sura xlv. 23) blames the unbelievers for saying, 'It is Time that destroys us. The poets are continually alluding to the annihilation of Time (dārun 'a-ma) or the substitution of 'the days,' or 'the nights.' Time is represented as bringing misfortune, causing perpetual change, as biting, wearing down, shooting arrows that never miss the mark, hurling stones, and so forth. In such a case we are asked to render 'Time' by 'fate,' which is not quite correct, since time is here conceived as the determining factor, not as being itself determined by some other power, least of all by a conscious agent. But it must be admitted that the Arabs themselves do not always clearly distinguish the power of Time from that of Destiny pure and simple. Occasionally we come across such passages as the following: 'Time has brought you upon him, for the days and the allotted measure (qadār) have caused him to perish.' Or again: 'I submit not to the injustice of Time, and I behave as though unaware that the measure (allotted to me) hindered me of anything else.' Various other words are used by the poets in speaking of the 'portion' allotted to them, or of the goal that is set before them. The notion of a personified Maṣa is here vaguely present, but she has not yet become a living deity. The fatalism of the poets, as we might expect, is neither clearly formulated nor consistently carried out. Rigid dogmas on the subject of determinism and free-will were quite out of the question. Once we meet with the phrase: 'it be seen what the Apportioner shall apportion to thee' (mā yamūn laka 'a-mān), which apparently refers to a god; but this is an altogether exceptional case. The word here translated 'apportion' originally means 'to count,' hence 'to reckon,' something to one some. From this root is derived Maniyā, 'doom of death,' 'destruction,' a favourite expression with the poets; the plural Manuyā is used in the same sense. Maniya appears in poetry as driving man into the grave, piercing him with an arrow, handing him the cup of death, lying in ambush for him, receiving him as a guest (when he is about to die), and so forth. Not infrequently it is added, 'Maniya over takes me,' 'his Maniya has come upon him,' and the like. We also find, but rarely, the synonymous forms Manū and Mundīn, the latter derived from the cognate root MNX. These personifications, as we have seen, are merely poetical. But the same etymological group includes the ancient Mēni (Is 65%), perhaps a Cannaanite deity, and also the great goddess Manūtā, who figures in the Qur'an (Sūra liii, 20), by the side of 'Uznā and Allat, as one of the three 'daughters of Allah' revered at Mecca. Since she had been raised long before to the dignity of a real goddess, we may assume that her worshippers were no longer conscious of her original character. Curiously enough, the two oldest documents which mention her, namely, a Nabatean and a Latin inscription, use the plural form Manūvāt (spelt Manavan in Latin), just as the plural Manuyā is used for Maniya. Among the Arabs, Manāt had a sanctuary in the territory of the tribe Hudhair, not very far from Mecca. She was especially venerated by the inhabitants of Yathrib (afterwards called Medina). Many examples are given by W. L. Schneidewin in Uber den Patriarchen der vorislamischen Araber, Einleitung (Essen, 1851). But the list is very far from being exhaustive.

2. ABSTRACT DEITIES.—Some Arabian deities were originally personifications of abstract ideas, but they appear to have been conceived in a thoroughly concrete fashion. In particular, it is to be noticed that the Arabs, from a very early period, recognized the existence of certain powers on which human prosperity and adversity were supposed to depend. It is true that most of these beings are mere poetic, not real, personifications.

The opinion of some native scholars that Qazāb was 'a Sā'ir' is merely a deduction drawn from the name of the rainbow.

The son and co-regent of Zimbabwe, Wuzhölät (Othir Ali Mustafa), Valaharot, i.e., 'gift of Allah,' the Allat of the Palmyrenes.

Among these names we must reckon Taîm Allat. Taîm is, not improbably, the designation of certain powers on which human prosperity and adversity are supposed to depend. It is true that most of these beings are mere poetic, not real, personifications.

'Gift of the Palæstines of the oriental Araber, Einleitung (Essen, 1851). But the list is very far from being exhaustive.

With this it agrees that 'Taîm of Allat' means 'all earthly measure of time,' 'brief period,' is formed from the verb bānî, 'to be handed over,' and so is the supposition, 'to be doomed to death,' also the substantive lātîn, 'death.'

Referring to a soldier in Hungary who was of Palmyrene extraction (OCL. iv. 694).
Moreover, a number of proper names compounded with Manāfī prove that her cult extended over a great part of Arabia. There exists in Arabic a rare word for 'time,' namely 'Badd,' a poet, who belonged to the tribe of the Badd, in the North East of Arabia, as says in describing his old age: 'The arrows of Badd have pierced my limbs and joints.' This does not differ at all from those poetical personifications which have been enumerated above; the same thing may be observed in passing, alludes to 'the changes wrought by time' (ṣūrat ʿad-dahr). But an isolated verse, not unfrequently quoted, contains the phrase, 'I swear by the blood (of the sacrifices) that flows round Badd; verse in which, is a regular cult, and Ibn al-Kalbī expressly states that Badd was an idol worshipped by the Banū Bakr b. Walī, the very tribe of which the afore- said poet was a member.

Gadd, equivalent in meaning to ṣaʿd, but construed as masculine, is the name of a deity who was venerated by various Semitic peoples (see 1Sa 6:16). That the Israelite tribe of God derived its name from the same root is not doubted. Gaddā, which occurs in Nabataean inscriptions, might appear to have been borrowed, at a comparatively late period, from the neighbouring Arabian state. It is the proper name of Abd al-Jadd, as we meet with the proper name 'Abd al-Jadd in a few cases (which, is true, are confined to the coast of Yemen), and since the noun jadd, 'lack,' remained in current use among the Arabs, it is more natural to regard the Nabataean Gaddā as an Orientalized form of the native Arabic word al-Gadd (al-Jadd).

To this category belongs Saʿd, 'fortune' (used in a good sense only). According to a certain verse and the statements of the commentator, Saʿd was the name given to a rock not far from Jaidah, to which divine honours were paid. Moreover, we meet with the name 'Abd Saʿd in quite a different part of Arabia, to the north-east. At an earlier period a man's name which seems to be compounded with Saʿd occurs in the inscriptions of Safa.

Another deity who appears to have been designated by an abstract term is Rūdā, 'good-will,' 'favour.' The god of the same name, who is properly no other than the Jinn, the name is mentioned informs us that Rūdā was worshipped, in the shape of an idol, by the great tribe of Tamim. The proper name 'Abd Rūdā is found among several Arabian tribes. To the nature of Rūdā, a question has never been raised. It might even be supposed that it was originally a euphemistic title given to some malignant power. The remarkable fact that in the above-mentioned verse Rūdā is construed as feminine (whereas this grammatical form would be normally masculine), naturally suggests that at that period, about the time of Muhammad, people still realized that Rūdā was merely an epithet applied to a goddess who properly bore some other name. But against this hypothesis it may be urged that the name is of considerable antiquity, as is proved by the Palmyrene inscriptions, where it occurs separately in the form RSU, and in theophorous proper names as RSU: the pronunciation is fixed approximately by the Latin transcription Themarnos.1 The KDU of the Safa inscriptions seems to denote the same deity.

Waddā also pronounced Wudd or Udd, i.e. 'friendship,' 'affectIon,' was, according to the Qur'an (Surah Lxxi. 22), a god worshipped by the contemporaries of Noah. But it would be a mis-

1 CIL. iii. 3365, the form RSU is given by Syrian authorities.

2 CIL. iii. 3365, the form RSU is given by Syrian authorities.

3 The way we should take the word as an adjective, meaning 'friendly,' is a less probable view.

take to conclude that his cult was obsolete in Muhammad's time, for we have sufficient evidence to the contrary. The poet Nābihya says once, 'Wadd great thee!' There was a statue of this god at Dūna, a great oasis in the extreme north of Arabia. The name 'Abd Wadd occurs in a number of wholly distinct tribes. But Wadd is another instance of a deity whose character remains altogether obscure. As we are told that his statue had a bow and arrows attached to it, some people might be excused in passing, alludes to 'the changes wrought by time' (ṣūrat ʿad-dahr).

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Arabia, since elsewhere we undoubtedly meet with an Arabian god 'Ash-Sharā, for instance, in the Syriac writings, and in the legends of the Nabateans. But it is to be noticed that the Nabateans likewise had a god called Nazār. Thus the worship of the Vulture-god was once widely diffused over the Semitic lands: in Arabia, however, it appears as a superstitious belief that the god ash-Sharā was unable to find any personal name compounded with Nazār; nevertheless it is not impossible that the Neopots mentioned in the ancient inscription of Memphis6 was an Arab.

'Auf, in the fairly common name 'Abd 'Auf, means 'the great bird (of prey). This signification, it is true, does not actually occur in Arabic, but there are certain phrases in which a trace of it remains: 'Auf has, in particular, the sense of augurium, and it may be that the name of the god did not refer to the bird but to the omen drawn from it; in this case, 'Auf would be a synonym of Sol (see above).

4. DEITIES NAMED AFTER PLACES.—The god Dhū 'sh-Sharā, pertaining to ash-Sharā,7 seems to have derived his name from a place. But there were several places called ash-Sharā, and the difficulty of the name of this god was originally connected is increased by the fact that his cult goes back to very early times. The localities which bore this name appear to have been situated in rich in vegetation, such a spot, in the midst of a fertile country like Arabia, easily became a centre of worship. The inscriptions of the Nabateans and of the neighbouring peoples not infrequently mention a deity whose name is spelled 'Aš-Sharā in Greek; there is a corresponding Semitic form, and the toponymic names 'Abd Dhu Kh Shrar, Taim Dhu Sharā (Sinaitic), Duwāfās also occur. Greek authors supply us with some information respecting him. The most important of these statements is that at Petra, the Nabatean capital, he was worshipped in the form of a four-cornered block of unknown black stone, 4 feet in height and 2 in width. The blood of sacrificial victims was poured upon it, or in front of it; underneath it stood a golden pedestal, and the whole sanctuary was blazed with gold and with votive offerings. According to Epiphanius, the festival of Dusares was celebrated at Petra and the neighbouring town of Elusa, on the 25th day of the month of Suchter, that is to say, about the time of the winter solstice. This we may accept as true; it indicates, no doubt, a connexion with Sun-worship. In the later Arab Dhu 'sh-Sharā did not occupy a prominent position. He was represented by an idol in the territory inhabited by the tribe of Daus, not far from Mecca, and among whom the proper name 'Abd Dhu Kh Shrar still survives.

Another god who appears to have been named after a place is Dhū 'l-Halasa or Dhū 'l-Hulasa. He was greatly venerated at a place in the north of Syria, and the district now called 'Asra.

* This inscription dates from the 2nd cent. A.D., and is in Latin. It occurs for Feb. 1570, p. 100 ff., and Ost. gen. des. Ant. Égy. du Monde de l'Antiquité. 1903, 167. It is a curious fact that among the names here enumerated we find the Greek Ares.

† Thus the verb 'Ahe, which is derived from it, means "to wheel in the air," as birds of prey are wont to do.

‡ See the excellent paper by J. H. Mordtmann in the ZDMG xxviii. 1906.


Between his sanctuary and the sanctuary at Mecca there existed a certain amount of rivalry.

5. DEITIES NAMED AFTER PARTS OF THE BODY.—From a grammatical point of view, the gods Dhū 'l-kaflain, 'He who has two hands,' and Dhū 'r-rījil, 'He who has a foot,' must be classed with the two foregoing. Perhaps their name may have been originally applied to sacred stones or fetishes, which by means of rude carving were made to bear a partial resemblance to the human form.

6. ANCESTRAL AND TRIBAL DEITIES.—Sometimes Arabian deities are designated by titles fashioned after the manner of 'the God of Abraham,' 'the God of Nabor,' (Gen 31:29). Thus among the Nabateans we meet with the god of Rab'ā, 'the god of Qasīn,' and the phrase 'Abd Muḥammadh occurs in an inscription which mentions also a man named Maḍyaḥeh (Malikat), not to quote other instances. Similarly, Muhallīh b. Rabī'ā swears by 'the god of Rabī'ā'; perhaps Rabī'ā here refers not to the father of Muhallīh, but to the great group of tribes called Rab'ān, to which he belonged. This would be after the analogy of the formula 'by the god of the Qurāsh,' which occurs elsewhere.

Here we may mention a god who bore the curious title Shāl 'al-'aum (apparently 'the Companion of the people'), as we learn from a Palmyrene and a Nabatean inscription. In the former he is called Sa'adon, 'the kind god who receives offerings,' and from his name, and who drinks no wine, i.e. to whom no libations of wine are offered. In the Sa'ā inscription he appears as Sh'ī HQM, which should probably be read Sh'ī ḥqūm.

7. OTHER DEITIES OF THE TIME OF NOAH.—The god Yaghūth, whose name evidently means 'Helper,' was, according to the Qur'ān (Sūra lxxxi. 28), another of the deities worshipped in the time of Noah. Unless we are willing to adopt the very hazardous conjecture of the learned Smith, who identifies Yaghūth with Yē'nūš,* an ancestor of the Edonites mentioned more than once in Gm 36 and elsewhere in the OT, we find no trace of this god in early times, for his namesake 'l-yīsūd, a man who figures in the above-mentioned inscription of Memphis, cannot be cited as a proof. But at a later period we hear of a god Yaghīth, whose idol was an object of contentment among the tribes of the northern Yemen, and the name Abd Yaghīth occurs in various parts of Arabia, even in the tribe of Taghlib on the north-eastern frontier.

The name of the god ʻYā'qūb, who is mentioned in the Qur'ān together with Yaghūth, probably means 'the Preserver'; his cult seems to have been confined to Yemen. Suwā', who is also included among the gods worshipped by Noah's contemporaries (Sūra lxxxi. 20), was apparently of no great importance. He had a sanctuary at a place in the territory of the Hudail, but none, so far as we know, elsewhere. The meaning of his name is altogether obscure. Neither Suwā' nor ʻYā'qūb seems to occur in theophoric proper names. It is hardly necessary to remark that the transferring of all these Arabian deities to the age of Noah was a fantastic anachronism due to Muhammad himself.

8. HUBAL.—Hubal was worshipped at Mecca; his idol stood in the Ka'bah, and he appears to have been, in reality, the god of that sanctuary. It is therefore particularly unfortunate that we have so little information respecting him. Wellhausen has plausibly suggested that Hubal is to be identified with Allah, 'the god' of the Meccans. It would be unsafe to trust the descriptions of the idol in question which are given by writers of a later

* The correct pronunciation is, perhaps, ʻYā'īsh or ʻYāsīsh (with s); we may assume that originally the name was always spelled Ysh, without any vowel-deletion afterwards. The
period; there is reason, however, to believe that
the god had a human form. We may likewise
accept as historical the statement that near him
were kept divining-arrows, used for the purpose of
ascertaining his will or forecasting future events.
It is evident that the idol was worshipped by 'Amr b.
Luḥāt from Ma'ālah (Moab), a tradition which may
contain some element of truth, for we have inde-
pendent evidence indicating that this god was
known in the North. He seems to be mentioned
in the Arabic of the Uwdī tribe of the tribe of
Kalb, which dwelt in the Syrian Desert, used
Hubal as the name of a person or clan; the same
tribe, it may be noticed in passing, used in like
manner the names of Isāl and ʿAlūd, two deities
peculiar to Mecca. Moreover, 'Amr b. Luḥāt is the representa-
tive of the Ḥuzā'ī tribe, who, according to tradition, occupied the sacred
territory of Mecca before it passed into the hands
of the Qurān. The assertion that 'Amr intro-
duced the worship of idols into Mecca for the first
time is, of course, utterly incredible. But the
hypothesis that Hubal was a late importation from
a foreign country is further supported by the fact
that the worship of Hubal has survived in other parts of
Arabia, and that even at Mecca personal names
compounded with Hubal were unknown. When the
Meccans had gained a victory over the Prophet
in the immediate neighborhood of Medina, their
leader shouted, 'Hurrah for Hubal!' They regarded
him as the natural enemy of the God
preached by Muhammad.

9. 'LORD' AND 'GOD.'—Here we may notice certain
deities whose titles in themselves seem to
designate them as occupying a position of supreme
importance in the eyes of their worshippers. Among
these is al-Malik, 'the King,' a name which corre-
sponds to the North-Semitic Malak (not to mention
other forms) as applied to a god; in Arabia, however,
al-Malik is represented only by the rare
personal name 'Abd al-Malik.†

The divine title Baʿl or Baʿal, 'the Lord,' which
was very common among the Northern Semites,
survived among the Arabs of the Sinai Peninsula,
in the form al-Baʿāth, which occurs in their inscrip-
tions together with the proper names 'Abd al-Baʿāth,
Aṣūṣ al-Baʿāth 'gift of the Lord,' and Garm al-Baʿāth,
proclaimed the Lord of the world. The use of this
deity, as may be found in Sharaf al-Baʿāth, the
name of a place which lay somewhere on the route
between Medina and Syria. The Arabs of later
times were not aware that any such deity had
existed, and therefore phrases in which they prove
that he had once been known. Thus the term 'soil of
Baʿāth, or simply 'Baʿāth, is applied to
land which does not require rain or artificial
irrigation, but has an underground water supply,
and therefore yields fruit of the best quality. In this
case the god seems to be regarded as the lord of
the cultivated land. That here the word Baʿāth
really refers to him is shown by the synonymous,
or nearly synonymous, expression athṭār, derived from
Athṭūr, a deity whose name had likewise
sunk into oblivion among the Arabs of that period,
whereas it appears in all the other Semitic languages
with the usual variations of form ('Aṣṭār, 'Athṭūr,
and so forth'). Again, the verb baʿāīta and other
derivatives of Baʿāth mean 'to be bewitched, properly
to be seized by the god Baʿāth.'

Among the Northern Arabs of early times, par-
ticularly in districts where the word El, 'God,' was
still very commonly used as a separate name,
for Amlak, the plural of majesty, formed from this noun, is
used in Ethiopic as the ordinary word for 'God.'

In the history of Islam, al-Malik became one of the epithets
of Allah, and hence the name 'Malik' appears among
Muhammadans.

The word Baʿl is still primarily to the date-palm, which requires
much moisture at its root but none above.

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used in Ethiopic as the ordinary word for 'God.'

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much moisture at its root but none above.

Allāh, in the Saʿfī inscriptions Hallāh, 'the god,'
enters into the composition of numerous personal
names among the Nabataeans and the Northern
Arabs of an early period, e.g. Zaid Allāh, 'increase
of God' (that is, increase of the family through the
son given by God), 'Abd Allāh, and so forth. In
the Nabataean inscriptions Allāh does not seem to
occur separately as the name of a god, but in the
inscriptions of Saʿfī the separate use is found.
Among the heathen Arabs of later times Allāh is
extremely common, both by itself and in theo-
phonous names. Wellhausen cites a large number
of passages proving that they mention Allāh as a great
deity; and even if we strike out some passages (for instance, on the ground that
the text has been altered by Muhammadan scribes),
so many still remain over, and so many more which
are quite as good, that we cannot doubt that
Allāh was known in Arabia as the God of the
Heathen, as the Jews knew Him in Jerusalem. But
in any case it is an extremely important fact
that Muhammad did not find it necessary to introduce an altogether novel
deity, but contented himself with adding the deity
Allah of his 'companions,' subjecting him to a kind of
dogmatic purification, and defining him in a somewhat
clearer manner. Had he not been accus-
tomed from his youth to the idea of Allah as the
Supreme God, in particular of Mecca, it may well
be doubted whether he would ever have come
forward as the preacher of Monotheism.

II. THE NATURE OF THE GODS.

As to the manner in which the Arabs conceived
of their gods, the theophorous proper names
give us some information, though it does not go very far.
We have, of course, to remember not only that
the Arabs numbered only a few persons who were
on the best possible terms with the deities in ques-
tion, and to approach them in the most conciliatory
fashion, but also that later generations, who made
use of ancient names, did not pay much attention

† Names connected with the pre-Islamic tribes of the Arabian peninsula, which originally came from districts where the term Allāh or one of its synonyms was naturally a tendency to spread among the Arabs in general.

Names connected with the pre-Islamic tribes of the Arabian peninsula, which originally came from districts where the term Allāh or one of its synonyms was naturally a tendency to spread among the Arabs in general.
to the original meaning: hence it may be concluded that, when Muhammad first proclaimed his mission, the peculiar ideas to the relations between gods and men had already begun to grow dim. It is also to be noticed that, in consequence of the abbreviations which names of persons are liable to undergo in daily life, compound proper names were often deprived of their divine element; thus *Alia Manat*, gift of Manat; *Zaid Allat*, increase (bestowed) by Allat; *`Abd Allâh*, servant of God, became *Allah*, gift; *Zaid*, increase; *`Abd*, servant, respectively. A peculiarity proper to the denominations appears as a lord, while the human individual is his servant, his handmaid, his obedient subject (freewill); sometimes, again, the deity is described as gracious, while the human individual is his gift, his reward, his act of favour, the aid which he supplies, his protegê who seeks refuge with him, etc. At other times the deity is represented as increasing the family, as sending a good omen and good fortune. The human individual is also referred to as a man of the deity, his companion, and so forth. Some of these compounds are of doubtful meaning. With the exception of a very small number of uncertain cases found in isolated texts, the names have never designated a human being as the kinsman or descendant of a deity, like those which we find among the Hebrews and other Semites.†

III. THE CULT.

1. IDOLS, ALTARS, AND SACRIFICES. — It has already been remarked that the sanctity of our knowledge respecting the Arabic gods, due to the fact that our information dates, for the most part, from the close of the heathen period, that is to say, from a time when the Arabs themselves had no very clear ideas on this subject. The traditional lore was usually practised, but mythology, not to mention religious dogma, could scarcely be said to exist. Even as to the fundamental question of the relation in which the Deity stood to the sacred stones, idols, and other objects of worship, no definite belief seems to have prevailed. If the heathen Arabs reflected about such matters at all, they probably imagined that the block of stone which served as a fetish (after the primitive Semitic fashion so clearly portrayed in the OT) was crowned by a divine power, and, in its turn, exercised a divine influence. We have already had occasion to mention the black stone of Dusares at Petra; to this, it would appear, Clement of Alexandria almost says that ‘the Arabs worship stone’ (Protr. iv. § 46). The veneration of the black stone in the wall of the Ka‘aba has been adopted even by Islam; and, as Snouck Hurgronje has shown, there exist in Mecca and the immediate neighbourhood various other sacred stones, which were originally fetishes, but have acquired a superficially Muhammadan character by being brought into connexion with certain holy persons. Stone of this kind served at the same time as altars; the blood of the victims was poured over them or smeared upon them, an act whereby the worshipper entered into communion with the god to whose temple the offering of blood was presented. Upright blocks or slabs of stone (qal'at dalam) formed an essential part of the cult; the Arabic equivalent of στῆγας is *qalat* (pl. *qalātat*), also *massābīlah* (Heb. *massābīlah*). As early as the time of Herodotus, our oldest authority, the Arabs, to establish a blood-brotherhood by smearing sacred stones with their own blood, while they invoked the god and the goddess (iii. 8). Examples of a similar use of blood, in the solemn ratification of a treaty or in the oath-taking of an oath, occur much later periods.* The blood is licked, or the hands are dipped in it; sometimes water or a perfumed liquid is employed as a substitute.†

A detailed account of all the kind of sacrifices performed, about a.n. 410, is given by Nilus (Migne, Patr. cii. 623 ff.). The wild ‘Baracuss’ of Arab Petraus, he tells us, had no image of a god, but only an altar rudely built of stones, where, on the first day, he used to sacrifice a goat, a human being or a white camel to the morning-star (i.e. Venus, or *Usā*; see above, p. 600) before sunrise, evidently in order that the star might be visibly present during the whole ceremony. Thrice they marched round the sacred spot, chanting a hymn; then the chieftain, or an aged priest, struck the first blow at the victim, and drank some of the blood, whereupon the crowd, rushing forward, shared the animal, raw and only half-boiled, together with the bones and entrails, before the sun appeared.† One of the most peculiar features in this description is the drinking of the victim’s blood, the Arabs, like the ancient Hebrews, allowed the blood of the victim to flow away, giving back the hand of life to the deity, or else they applied it directly to the idol.

As is stated above, the Arabs of Petraea sacrificed not only animals, but also human beings; the son of Nilus was one of the point of being sacrificed to the morning-star, in honour of the morning-star, and escaped by a mere accident. Testimony of a somewhat earlier date is supplied by Porphyry, who tells us (de Abstin. ii. 56) that ‘the people of Duma, in Arabia,’ annually sacrificed a boy and burned him under the altar, which served also as an idol (ζωαρος); here we have another instance of the same object being used for both purposes. The vast human sacrifices offered, at a later period, by King Mundhir of Ijira to the planet Venus, the goddess to whom Nilus also refers, have already been mentioned.† But in Arabia proper we have no clear trace of human sacrifice.++ Possibly among the Arabs of the extreme North, the continuation, or it may be the revival, of the ghastly ancient rite was due to the influence of the neighbouring peoples, whose religion had remained barbarous in spite of their advanced material civilization.

At the period of the present day our principal authorities relate, the Arabs sacrificed camels, sheep, goats, and apparently less often pigs.++ We frequently meet Count Landburg, Le Langue arabe et ses dialectes (Leiden, 1903), p. 74, mentions the remarkable specimen of blood-ritual which is still practised in a certain district of South Arabia at the conclusion of a country service.

The anointing of fetishes, as we find it in Gen 23:18, and as it appears elsewhere, both among the Northern Semites and other peoples, is likewise to be considered a secular rite, or offering.

Similarly, at an earlier period, the altar in the sacred palm-grove, probably near the southern extremity of the Sinaitic Peninsula, was *de orbe Arobo*, according to Agatharchides, cited by Diodorus, iii. 40.

§ In like manner the ‘Alawina, a Muhammadan confraternity existing at the present day in the district of Trenchen, Algeria, perform a religious rite in the course of which they devour a goat raw, with the skin and hair—see Doucté, Les Assises d'Alger (Châlons-sur-Marne, 1900), p. 13. This must be a piece of primitive African savagery; it was certainly not imported into Arabia. But there is reason to believe that similar rites took place in the paroxysms of excitement which accompanied the Dionysian rite. The Eucharist of Kupridice contains no very precise evidence on the subject.

1 Probably not the oasis Dumat al-Jandal, where Wadd was worshipped (see above, p. 112), but Duma in the Jauin, which was included in the province of Arabat—see the KRAS of Bengal for 1903, Anthrop. Series, p. 82 ff.

2 The ‘prick’ of the indigent of the Bedouin to-day, as of the present day, see Curtiss, Prim. Sem. Rel. Today (London, 1892). Cf. also Musil, Arabica Petraea, iii. (Vienna, 1905); and Taizzen, Contes des Arabes au pays du Maad (Paris, 1899).

* These remarks, and many of the other observations which follow, apply to other peoples also, both Semitic and Non-Semitic.

† On all these questions see the art. ‘Names’ in EB, p. 233 ff. (for the general appearance of the present article); and Littman, Oriental Inscriptions, p. 121 ff.

‡ These names are those which follow, apply to other peoples also, both Semitic and Non-Semitic.

§ Very similar rites exist among other nations, e.g. in Bengal —see the KRAS of Bengal for 1903, Anthrop. Series, p. 82 ff. For a parallel with the customs of the present day, see Curtiss, Prim. Sem. Rel. Today (London, 1892). Cf. also Musil, Arabica Petraea, iii. (Vienna, 1905); and Taizzen, Contes des Arabes au pays du Maad (Paris, 1899).

++ These sacrifices may be compared with the savage custom existing at the present day in the district of Trenchen, Algeria, of *de orbe Arobo*, according to Agatharchides, cited by Diodorus, iii. 40.

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— The word [hadji], ‘conducted,’ cannot be cited as an argument. When applied to a single individual, it denotes a prisoner, who is under the protection of the king to whom he has been brought to his husband. When applied to sacrificed victims, it is always a collective, the singular being *hadj*. Thus it would not be correct to say that a prisoner is called a hadji.

†† The most usual words for animals offered in sacrifice are *sirr* and *sirifa*; hence we must suppose that the word that is used here in the sense of ‘entreat, nact,’ ‘to be moved by entreaty,’ originally referred to sacrifice, accompanied by prayer, and to the effect which it produces on the deity.
read of the blood of the victims being applied to the sacred stone or pillar. The number of the animals slaughtered must sometimes have been very large, since the poets hyperbolically compare warriors slaying in battle to a multitude of sacrificial victims. Such kinds are rarely mentioned. On one occasion we hear of a mik'k-offering, presented to the god Wadd (see above, p. 602), and another passage refers to an oblation consisting of barley and wheat over which the arrow was poured. Me and the next day, however, these less pretentious kinds of offering may perhaps in ordinary life have played a larger part than we should at first be inclined to suppose. But the words *naw'at*, *mesal*, *outing*, which are applied to religious ceremonies in general, and have become part of the terminology of Islam, certainly do not refer, in the first instance, to drink-offerings of this sort (as is the case with the Hebrew *nekad*), but to the outpouring of blood. The flesh of the sacrifice was usually eaten by the worshippers, and sometimes the god contented himself with the blood. Sometimes, however, sacrifices were left to be devoured by vultures; hence the neigh-trail of the Ka'ba was called *mutqi* *al-qafir*; the 'feeder of the birds (of prey)'. In this case the god was probably imagined to be—through human instrumentality, it is true—an example of those virtuous Arabs whose charity, like that of the birds, was shaven, and a sheep was sacrificed on his behalf; perhaps this was originally a random offering, offered as a substitute for the sacrifice of the child.

We may here mention a totally different kind of offering, namely, the practice of *setting an animal at liberty*, either in fulfilment of a vow or as an expression of gratitude to the deity for the increase of the flock; thenceforth the animal in question was not to be used for any purpose, except perhaps by needy travellers who might be allowed to milk it. Of these consecrated animals there were various sorts, each denoted by a distinct term. But as to the precise meaning of the terms, no trustworthy information exists. Possessed by the Qur'an and by later scholars, since the Qur'an had abolished these customs, together with the religion of which they formed a part. It is possible that the animals to which we have referred pastured in districts sacred to the deity, and generally were held inviolable.

The practice of *marching round the sanctuary* on the occasion of a sacrifice, as the Saracens described by Nilus were wont to do, prevailed in many parts of Arabia. Sometimes, at least in Mecca, this marching took place also when no sacrifice was being offered. It would seem that among the Arabs of later times the *sollemn shout* (tahbl) corresponded, in some measure, to the *hyam* of the early Saracens. We may be sure that what the Qur'an contemptuously calls *whistling and clapping* (Sûra viii. 35) was not confined to the Meccan sanctuary.* The act of standing (*yukf*) in a devout posture before the sacred stone or image likewise formed an essential part of the ritual.

In addition to these traditional forms, there were other means of influencing the gods, namely, extemporized prayers, requests for special favours, benedictions, and, above all, imprecations. The last are called *hyperbolic* and as a sort of incantation are sung in the god or the image in a sacred month and at a sacred spot, for instance, in the month of Duhan (6') at *Oakah*.

We have already seen that the gods were represented not only by rude blocks of stone, but also by statues, each of which was more or less skill. The most usual word for a divine statue, whether of stone or wood, is *sunnan*, derived from the Arabic *qalim*, and perhaps introduced into Arabia together with the object itself. The other word, *sawah*, is certainly indigenous, and seems primarily to mean nothing more than 'stone.'

Examples of *tree-worship* are likewise to be found among the Arabs. The tree known as *Dhâl* or *Aussi*, the symbol of the Meccan Arabs, was held sacred; it included divinite honours; weapons and other objects were suspended from it. We also hear of a sacred palm-tree which was decked with apparel. At *Nahla*, as has been mentioned above (p. 600), the goddess *Urzâl* is said to have been worshipped in the form of three trees. We may assume that the deity was supposed to stand in the same relation to the tree as to the flocks of stone. The garments, rays, and other things which were placed upon it are to be regarded as a substitute for sacrifice.

The *kindling of a fire in honour of a god* was quite exceptional among the Arabs. It took place in connexion with the great festival of the pilgrimage, at the spot called *Qubbat al-Ka'bah*; moreover, the term *sather* in an ancient verse of poetry referring to some particular cult, may not improbably be explained as meaning 'fire,' 'blaze,' in accordance with the ordinary use of the word, rather than as the name of a god, although the latter interpretation might seem, at first sight, to suit the context.

2. PLACES OF WORSHIP.—Temples, properly so called, were certainly very rare, unless we include buildings in the Cypriote-Roman style erected by the Arabs of the extreme North. The primitive simplicity of the Ka'ba, which was held in such especial honour, proves that the sanctuaries of Arabia are no more than the outer expression of a deep inward feeling. The three temples which stood, according to Agatharchides (Diod. iii. 45), on a hill near the Arabian seacoast, may have been somewhat handsomer specimens of architecture, but it would seem that they were built by a foreign prince, probably a Sakaean. Yet in spite of their humble appearance, the houses of the gods were regarded with extreme veneration, as is shown by the proper names 'Abd al-dâr, 'servant of the (holy) dwelling' (the ancestor of the family who were actually in charge of the temple at Meccah); 'Abd al-hâlî, 'servant of the (holy) house'; and 'Abd al-Qâ'ba,'servant of the Ka'ba.'§ The word *majfud*, 'mosque,' 'temple,' which has become part of the terminology of Islam, was originally derived from the

* Robertson Smith very justly remarks (Rel. Sem. 2 p. 340, note 2): 'The festal song of praise (Sûra, tahbl) properly goes with the dance round the altar (Ps 259), for in primitive times song and dance were inseparable.' 1

2 Sacred trees, such as the date palms, were not uncommon among the Arabs at the present day, and still more frequently in Syria. They are not found in other regions, and the Saracens for the present many difficulties of interpretation. On tree-worship in general see Frazer, Golden Bough, I. 106 ff.

§ Among the Syriacans we find the name *Abd el hâlî, 'servant of the temple.*
Aramai, as is shown by the occurrence of 'milah, 'place of worship,' in the Nabatean inscriptions. The sanctuary in which an idol stood was usually not enclosed with walls, but marked off by means of boundary-stones, after the fashion described by Strabo. Hence, it naturally be regarded as a gift of the gods by the caravans which passed to and fro between Yemen and Syria, though the water of Zamzam, it must be admitted, is of inferior quality, judged even by Arabian standards. As Dr. Haldane points out (p. 777), the waters are to be found no great way off. But, however, this may be, the primitive structure in question, which was little more than a box containing a sacred stone, and visited by strangers who performed a pilgrimage (tawm) to the place. The traditions which relate to the early history of Mecca are extremely untrustworthy, and many of them have been perverted in the interest of various parties; but there is no reason to doubt the statement that this territory, unattractive as it is in itself, had, once, if not always, been covered with solemn and zealous worship.

The ceremony of marching round the Ka'ba, and the accompanying rites, such as the procession between the two great stones, called Ṣafa and Marwa, and the visit to the spring of Zamzam, which stood in the immediate vicinity, were rigidly fixed. The greater part of this ceremonial was incorporated into Islam by Muhammad, who, from the first recognized the Ka'ba as the temple of Allah (Sūra cv. 3); only a few modifications were introduced. But there is reason to suspect that the changes made by the Prophet chiefly affected those very details which, if they were known to us, would have supplied the surest clue to the original meaning of the whole. In particular, he abolished all the idols which, from the capture of Mecca, he had accumulated, and to which he gave no other meaning than that they were mere symbols of the God whom he himself worshipped. According to tradition, this has all the appearance of trustworthiness, since the Prophet forbade his followers to march round the sacred spot naked; the practice in question must therefore have existed previously. The idea seems to have been that those who marched in this manner could not appear before the Deity in their ordinary garb; hence, if any one had not the means of borrowing a suit of clothes at Mecca, he was obliged to perform the ceremony in a state of nudity. The customary garments lent by the priest occurs also elsewhere in Arabia. In one case, we are told, a Bedawi, who belonged to the neighboring tribe of Hudsii, marched round the Ka'ba with his buttocks uncovered, apparently imagining that this was a

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peculiarly effective means of appealing to the god. It is said that the Meccans and certain tribes known as Huns, who were nearly akin to them, used to wear sandals when they went through the ceremony—a rule which may be explained by the suspicion that they regarded the place as their home; members of other tribes, on the contrary, always entered the sacred precincts barefoot.

Wellhausen has had the merit of discovering another theory itself, which is based on the solitary processions from the hill called ‘Arafat to the valley of Minā, the real pilgrimage (hojjj) or ‘erā Lotto, originally had nothing whatever to do with Mecca and the Ka’ba. It is true that the route followed by the procession lay, for the most part, within the limits of the haram, which was generally acknowledged to be the sacred territory of the Meccans; but the fact that the opening ceremonies, the halt on the hill of ‘Arafat, and the kindling of lights on the hill of Hilal, took place outside the haram—for which reason the Meccans and the Huns as a whole had no share in them—is quite sufficient to prove that the festival was not really connected with the sacred area. It should be observed that even at the present day, in spite of the changes introduced by the Prophet, who endeavoured to assimilate the ritual as far as possible to the theory of Islam, the festival, properly so called, has been entirely suppressed, and it now appears to be the case that the two original visits to the Ka’ba are not an integral part of the hajj. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that by the time of Mahomet and the pilgrimage had come to be closely associated with Mecca. The Quraish were sufficiently astute to appreciate the advantage which they derived from the sacred aspect of their domain, and from the annual assemblage of all pious men by the door of the country; they used these two circumstances together formed the basis of their trade, which rendered them intellectually far superior to other Arabs. The hospitality which they extended to the starving Bedawin at the time of the festival was amply repaid by the security guaranteed to the Meccan caravans.

Hagg or hojj is a very ancient Semitic expression; whatever its original meaning may have been, it corresponds for practical purposes to the word ‘festival’ (see, for instance, I S 30:16). In Arabic the verbal form of this root is used also transitively, signifying ‘to visit’ a shrine. How familiar the idea of pilgrimage was to the ancient Arabs is well shown by the expression ḫajj-giḏa, or ‘Aja’ijj, ‘he who is wont to go on pilgrimage,’ which appears not unfrequently as a proper name; furthermore, ḫajj-haqa, which originally meant a ‘pilgrim-route,’ is used for a ‘route’ in general, and ḫajj, ‘annual festival,’ has become a synonym for ‘year.’ That the festivals attended by pilgrims could take place only at fixed seasons is obvious; thus the pilgrimages were intimately connected with the remarkable institution known as the sacred months, that is to say, months during which a universal peace prevailed, no violence could be executed, and even the murderer enjoyed security. How such an institution can have established itself among uncivilized nomads remains a profound mystery; in any case it was generally

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1 The theory that it primarily refers to ‘dancing’ rests on no evidence.

2 It is less difficult to understand how sacred spots and districts came to be regarded as inviolable, for in early times it was hardly possible that the sanctuary would punish those who profaned it, and this reverence would acquire the accepted among the Arabs. Its existence is attested by Procopius (Pers. ii. 16), though, of course, we cannot be quite sure that the months to which he refers are precisely the same as those with which the concourse at Mecca was associated. The question is closely connected with the theory of the ancient Arabian calendar, about which some doubt still prevails. It appears tolerably certain, however, that Rajab, the sacred month which stood by itself, was of much greater importance than the others, and seems to have been the proper time for the pilgrimage (‘omra) to the Ka’ba, normally fell in the spring, whereas the three consecutive sacred months, in the second of which the great hajj took place, coincided with the autumn. Similarly, we learn from Nonnosus, who lived during the first half of the 6th cent., that two annual festivals were celebrated in the sacred palm-grove, which is probably to be identified with the grove described by Agatharchides (see above, p. 660), but is nowhere mentioned in Arabic literature.† At the beginning of the hajj, a man who belonged to a certain family renowned for skill in such matters solemnly inaugurated the sacred month. It should be observed that even at the present day, in spite of the changes introduced by the Prophet, who endeavoured to assimilate the ritual as far as possible to the theory of Islam, the festival, properly so called, has been entirely suppressed, and it now appears to be the case that the two original visits to the Ka’ba are not an integral part of the hajj. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that by the time of Mahomet and the pilgrimage had come to be closely associated with Mecca. The Quraish were sufficiently astute to appreciate the advantage which they derived from the sacred aspect of their domain, and from the annual assemblage of all pious men by the door of the country; they used these two circumstances together formed the basis of their trade, which rendered them intellectually far superior to other Arabs. The hospitality which they extended to the starving Bedawin at the time of the festival was amply repaid by the security guaranteed to the Meccan caravans. Hagg or hojj is a very ancient Semitic expression; whatever its original meaning may have been, it corresponds for practical purposes to the word ‘festival’ (see, for instance, I S 30:16). In Arabic the verbal form of this root is used also transitively, signifying ‘to visit’ a shrine. How familiar the idea of pilgrimage was to the ancient Arabs is well shown by the expression ḫajj-giḏa, or ‘Aja’ijj, ‘he who is wont to go on pilgrimage,’ which appears not unfrequently as a proper name; furthermore, ḫajj-haqa, which originally meant a ‘pilgrim-route,’ is used for a ‘route’ in general, and ḫajj, ‘annual festival,’ has become a synonym for ‘year.’ That the festivals attended by pilgrims could take place only at fixed seasons is obvious; thus the pilgrimages were intimately connected with the remarkable institution known as the sacred months, that is to say, months during which a universal peace prevailed, no violence could be executed, and even the murderer enjoyed security. How such an institution can have established itself among uncivilized nomads remains a profound mystery; in any case it was generally

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§ We also meet with the sing, form ‘Arfaq; perhaps this refers properly to some particular, though the partial absence of the necessary part for a singular is a great fault on certain points; and also his great classical work, Mekka (Hague, 1885, 1890).

1 The theory that it primarily refers to ‘dancing’ rests on no evidence.

2 It is less difficult to understand how sacred spots and districts came to be regarded as inviolable, for in early times it was hardly possible that the sanctuary would punish those who profaned it, and this reverence would acquire the accepted among the Arabs. Its existence is attested by Procopius (Pers. ii. 16), though, of course, we cannot be quite sure that the months to which he refers are precisely the same as those with which the concourse at Mecca was associated. The question is closely connected with the theory of the ancient Arabian calendar, about which some doubt still prevails. It appears tolerably certain, however, that Rajab, the sacred month which stood by itself, was of much greater importance than the others, and seems to have been the proper time for the pilgrimage (‘omra) to the Ka’ba, normally fell in the spring, whereas the three consecutive sacred months, in the second of which the great hajj took place, coincided with the autumn. Similarly, we learn from Nonnosus, who lived during the first half of the 6th cent., that two annual festivals were celebrated in the sacred palm-grove, which is probably to be identified with the grove described by Agatharchides (see above, p. 660), but is nowhere mentioned in Arabic literature.† At the beginning of the hajj, a man who belonged to a certain family renowned for skill in such matters solemnly inaugurated the sacred month. It should be observed that even at the present day, in spite of the changes introduced by the Prophet, who endeavoured to assimilate the ritual as far as possible to the theory of Islam, the festival, properly so called, has been entirely suppressed, and it now appears to be the case that the two original visits to the Ka’ba are not an integral part of the hajj. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that by the time of Mahomet and the pilgrimage had come to be closely associated with Mecca. The Quraish were sufficiently astute to appreciate the advantage which they derived from the sacred aspect of their domain, and from the annual assemblage of all pious men by the door of the country; they used these two circumstances together formed the basis of their trade, which rendered them intellectually far superior to other Arabs. The hospitality which they extended to the starving Bedawin at the time of the festival was amply repaid by the security guaranteed to the Meccan caravans. Hagg or hojj is a very ancient Semitic expression; whatever its original meaning may have been, it corresponds for practical purposes to the word ‘festival’ (see, for instance, I S 30:16). In Arabic the verbal form of this root is used also transitively, signifying ‘to visit’ a shrine. How familiar the idea of pilgrimage was to the ancient Arabs is well shown by the expression ḫajj-giḏa, or ‘Aja’ijj, ‘he who is wont to go on pilgrimage,’ which appears not unfrequently as a proper name; furthermore, ḫajj-haqa, which originally meant a ‘pilgrim-route,’ is used for a ‘route’ in general, and ḫajj, ‘annual festival,’ has become a synonym for ‘year.’ That the festivals attended by pilgrims could take place only at fixed seasons is obvious; thus the pilgrimages were intimately connected with the remarkable institution known as the sacred months, that is to say, months during which a universal peace prevailed, no violence could be executed, and even the murderer enjoyed security. How such an institution can have established itself among uncivilized nomads remains a profound mystery; in any case it was generally
Quraish and their associates the Huns (see p. 665). At Qozah, in the immediate neighbourhood, a fire was kindled on the night spent at Muzdalifa every one remained awake, and as soon as the sun rose, the assembly started for the valley of Minä, about two hours farther on. On the way thither, at three different places, every individual threw upon a heap of stones. At Minä the sacrificial animals were slaughtered; part of the flesh was consumed by the owners on the spot, and distributed among those who had nothing to offer, while part of it had always been their custom to dry and store in the sun for subsequent use. Thereupon the pilgrims shaved their heads, and the festival came to an end.

The practice of kindling lights on the hill of idol, the fire at Qozah, combined with the observation of the setting and rising sun as temporal limits, seem to indicate that the festival was held primarily in honour of the Sun-god. Just as the Saracens described by Nitzsch {^Terslagen, with the Morning star before it vanished in the brightness of the dawn, so the pilgrims at `Arafat regulated their proceedings by the sun. But whether the whole march from `Arafat to Minä was made in one day and in one place, or having a consistent mythological signification, whether, in other words, each individual rite is to be regarded as an integral part of a mythological drama and is capable of being so interpreted by us, appears extremely doubtful, notwithstanding the ingenious theory which Houtsma has propounded.\* The custom of throwing stones is particularly hard to explain. We have to take into account the fact that ceremonies of the same kind were performed by the Arabs in at least two other places, and occur in every part of the world.  

The great festival which we have described had gradually thrown all others into the shade. At several places not very far from Mecca, festivals, which originally had a religious character, were celebrated on fixed days in the course of the sacred months; but these assemblies became in process of time little more than fairs, where men came together for purposes of business or pleasure. This applies, in particular, to the fair held at `Okaż. It must, of course, be understood that the great baj itself was also utilized for commerce and pleasure, and that even single tribal gatherings extended over a vast area. Thus at the fair of Dhu'l-majāz, a place some four miles from `Arafat, peace was concluded about the beginning of the 5th cent., through the intervention of Musa, the successor of `Abdul-Muttalib. The habit of two kindred tribes of Bakr and Taghilī, who had long been deadly enemies, although the town of Hira and the territory of the tribes in question lay far to the north-east of Dhu'l-majāz.

It is necessary to add that there were certain tribes, not very distant from Mecca, which did not recognize the sanctity of the festivals associated with that city, and even went so far as to plunder the pilgrims. The case of the bani-`Ashir Shafārā, who boldly slew a pilgrim at Minä in the midst of the festive throng, thus violating at once the holiness of the place and of the occasion, belongs to a somewhat different category, since this was merely an example of individual impiety on the part of a man who in more than one respect showed a contempt for established usages.

\* Muhammad deliberately modified the conditions of the festival with the sun, for he ordered that the departure from `Arafat should take place soon after sunset, and the departure from Muzdalifa, shortly before midnight.

\* Het Skooplimse en het steenwerpen te Duma, p. 22ff. (= Bestand della Accad. van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde, 4th ser., vi. 206 ff.).

\* See, especially, Fzlexer, Golden Dough, iii. pp. 3-13, where the description of the festival is given, and under other single names, Doutte, Les Méditations sacrées en Meroc (Algeria, 1903). The practice of throwing stones, which is so natural and so sanguine, probably has a different origin, although the belief of Muhammad, that the stones which they throw in the valley of Minä are directed against Satan, suggests this explanation.

\* The word is possibly connected with other religious terms used in the Semitic languages, but on this point nothing can be affirmed with certainty.

\* Abjìr, an author of the 9th cent., gives a very rational explanation of the belief in demons, and his views are based on St. Augustine's belief in them. (See Hieronymus, De tres init. prooem., ii. 200 F.)

\* T. E. Lawrence, Dasomen, Geister und Zaubem bei den alten Arabern, in the above-mentioned periodical, vii. viii., particularly instructive.

\* \*}
ARABS (ANCIENT)

vation, while serpents were seen to fly out of the bowels of the earth, during which persons died forthwith, with every one perceived that the Jinn had slain them. Perhaps we may hazard the rationalistic conjecture that their death was due to the poisonous air which they had been breathing. There are mentions of infant premature still or cut off off human beings; their spiteful nature also leads them sometimes to prevent cattle from drinking. They utter a peculiar sound. Their limbs are often very powerful; hence a strong man is said to have had the Jinn hired by the Jews to ride upon ostriches, as bedits inhabitants of the pure desert. A brave warrior is described as alarming even 'the dogs of the Jinn,' so that they growl. These are merely samples of the fantastic notions connected with them; as we might have expected, there were equally fantastic devices for the purpose of warding off their influence.

Frequently a Jinn (i.e. one of the Jinn) enters into a human being, rendering him possessed or mad. But this belief, familiar as it was to the Arabs in historical times, seems to have been originally a foreign importation, or at least to have been greatly intensified through contact with foreign peoples. A very peculiar and rare feature of such conception appears, whereas in the NT it is extremely common, phrases like δαιμονίῳ δαιμόνιον, δαίμονος ἐχειν occurring repeatedly. The idea was introduced into Palestine from Iran. The Persian word for 'madman' is dāvānā, literally 'demonic.' (from dāv, originally da'wa, 'demon'), whence comes the Aramaic da'wānāt; on the other hand, the Aramæan shekīdān (from shekh, which was used as the personal to the Persian dāvānā) passed into Persian in the form shekhdā. In pre-Islamic times the Arabs borrowed from their northern neighbours not only many of the elements of civilization, but also much that was fanciful and superstitions. The last class includes the belief in demoniacal possession. Even heathen Arabic poets speak of Paluway as having been built for King Solomon by the Jinn; in this case the foreign origin of the legend is quite obvious.

The Arabs almost invariably use a collective noun in referring to demons: an individual demon has no distinct character, and consequently no personal name. To refer to the Sheikhdā proper name is scarcely permissible. It seems hardly certain that this word was known to the Arabs before the days of Muhammad, and it actually occurs as the name of a human individual; but its form agrees so closely with that of the Ethiope Shekhdā, which is also derived from the Heb. Shekin, that we are forced to consider it a loan-word. The Persianional use of shekhdān for 'serpent' (dā'wānā, dāmānā) is even less primitive than the use of ḫurān for 'serpent.'

Though the Jinn have no individuality, they fall into various classes, and certain of these are sometimes mentioned as particularly harmful. The most dangerous kind of all is the Ghul (a feminine noun), of which the plural is Ghulūn or Aghoqīl; this word comes from a root signifying 'to destroy,' perhaps originally 'to assault.' The Ghul is supposed to lie in wait at some place where men are destined to perish; she also enters this thither, especially by night. The Ghul has carried him off;' she is sometimes merely a poetical expression meaning 'he has perished.' She has the power of changing her shape, that is to say, of beguiling men in order to destroy them. But

"the word applied to it is māṣī, apparently a harsh, dull sound. It is also used to denote the changing of a bowstring.

"To be possessed" is jumāa, and the participle jumāni means 'possessed.'

"The idea that Solomon was concerned in the building of Paluway is to be found in the Talmud (Č. B. 36b, and others). The Greater Temple at Jerusalem (Sir. xxvii. 39) is an epithet of somewhat doubtful meaning, applied to heaven, and hence it is not the name of a particular class of demons. The belief current in later times, that the jīra or jīrīa are demons of a specially dangerous kind, is due to a misunderstood passage in understood in an early period, through the influence of Jewish or Christian missionaries.

This is by no means the only Arabic word which was borrowed from the Ethiopic.

usually she is described as a hideous monster. A poet relates how the Ghul, 'the devil of the Jinn,' came one night to the fire which he had kindled, and how he cut off her head. It was a frightful object, like the head of a cat, but with a forked tongue; moreover, she had the legs of an infant, were the body all skin, and clothed in a hairy skin, resembling that of a dog or a rough and crumpled garment. In another poet we meet with the phrase 'arrows sharp as the canine teeth of Ghul." The poets also mention a kind of female demon called Sitāt, of which the plural is Sa'ādā; this term scarcely ever occurs except as a simile, for the purpose of describing swift horses or camels, formidable warriors, and frightful men. A certain Arabian clan was supposed to have sprung from a marriage between a man and a Sitāt. Whether this ancestry was originally regarded as an honour or the reverse is doubtful; in any case no great importance can be attached to the story which was related on the subject.

In passages referring to the Jinn we occasionally meet with the expression Ḥabūl, Ḥabīl, or some other derivative of the root ḤBL, which primarily means 'to destroy,' and is applied, perhaps, to the destruction of the reason, or, in other words, to madness. Usually the term is employed in an abstract sense and as a mere figure of speech, but sometimes the beings so designated are conceived as personal; thus, for instance, a poet says to his wife, 'Leave me in peace, even though I should give away my substance to the Jinn and the Ḥabīl!'

The mysterious tribe called Banū Uqāish seem likewise to be a class of demons. In order to scare them away, it was the custom to rattle a number of dry skin-bottles one against another. The demons were never the objects of a cult, in the strict sense of the word; but on certain occasions, as, for example, at the building of a house, it was thought prudent to conciliate them with some offering, lest they should frustrate the work. The curious proper name 'Abd al-Jīna, 'servant of the Jinn,' may here be mentioned. Whether it was actually in use does not seem quite certain; in any case it cannot have been common. The belief in this motley assemblage of inferior spirits was, of course, maintained by Islam; in fact, the Prophet went so far as to recognize the existence of the heathen gods, classing them among the demons (see Sir. xxvii. 158). Hence these primitively superstitions not only held their ground in Muslimara Arabia, but were further developed, spread over the rest of the Muslimara world, and often combined with similar, in some cases much more elaborate, conceptions which prevailed among foreign peoples. Thus later narratives which refer to such subjects may, if examined with due caution, be used to illustrate the ideas of the ancient Arabs; but we must beware of accepting too readily the statements of those Muhammadan scholars who endeavoured to reduce demonology to a system.

4. SOOTHIAS AND MAGICIANS.—The notion that certain persons are under the immediate influence of the gods, and so possess the power of foretelling events or of performing other supernatural feats, prevailed generally in the ancient

Some words which are often understood as referring to demons really have a different sense. Thus ḳūšā is not a personal being, but a part of the outer". The idea that Solomon was concerned in the building of Paluway is to be found in the Talmud (Č. B. 36b, and others). The Greater Temple at Jerusalem (Sir. xxvii. 39) is an epithet of somewhat doubtful meaning, applied to heaven, and hence it is not the name of a particular class of demons. The belief current in later times, that the jīra or jīrīa are demons of a specially dangerous kind, is due to a misunderstood passage in understood in an early period, through the influence of Jewish or Christian missionaries.

This is by no means the only Arabic word which was borrowed from the Ethiopic.

Some words which are often understood as referring to demons really have a different sense. Thus ḳūšā is not a personal being, but a part of the outer
world. It is certainly significant that the term kāhin, which, as we have seen (p. 667), retained among the Simal-Arabs its original meaning 'seer,' was used by the Teithy Deities had been wont to make revelations to His priests; the divining arrows of Hulal and of other gods—things which the hand of every one could understand; others were intelligible only to persons specially trained. One peculiar art consisted in scaring birds and drawing omen from their flight; this operation was known as azjr. Various other superstitions, to whose order might be enumerated, but such beliefs and practices do not properly belong to the domain of religion, and it is therefore sufficient to notice them in passing.

6. THE SOUL.—The Arabs, like all other Semites, identified the breath (nafs) with the principle of life, or the soul.* So completely did nafs convey, from the earliest times onward, the idea of human personality, that the word is used, with the addition of the possessive suffix, by an ordinary reflexive pronoun: nafsā, 'my soul,' means 'myself'; nafsakā, 'thysel.' tftuifsahi, 'for himself,' etc.† When the nafs permanently departs, a mortal death is the result. A dhuqāt of the Qurān (Sūra xxxix, 43), 'Allāh takes the souls to Himself when they die, and those who have not died (He takes) in their sleep, presuppose the belief that during sleep also the soul is absent from the body.‡ It is true that the conception of the breath as the principle of life does not harmonize very well with the theory that the life resides in the blood (see above, p. 665). But this latter view is much less popular among the Arabs than it was among the Semites, and when the nafs of a man dying from wounds is said to flow away, we need not assume, with the native Arabic commentators, that nafs here means simply the breath. Even the Heb. nephesh (the equivalent of the Arabic nafs) is identified with the blood only in so far as the shedding of the blood causes death. It would appear that the life-giving soul (nafs) was supposed to have its seat in the heart; when the soul moves upwards, it is about to depart; in other words, death is imminent. The breath escapes through its natural passage, the mouth or the nostrils.§ Thus, in passages referring to deadly peril, we read, when your soul had reached your throat, before the tribe, etc. In phrases like the ribs, he just escaped with his soul in the corner of his mouth, etc. In the words of the Qurān, when it (i.e. the soul, which unexpressed) reaches the throat (Sūra lvi, 82, lxxv, 26), meaning, when a man is at the last gasp.|| A view which at first sight seems to differ from the foregoing appears in a story told of a certain aged Arab who fell into the hands of a hostile clan. Seeing that they were determined to shed his blood, he presented a sword to them, saying, 'Cut off my head, for the soul (nafs) is in it,' which they accordingly proceeded to do.

* The Ethiopic nafṣ, 'that which contains the nafs (breath, life) means the living human body (cf. animus, anima, etc.).
† The Arabic nafs properly contains the breath only; its use in the sense of spirit was unknown to the heathen, and when so employed it is to be regarded as one of the foreign religious terms which were introduced by the Arabs.
‡ The corresponding forms are similarly used in Hebrew and Arabic.
§ The conception prevails very widely. It is due to the belief that dreams are real experiences through which men pass while they are apparently lifeless. See Frazer, Golden Bough, 3, 628.
|| By the Muhammadans he was contemptuously called Mustafis, i.e. 'Little Mussahman.'
†† By the Muhammadans he was contemptuously called Mustafis, i.e. 'Little Mussahman.'
‡‡ The fact that his adherents were the only Arabs who displayed real courage and stubbornness in confounding against Islam.

5. OMENS.—The belief in signs as betokening future events was, of course, no less common among the Arabs than among the Semites. Some birds were regarded as lucky, some as unlucky. The animals that crossed a man's path and the direction in which they moved alike conveyed a meaning. Many of these signs were such as the following: a pomegranate, a snake, a rabbit, and a wolf. A dog might be enigmatical, but such beliefs and practices do not properly belong to the domain of religion, and it is therefore sufficient to notice them in passing.

The Hebrew synonym hāzā has an exactly similar meaning in the Arabic hāzh, 'seer,' 'presager,' 'diviner,' which is often used, as well as the verb corresponding to it.† In the same category we may include the ḍir'ā', 'sage,' who is acquainted with hidden things, to the extent the hulub, 'reporter,' literally 'skilful, well-informed,' who in many cases is an engraver (ra'ī), and even the man whose wisdom qualifies him to act as arbitrator (hadādata). The word ashā', 'one who knows,' must in early times have denoted a man who uttered sayings inspired by some higher power; afterwards it gradually became the technical term for a poet.‡ § In general, any one who possesses secret powers, or a style, is called a ḍir'ā', among the Arabs, as among other nations, it was particularly in this sphere that the mysterious depth of the feminine soul made itself felt; we read both of female soothsayers and female enchanters. A female familiar spirit (raṣṣer) is likewise mentioned.

Arabic literature contains many stories about kāhinā and many utterances which were attributed to them; but of all these only a very small proportion can be considered trustworthy, and a great deal is pure invention due to later writers. Nevertheless the passages in question enable us at least to form an idea of the style in which the soothsayer's prophecies are recorded. The same style re-appears in the oldest chapters of the Qurān. The fact is that the conceptions which the soothsayers embodied were raised by Muhammad to a far higher level. He himself was inspired with a power which proceeded from the one true God. But if he had not had before him the example of the heathen kāhina, it is hard to believe that any such idea would have entered his mind; on the other hand, we cannot wonder that his prosaic fellow-citizens called him a soothsayer, a magician, and a possessed poet. Nor is it impossible that his most formidable rival, Mushâna, ibn Ḥabīb of the tribe of Ḥunāfī, was likewise sincerely convinced of his own divine inspiration.||

* Cf. 1 S 297 etc.
† Hence any man noted for his intelligence is supposed to have a ḍir'ā', who reveals all manner of things to him.
‡ The root was no longer employed by the Arabs in the simple sense of beholding', even in Hebrew this usage is confined to the poetical or rhetorical style.
§ The connexion between poetical inspiration and the uncom was not set up in later times, as is sometimes supposed to be the case; there are innumerable examples of persons who are supposed to make his 'demons' or Satan are little more than jests. A very primitive stage in the development of this connexion is presented in the Zoroastrian writings, where Goldber, Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie, t. (Leiden, 1895)
|| By the Muhammadans he was contemptuously called Mustafis, i.e. 'Little Mussahman.'
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The Ethiopian nafṣ, 'that which contains the nafs (breath, life) means the living human body (cf. animus, anima, etc.).
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The common phrase was the nafsā sāḏiqā, 'he died a natural death.' Similarly another, it would appear, to the cessation of the breath, since the 'nafs' (nafs) is here associated with the idea of dying (mubât); but the actual meaning which nafsā has in this connection remains obscure.

* See the Commentary on the Nāṣrīd of Jarrī and al-Faradāz, 671
These words, however, are probably to be taken as
nothing more than a statement, based on ordinary
experience, that the severing of the head puts an
end to life, not as the expression of an idea opposed
to the deeply-rooted popular belief which has been
developed at the head of this latter (p. 671.).

In reading the Qur'an we might be tempted to
conclude that the heathen Arabs regarded the
departure of the nafras equivalent to annihilation;
but in reality all that Muhammad's opponents
denied and contended against was the belief in
the doctrine of the resurrection and the other world.†
Their notions as to the state of departed souls were,
of course, vaguer, if anything, than the notions of
Homer.† Hall's comment on the passage (p. 671.)
nevertheless, the usual invocation addressed to the
dead, 'Be not far away!' does not admit of any satis-
factory interpretation, unless we presuppose the
belief that the dead had a dwelling-place, and might
be induced by entreaty to remain in the neighbour-
hood of his people.† It is true that the formulas in
question dates from a period when such things were
more vividly conceived. Sometimes we meet with
sober reflections of the following kind: 'They will
come to me in my grave, and I do not know where
that place can then be far away, if mine is not?'
Nothing seems to the Arabs more obvious than
that blood must be expiated by blood.‡ Hence the
slain have no blood-thirsty revenge against the
thirsts of the blood of the murderer. These
phrases must originally have been understood in
quite a literal fashion,§ whenever we may conclude
with certainty that some sort of life was ascribed
to the dead. On this subject strange formulas
prevailed. The soul of the murdered man was repre-
sented as appearing in the form of an owl, and as
continually crying out, 'Give me to drink!' until
vengence had been executed. It must be remem-
bered that the same omen, so tier was, in most
cases, a lonely spot where the weird cry of the
feathered anchorite would not be out of place. The
term applied to the departed is hâma, properly
'skull,' the skull being the most characteristic
part of the dead body;§ the voice of the departed
Bodelian MS (Poolecs, 290, fol. 539.): the passage in question
has been communicated by Professor Bevau to the author of
this narrative.

† Primitive man must have been quite unable to grasp
the idea of his personality being completely annihilated at death.
Even in his own lifetime there may have been vague
indications of the idea. Moreover, the few phrases in the
literature of the period are probably degenerated survivals of
more primitive ideas, and are not to be taken literally.

‡ Poets modify the expression in various ways; thus, when
one poet says, 'May Allah not suffer thee to be far away!' we
must look to the whole of the words to interpret the definite
religion behind the idea. Moreover, the poets use the same
formula with reference to their own. So, e.g., 'May God not
give thee to be far away!' One poet, whose hand had been cut
off, actually says to it, 'Be not far away!' The primitive
sense of the phrase is completely lost in the verse of the poet
Husak, alluding to her departed brother, 'May the grave
that contains his body not be far away!' The invocation 'Be not
far away' is even at the present
day addressed to the dead by certain Bedawins.

§ The substitution of a blood-wit (dip) for blood-revenge is a
later modification. But in historical times the blood-wit had
become very common; well-disposed persons eagerly furthered
this device for maintaining peace, often at great sacrifices
to themselves. Nevertheless it was not considered quite honour-
able to accept 'milk' (i.e. camels or other animals that could
be milked) instead of 'blood'.

‡ In reality, of course, the thirst for blood is felt by the
surviving relatives. The daughter of the aged hero Dornal ben
Simma, who was miserably slain by a Moabite, cries, 'Let us
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† Perhaps this use of hâma may be partly due to the notion
that in the head, as the poet says, is the 'creator part' of the
man. The fact that he expresses not to the brain, but to the
external organs of sensation.

called sedâ, 'echo.' Hence 'skull' and 'echo'
come to be used as designations of the ghostly
bird, or owl, that cries for vengeance.‡ Moreover, the
rites of burial, simple as they were, presuppose
some kind of future existence. In order to show
honour to the deceased and to preserve the
soul of the dead man, we must consider the grave
at a grave has maintained itself in various parts
of Arabia down to the present day.§ It is par-
cularly interesting to note that about the year
1100 after Christ certain Arabs of Northern Yemen
(annexed near the mountain-range of 'Astr)
showed their respect for a dead man, in accordance
with their traditional practice, by breaking 1000
words and 300 bows, and by lancing 70 horses;§
this was undoubtedly a survival of an ancient
heathen rite. That the objects destined for the
service of the departed must be rendered useless
to the living is an idea which might easily occur to
the fancy of primitive man.† We likewise find
traces of horror at far away from the grave, but
scarcely any traces of drink-offerings. Poets, it is
ture, often express the wish that the graves of
those whom they love may be refreshed with
wine. But this is because they feel that the
dead themselves are capable of being refreshed
is extremely doubtful; such passages may be mere
giftes of speech, referring to the
verdure with which the grave is to be covered.
In like manner, the greetings which poets sometimes
address to the dead are purely rhetorical, and do
not presuppose any notion of real intercourse with
the departed.

The practice of refusing sepulture to an enemy,
and of casting forth his corpse to be devoured by
beasts and birds, prevailed not less among the
Arabs than among the Homeric warriors or the
people of Palestine (1 S 174, cf. Ezek 29). There
can be no doubt that this was originally regarded
as a positive injury to the dead, as depriving them
of rest in the grave, or the like. But in historical
times such conceptions had begun to become obsolete;**
the poet Shanfar (see above, p. 600), who was
outlawed by his father, disdained the usual
rites, and invites the hyena to rend his dead body
on the battlefield.†† In general, however, the Arabs
paid great attention to proper interment, and
special care was taken to construct the grave so
that it could not be opened. But even this could not
all this may be done without any notion of bene-

* As Professor Goldziher has observed, the saying ascribed
to Muhammad, that the souls of believers slain in fighting for
the faith be deposited in the stomachs of green birds, which
drink of the rivers of Paradise, eat of its fruits, and perch upon
the lumps suspended in the shadow of God's throne, obviously
stands in contrast to the gloomy beliefs of the heathen.
The beastly martyrs do not thirst for blood, and the birds that
contain them are clad in the yellow of vegetation, which to the
inhabitants of the desert is synonymous with life.

† The Arabs practised burial only; the burning of corpses was
unknown to them. It should be observed that the root QâB, which
properly expresses the idea of consuming, is common to all
the Semitic languages, and that the synonymous root DFS is
not confined to Arabic.

‡ See Goldziher, Arab. Studien, i. (Halle, 1883) 230 ff.;
Landberg, Arabica, iii. (Leiden, 1895) 106, and Dialectes de l'Arabe sauri., et de la langue du
blanc des Berliner der Lob train, des
Oumâr el Yemén, ed. H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1897-1903),
1, 18.

§ Some similar cases have been pointed out to the
writer of the present article by Professor Schwall, who is specially versed
in these subjects.

* On the other hand, a curse sometimes takes the form of a
prayer that no rain may fall upon the grave of the individual in

** The substitution of a crudely material Paradise and Hell for
the vague or erroneous negative beliefs of a future
existence, was doubtless one of the most important factors
in the conversion of the Arabs to Muhammad's teaching.

†† Nevertheless, an elegy composed by a Christian who
merely the ancient formula occurs, 'May Shanfar be not far away!'
ARAKHA—ARANYAKAS

fitting the departed is sufficiently obvious from the usages of modern Europe.

the belief which exists among many primitive races that the dead are malevolent, and seek to injure the living, is one of those no traces are to be found among the Arabs.

VI. MORALS.

It is almost superfluous to say that the Arabs had a generally recognized code of morals, which, we must admit, did not always reach a very high ethical standard. Some element of religion is contained in the maxims, which the poets repeat in various forms, that the misuse of strength leads to calamity; there are likewise narratives which incite the same doctrine. Moreover, the poets sometimes bring the Deity into immediate connexion with the fulfillment of duties, for instance, as vindicating the sanctity of compacts. But in general it may be said that the maintenance of morality was due much more to respect for traditional usages and public opinion than to fear of Divine wrath.

LITERATURE.—L. Krekh, Die Religion der vorislam. Araber, Leipzig, 1903 (second ed. 1905). The great work on the Brahmans, published in 1839, is still one of the standard works. L. N. Sunah, Dritte, 1843, and in the works of Ignatius Godius, De Regnentibus in Excelsis, ed. T. Thell, Leyden, 1860. See also the works cited in the body of this article. The present writer cannot recommend D. Nielsen’s Die altarab. Monarchie, Strassburg, 1894.

TH. NÖLDEKE.

ARAKHA.—A tribe of cultivators and field-labourers in Northern India, of Dravidian origin, which at the present day number about 100,000, practically all of whom are found in the United Provinces. They claim to be Hindus, but their religion is really an advanced form of animism, and is the natural outcome of the orthodox sects. Their tribal goddess is Devi, whom they propitiate by a sacrifice of goats, the service being done by a class of Brahmans of low rank. They observe the usual Hindu feasts, and at that of the Karva Chauth in October-November their women worship the moon by pouring water on the ground from an earthen pot with a sponet (laurivu).

In Central India, as in the United Provinces, they are more found in their domestic worship by the Brahmans, and their worship is chiefly devoted to a snake god whom they call Kartal Deo.

LITERATURE.—Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces, vol. i. 131; Laura, History of Culture and Religion in Central India, 1901, 1. 202.

W. CROOKE.

ARAMYAKAS.—See SYRIANS.

ARANYAKAS.—The Aranyakas literature of the Hindus holds a position intermediate between the Brahmanas and the Upaniṣads; in a formal and technical sense supplementary to the Brahmanas, but sharing generally the themes and subject-matter of the Upaniṣads, which in their turn are appended to or form a part of the Aranyakas (see art. UPAŅISADS). These treatises are therefore śrutis, revealed and inspired Scripture. The name indicates either that they were composed in the forest (aranyas) by the hermits who devoted themselves there to a life of seclusion and meditation, or that the word aranyas is intended to be there repeated and studied. The latter is the Indian view.

Perhaps both are correct. Strictly speaking, also, each Brahmana had its own Aranya, just as each Brahmana had its own Vedas, so that the Aranyakas were the text-books of the Brāhmaṇas; and the Aranyakas was completed and supplemented by a corresponding Upaniṣad.

This accepted classification of the Sanskrit sacred literature is not unconnected with the theory of the four āśrama (see art. Brāhmaṇa). The first two, the Brāhmaṇas, were the text-books of the Brāhmaṇa householder, upon which he relied for the due performance of his obligations as gṛhastha. Later in life, during the third period, after his retirement into the forest and renunciation of his former pursuits, he devoted himself to the study of the Aranyakas, as sanctioned and adopted in the sākhā to which he belonged.

It has been shown that the Aranyakas literature, in general is chronological, no recent date than the saulhitās of the Veda, which are known to it essentially in the form in which they have come down to us; and that it is later also than the Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, the greater part at least is anterior to the period of Brahmanic composition, to the change and style of which the more recent portions of the Aranyakas approximate. Pāṇini is said to be unacquainted with them; but in this instance the supposed ignorance may be only a matter of date.

The extant Aranyakas belong to the Rigveda and the Yajurveda. There are no known Aranyakas of the Sūnaveda or the Atharvaveda.

The Āṭitra Aranyaka of the Rigveda is described as a distinct and separate treatise, not forming a part of the Alt. Brāhmaṇas. It consists of five books, called adhyayas, or aranyakas, of which the last two are ascribed to the authors of the Rājaveda and Saunaka, and are written in a later style, suggesting the introduction of the literature of the Satavahana. The second aranyakas form the Upaniṣad proper. The first aranyakas details the rules for the morning, mid-day, and evening offerings on the mahāvratas, or great rites, of the last day of the month, and of the gānā-vayana, the ‘procession of cows.’ The first three chapters of the second aranyakas form the Upaniṣad, which, in the allegorical significance of the uktham, the spoken word; whilst in the third part is discussed, quite after the upanisad manner, the meaning of the letters of the alphabet and their combinations.

The Kaṇḍakā Aranyaka also belongs to the Rigveda, but is attached to a different sākhā, or school, of that of the Kaṇṭakās. It contains fifteen adhyayas, or chapters, of which coincide with chapters of the Alaya Aranyaka. Adhyāya 3-6, according to the usual numbering, form the Upaniṣad; but their position is said to vary in the different manuscripts, as though the four chapters of the Upaniṣad were in existence very early, and in circulation apart from the Aranyaka.

Of the Yajurveda two Aranyakas are known, the Brhad-āranyakas and the Taittirīya Āranyakas, which are also classified as Aranyakas. The Brhad-āranyakas, or Brhad-āranyakas, is the so-called Aranyakas of the Brāhmaṇas, or five prapitihakas of the fourteenth or last book according to the Mahāyāna school; but in the sākhā of the Kaṇḍakā it is regarded as a separate and several work, one which of the Upaniṣad and the Aranyakas coincide; but the whole of the last book in the śākhā, recent and as yet undiscovered, is sometimes considered the Aranyakas. The Taittirīya Ār., consists of 10 books of prapitihakas, of which the first six are the Aranyakas proper. These books discuss the many Vedic Ceremonies, the training and Vedic studies of a Brāhmaṇa, and the offerings to the Fathers. Books vii. to ix. are the Tait. Up. i., and book x. is supplementary, the so-called Madhyāranyakas Upaniṣad. The style and contents seem to betray a comparatively late date.

This Aranyakas is in forest-study; it should be studied, therefore, in the forest, etc. (Max Müller, Aranyakas, 2d Ed. 1879.)

Aranyakas Upaniṣad, 2: the sāvanakā (śavākā) is to live without the mantras of the Veda, but to observe the three daily ablutions, to meditate on the ātman, and of all the Vedas to recite the Aranyak and the Upaniṣad (Deussen, Sokhy Upānas, p. 647). Cf. Yajñavalkya, Upaniṣad 1. 5. 4, who wishes to attain Yoga should know the Aranyakas; Mahābh. 1.10: ‘this body of the Mahābhārata is truth and immortality; it is the Aranyakas from the Vedas.’ The last two quotations are in Max Müller, pp. 330 n. 2, 315 n. 1. See also E. W. Hopkins, Great Epics of India, New York, 1896. p. 421, 1.

About the latter half of the 4th cent. B.C. (cf. 350 acc. to O. Böhtlingk). Others assign him an earlier date. See C. M. Duff, Chronology of India, London, 1897, p. 7; Macleod, Sanskrit Literature, p. 430f.

The beginning of the Alt. ar. is in fact a commentary on the Rigveda (Max Müller, p. 159). Cf. 314.


Max Müller, p. 384 f.; SEB, 1919.
ARBITRARIETY—ARBITRATION

LITERATURE.—The Alareya and Talitiriva Aranyakas have been edited in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1876 and 1878; the Brahmaranyaka, by O. Böhlting, Leipzig, 1880, and else-where; the first two by the Komati Aranyaka have been published by W. Friedlander, Berlin, 1890, adh. iii.—vi. by E. B. Cowell, Calcutta, 1901, and the remainder is being edited by A. B. Keith (see J. R. S., 1890, p. 366 f.). See Max Muller, Hist. of Ave., Sanskrit, Lit., London, 1890, pp. 147, 154 f., 313–318, 371 f.—374 f. P. Deussen, Sechzig Uebersichten des Veda, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 31, 10 f., 21 f., 213 f., 373 f.—A. A. Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, London, 1906, pp. 31, 50, 204 f.—211 f. A. S. Geden.

ARBITRARIETY is, according to the popular use of the term, that quality which is ascribed to an act of will (arbitrium), and whatsoever follows from it, not merely in so far as it is free, but in so far as the choice of the individual who wills is not influenced by consideration for others or respect for any law which is not self-imposed. Hence arbitrariety tends to imply capriciousness, irrationality, and an incoherent character generally. It must be in this wider sense that the word is employed by critics of the indeterminist theory of the Freedom of the Will (wh. see), when they state that that doctrine implies total arbitrariety of the will, and consequently of no good, advanced by the Scotists, Ocellum and Descartes, is the doctrine that good is good because it proceeds from the undetermined will of God, who has chosen and commanded it; a moral act is not intrinsically good.

G. R. T. Ross.

ARBITRATION is an arrangement by which two persons, having a difference, agree to submit it to the decision of a third, and to abide by that decision. It has been practiced in every country and in every age, under various forms. An agreement precludes either party from instituting a suit in the ordinary Courts of law on the matter in question; and indeed those Courts are so favourably able to arbitration that they will make the submission to arbitration a rule of Court, so that the decision of the third person, called the arbiter or arbitrator, may be enforced at law by either party against the other.

The question which induces persons who would otherwise become litigants to prefer a reference to arbitration to a suit at law are: (1) that it does not involve the personal hostility caused by legal proceedings; (2) that it is more economical in its cost; (3) that the arbitrator has the liberty to consider the whole circumstances of the matter in dispute, and to arrive at what in his opinion is an equitable solution of it; (4) that the arbitrator is a person selected by himself upon the ground of his special fitness to deal with that matter.

It does not often happen, however, that the two parties at variance are able to agree upon a third who possesses equally the confidence of both. The ordinary form of arbitration is, therefore, the appointment by each party of a different arbitrator, and the appointment by the two arbitrators of a third person as overman or umpire, by whom any difference between the two arbitrators shall be decided. In England the proceedings in arbitration are regulated by statute, and are, therefore, only a degree less formal than those of a suit at law. They begin with a submission to the arbitrators of the question in dispute; then there is the deposition of witnesses. Lastly, there are the reference, and the fixing by them of a time for hearing the parties. At that time each party may be heard in person or by solicitor or counsel; the arbitrators have the right of seeing the documents must be tendered, and the arbitrators may administer an oath to each witness, or take his affirmation, which will render him liable to the penalties of perjury if his evidence be false in any material particular.

The decision of the arbitrator or umpire, when duly arrived at, is binding upon both parties, and the Courts will not enter upon any inquiry whether it is right or wrong. He draws it up in the form of an award, and, speaking generally, the Courts accept that award as conclusive. There are cases, however, where it may appear to the Court that the arbitrator has neglected the elementary principles of justice, as by refusing to hear evidence, or has not brought his mind to the consideration of the subject, or has not disposed of the question really at issue, or has in some way failed in the due exercise of his functions; and the Court will in such case either refer the matter back to him, or hold that it is not ousted of its own inherent jurisdiction to determine that matter. For these reasons the parties in their choice of an arbitrator, and the arbitrators in their choice of an umpire, should be careful to select a person who, whether a practising lawyer or not, has a mind imbued with the principles of law, and has had some experience in their practical application, as well as an expert knowledge of the definite questions at issue.

In certain cases, in order to avoid the cost of litigation, a recourse to arbitration is purely prescribed by statute. The Savings Banks Acts, the Friendly Societies Acts, the Building Societies Acts, and the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts contain provisions to this effect. In the case of the Savings Banks, the Post Office Savings Banks, all disputes between a depositor or other claimant and the Bank are to be settled by the Registrars of Friendly Societies, and the jurisdiction of the Courts of law is ousted. Such an arbitrator is chosen, by the parties, and are said to be referred to arbitration, and to define in those rules the manner in which the arbitrators shall be chosen. Where the rules contain such a provision, the jurisdiction of the Courts of law is equally ousted, and the member or other claimant has no other remedy than to avail himself of the arbitration thus provided.

In regard to the trade disputes between employer and employed the arbitrator has been employed in such cases as strikes and lockouts—much may be done by means of arbitration andconciliation. Thus among the ironworkers of the country a permanent Board of Conciliation has been established, consisting of a given number of workmen and of representatives of the employers, who meet periodically to adjudicate on any questions of dispute that may have arisen in the course of the employment, and to prescribe any change in the current rate of wages that may be necessary. Their decisions are accepted by both parties, and the establishment of the Board has procured a long industrial peace in that particular trade. By the Conciliation Act of 1896 the parties to any trade dispute may apply to the Board of Trade to appoint a conciliator, and this method has been adopted with success in many important disputes. In cases of Hereford, Mr. Asquith, and other eminent statesmen has accepted the office of conciliator, and the results have been in general satisfactory—not only in the cases of strikes, but also in cases of much distress and the employers from heavy loss, but in re-establishing friendly and kindly relations between them. In like manner, arbitration has frequently been invoked in the United States in cases of conflict between capital and labour, as when, in the great miners' strike of 1902, President
Roosevelt appointed a Board of Arbitration which satisfactorily settled the disputes in question. Some States, as New Jersey, have regularly appointed State Boards of Arbitration.

The development of the principle of arbitration, rich in its promise for the peace of the world, has been its application to disputes between nations. Such disputes, even more than those between individuals, are apt to be elemental. It is the labor of the diplomatist to wean the elements that go to make up the sentiment of patriotism. Nothing is more difficult than for the people of one country, party to such a dispute, to act with due鹄种 and conscientiousness of the other party. The nation's honour and prestige are thought to be at issue on the result of the dispute; and nothing is easier than to create an unreconciling popular clamour for war. To substitute for the arbitral decision the combat of two nations in bloodshed, suffering, waste, and demoralization—an appeal to argument and to calm reason is a triumph of civilization. The superstition of the ancients led them to think that the gods would defend the right, and even in Christian times we have seen two hostile armies each appealing to the god of battles for success upon that ground; but, in fact, the recourse to war is nothing better than a desperate extremity.

An instance in point is afforded by the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. A question arose between those two States as to their rights in certain portions of the territory called British Guiana. In 1819 the Venezuelan Government proposed a reference to arbitration on this question, which Great Britain refused. The British Government, however, United States of America interposed, upon the ground that any hostile action taken by Great Britain against Venezuela would be an infringement of the Monroe doctrine, and President Cleveland took upon himself to appoint a Commission to ascertain the rights of the matter. The British Government, however, refused to recognize this Commission, a wave of warlike enthusiasm swept over the United States, and if popular excitement had had its way, a war between these two great and kindred nations would have resulted, with all its horrible consequences, arising out of a matter of no real importance to either. Fortunately, better counsels prevailed, and Great Britain and Venezuela agreed to a reference to arbitration. The result of this arbitration was a concession to Venezuela of territory which Great Britain had more than once offered to that State, and the confirmation in other respects of the contenions of the British Government.

A still more famous instance is that known as the 'Alabama' arbitration. During the Civil War, the Union Government was a party to the secession of the Southern or Confederate States; and the war was opened by Birkenhead, which was allowed to leave English waters, and which Birkenhead, which was allowed to leave English waters, and which Birkenhead, which was allowed to leave English waters, and which Birkenhead, which was allowed to leave English waters, and which Birkenhead, which was allowed to leave English waters. The United States ambassador had conferred with the British Government of the breach of the Treaty of Washington involved in the building and equipment of this vessel, and only a few days had elapsed when the vessel was captured and taken to scrap; but by an accident those orders were delayed by a day, and the vessel was taken. This vessel was taken in the course of the following two years this ship, named the 'Alabama,' destroyed much property belonging to citizens of the United States, and at the close of the war the Government of those States claimed the value of that property from the British Government as damages for which Great Britain was liable through its unintentional breach of neutrality. The British Government did not dispute the right of the United States to claiming the damages, but they refused to agree to the settlement of the amount payable to the arbitration. The amount awarded was £154,000. S. W. BRADBROOK.

ARCANI DISCIPLINA.—The name given by Dalleus to the custom in the Early Catholic Church of keeping the administration of Baptism and the Holy Supper and other Sacraments and rites, a secret from all except the baptized. Various reasons for this practice have been suggested by scholars. It was not due to any teaching of the NT, and the openness with which Justin Martyr described the ceremonies, and also Tertullian, and the fact that the followers of Marcion had not the practice, show that it was not usual before the third quarter of the 2nd century.

It is a common opinion that the celebration of the Holy Supper by the congregations in Apostolic times was virtually private. Danger of persecution led to concealment of the Christian assemblies and rites. The measures of the Roman government prevented the celebration of the Supper and the Agape at night, and compelled the observance of the former in connexion with the open preaching of the word in the daytime, and perhaps the gradual abandonment of the latter. The catechumens were then dismissed before the communicants entered upon the Holy Supper itself. The catechumenate afforded a period of probation, in the first part of it the candidates were instructed in the general principles of religion. They returned, before their baptism that they were instructed in the mysteries of the faith. The Creed, and perhaps the doctrine of the Trinity which explained the formula of Baptism, were not imparted to them until just before their baptism; and the Lord's Prayer not until afterwards. The example of the heathen Mysteries was felt. Those who had been admitted to the Communion, having gone through the grades of the catechumenate, and having experienced successive renunciation of heresies, were spoken of as 'The Initiated.' Finally, it became usual to regard those rites from which all but the full members of the Church were excluded as 'Mysteries,' and to transfer to them those that belonged to ethnic Mysteries. As Th. Harnack says, 'The mystical became mysterious, and the liturgical became theurgic.' He traces the great change to the time the ancient, and after the advent, the authority of the Church in the episcopate, due to the necessity of opposing its authority to Gnostic sects and their teachings. The rites of the Church were thought to have no validity apart from the bishops; and those, although performed by them, were invested with mysterious awfulness. To this conception of Divine worship, Roman Catholic writers have joined the notion of a secret tradition of doctrine from the Apostles, and its transmission to the teaching of the NT. To this tradition they refer, for instance, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and also the reverence for images and for the saints. This Secret Discipline, beginning about A.D. 175, was in vogue until the end of the 6th century. Its features may, perhaps, be best set forth by the following quotations from Fathers and teachers of the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Tert. (Proseepin. Hær. xii.): 'To begin with, it is doubtful who is a catechumen, one who believes, and who a believer; they have all access alike, they hear alike, they pray alike—even heathen must have the same. It is sufficient if they are not real, they will fling to the swine. Simplicity they have to consist in the overthrow of discipline, attention which on our part they call secrecy.'

Basili (de Sp. 27): 'Of the beliefs and practices whether generally accepted or publicly professed, there is nothing which happen to come among them. That which is holy they will cast to the dogs; and their providence is to see whether it be real or not, real ones, they will fling to the swine. Simplicity they have to consist in the overthrow of discipline, attention which on our part they call secrecy.'

Photius (in the Niono Paters, vol. vi. p. 41, Phootis is quoted): 'In this work Eulogius [Patriarch of Alexandria 579-607] says that of the doctrine of the Logos [Logos] handed down in the church by the ministers of the word, some are dogmaa, and others expiegea. The distinction is that dogmaa are announced with concealment and prudence, and are often designedly concealed with obscurity, in order that holy things may not be exposed to profane persons or pearls cast before swine. Expiegea, on the other hand, are announced to all, but in open and unreserved announcement."

For we are not, as is well known, content with what the Apostles or the Gospel has recorded, but both in preface and conclusion we add other words as being of great importance regarding the validity of the minister and the authenticity of written teaching. Moreover, we bless the water of baptism and the oil of the chrism, and besides this the catechumen who is being baptized. On what words are they justified? Is this not exalted to the dignity of the mystery? Is not our authority silent and mystical tradition? Does not this come from that unspoken tradition which our fathers guarded in a silence out of the reach of curious meddling and inquisitive investigation? Well had they learnt the lesson that the awful secrecy of the mystery must be preserved by silence. What the unintelligible are not even allowed to look at was hardly likely to be publicly professed in written documents. Moses was wise enough to know that contempt attaches to the trite and the obvious, while a spoken interest is naturally associated with the spoken and the familiar. In the same manner the Apostles and Fathers
who laid down laws for the Church from the beginning thus guaranteeing the accuracy of the statements of the monu-
ments, the latter is proclaimed to all the world.'

2. Archaeological evidence may establish the occurrence of an act or a custom within assignable limits either of (a) space or of (b) time.

(a) To prove the distribution of an occurrence in space, the method of archaeology is geographical. The instances which have been observed are tabulated in their geographical context, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary may be presumed provisionally to indicate a continuous distribution over the intervening areas. Such evidence to the contrary would be supplied inter alia by diversity of physical circumstances, such as the distribution of the need, or the inducement, to act in the manner presumed; or by evidence of the presence locally of other human observances inconsistent with the act or custom in question. The quality, as well as the quantity, of evidence requisite to give archaeological proof varies almost indefinitely. But in general, quality is incomparably more cogent than quantity, and positive evidence than negative: a single, readily well-authenticated historical instance, of an effect, an event, a circumstance, a fact or of recognized distribution in a given area, not only supplies the contradictory instance to all negative generalities, but gives a positive though indefinite presumptiion that further instances exist.

This characteristic, archaeology shares with all branches of knowledge which are concerned with discontinuous series; the area actually open to inspection is at the same time so arbitrarily assigned, and so small a proportion of the whole, that the probable value of every positive instance is in any case somewhat greater, and of every negative instance somewhat less, than it would be in a region of which the larger part has been already examined. A more or less complete survey is in the main confirmed by a retrospect of the archaeological work of the last century. As in geology, a very small number of well-selected data from small areas isolated, and indicated by accidental circumstances, have permitted a hypothetical re-construction of the human culture of wide regions, which subsequent evidence, more copious, continuous, and cogent logically, has done little if anything to modify, or even to confirm.

Archaeology, being concerned with evidence which has already been exposed for a while to the accidents of time, is confronted with discontinuous evidence in another and also. Some classes of objects, no less characteristic and instructive than the rest, are composed of materials which decay readily, and leave little or no trace even when their own deposition has been undergone. Consequently, archaeology is concerned in most cases with evidence which has already undergone a process of quite arbitrary selection, and is compelled to qualify its conclusions accordingly. And even where the remains themselves are durable, the ravages of man or animals—the latter often far more elusive and perplexing than the former—have restricted the evidence again, objects of intrinsic value, or distasteful signif-
cance (such as the monuments of a hated ruler or an alien creed) disappearing most readily, and causing the most serious breaks in the record.

(3) Suppose the group can be followed to its ultimate date of manufacture than the date of its deposition in that group. On the other hand, any of them may have been of any ignisfiable age already at the moment of deposition. External evidence (of custom, workmanship, and the like) alone can decide in each case whether the indigenous objects were included in the find-group, fairly represent the phase of culture a, at which it has been ascertained that the group was deposited in the place where it was found. Now, if the find-group at A contained indigenous objects a or b, the circumstance (otherwise demonstrated) that the object b of the relative date b in the series b does not prove that the phase a, to which the group a as a whole belongs, is temporary with phase b, but only that it is not of any later date; for the object b may have been of any age already at the moment of its deposit at A. If, however, even a single object of origin a and date b is found at B with objects of origin b and date b in the series, then by the same reasoning a is not of later date than the objects bbb with which it has been found. And if so, the proof is complete, that a and b are contemporary; for it was already known that an object b could not be of later date than a.

(4) It is merely a matter of accurate observation to determine whether in any given case it is certain that the exotic object was really deposited simultaneously with the rest of the find-group, and not introduced in some other way.

3. The combination of evidence derived from distributions in space and sequences in time gives the archaeologist a stratigraphical proof of the transmission of new characters from one centre of civilization to another.

A character z which has already appeared at phase y in series (or region) A does not appear in series B until phase x (which has been shown otherwise to be contemporary with the). It is, moreover, found, on the same layer, as in series B, at a point where it was not found, B. Here there is at this point a break in the representation of the character z. The character z may here have been introduced from A to B, or it may have arisen spontaneously at B. Moreover, it may have arisen from separate B, or it may have been introduced directly from A; or it may have been introduced indirectly from A and B. A and B, and the number of alternatives increases directly with that of the series or regions in question. The conclusive proof of direct transmission is given only when, in addition to objects of similar style to the archetype may of demonstrably local origin, B yields an object which demonstrably originated at A. Such proof is furnished most clearly by unmediated evidence supplied by the physical composition of the object; e.g. knives of an unusual style but made of bronze occur on an island B which yields copper and tin but not iron; there is no adequate proof that these are not due to indigenous invention. But if there occurs also at B a knife of the same style but made of iron, then it is proof that the style was also found in an iron-working area A, that the bronze knives become very strong that the knife found at B is exotic, and the prototype of the bronze example, which differs from it only in being of indigenous material. The proof, however, becomes conclusive only when it is shown that bronze, or this particular variety of bronze, was brought from A. Other evidence is still the possibility that the bronze knives at B may also be imports either from A or from some other centre, which culturally is dependent on A.

JOHN L. MYERS.

ARCHITECTURE.


Buddhist.—See Architecture (Chinese), p. 693, and Temples (Buddhist).

Celtic (G. DOTTIN), p. 692.

Chinese (CHIITA ITO), p. 693.


Egyptian (W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE).

Etruscan and Early Italian.—See Art (Etruscan).

Greek (J. B. STOUTGHTON HOLBORN), p. 726.


Japanese.—See Architecture (Shinto).

ARCHITECTURE (Aegian).—Of the architecture in Greek lands before the true Hellenic architecture appeared upon the scene we know comparatively little, but even that little is great compared with our almost entire ignorance of the subject a generation ago. The account of the great discoveries of Schliemann at Tiryns, Mycenae, and Troy, restoring to us Homer’s world, of whose

ARCHITECTURE.


Mithraic (J. F. CUMONT), p. 744.

Muslim (U. SALADIN), p. 745.

Muslim in Egypt and Syria (M. VAN BERCHEM), p. 757.


Roman (J. B. STOUTGHTON HOLBORN), p. 767.


Slavonic (L. L. LEGER), p. 773.

Teutonic.—See Art (Teutonic).

Tibetan.—See Temples (Tibetan).
very existence the greatest scholars were sceptical, reads like a fairy story. Since then a long series of excavations, carried out with greater and greater scientific precision throughout the whole Aegean area, has provided for us a mass of material which will probably require the scholarship of the future to unravel; it is not yet possible to anything like systematic order. As yet no conclusions can be more than tentative.

This pre-Hellenic architecture can hardly be considered the parent of Greek architecture; its influence is perceptible in the way in which it was developed, but it is not present as a system of street planning, with a distinct preference for rectangular rather than convergent systems. There is a very considerable advance in the art of building, with a regular drainage system and a greater use of columns. There are great walls and fortifications, and the towns in the generality of cases are no longer open. The probable cause seems to have been pressure from the north, which was beginning to be felt.

(3) A third architectural stage is reached roughly about B.C. 3000, when a closer system of town planning begins, generally although not necessarily fortified, is adopted in the present era. The city in general is derived from the Aegean Sea, and there is an increase in the size of the buildings, but the influence of the earlier periods is evident. There are great fortresses and fortifications, and the towns in the generality of cases are no longer open.

The probaible cause seems to have been pressure from the north, which was beginning to be felt. There are great walls and fortresses, and the towns in the generality of cases are no longer open. The probable cause seems to have been pressure from the north, which was beginning to be felt. There are great walls and fortresses, and the towns in the generality of cases are no longer open.
stretches roughly shaped, as at Phylakopi. On the whole, work on the Greek mainland is rougher and less carefully finished, the so-called cyclopean masonry at Tiryns and elsewhere being typical. This would point to the civilizing influence proceeding from the south northward. Troy seems to be somewhat outside the main stream. Its architecture, particularly its fortifications, is very advanced, although in other particulars its civilization seems to be behind the rest of the Egyptian.

There is a great tendency from the first to use rubble for interior walls and for less important structures. This is faced with plaster and frequently elaborately painted, as in the fresco of the Flower Gatherer at Knossos, or the absolutely delightful example of the Flying Fish at Phylakopi. Another method is to build one or two courses with great blocks of ashlar masonry and raise the rubble walls upon the top. In outside work some such foundation is almost necessary. In the early second city of Troy, built mainly of sun-dried brick, there is a sub-structure of stone to protect the brick from the wet. Rubble tends to become more common in later work, and sometimes later rubble walls are found built upon older stone foundations. The system may be the origin of the orthostatai of later Greek architecture (q.v.). Sometimes there is also a projecting plinth, as in the case of the limestone blocks below the gypsum in the West Court at Knossos, or the reverse arrangement, with the gypsum blocks below, on the southern terrace (fig. 1). This is quite possibly the origin of another Greek feature, the stylobate (see Architecture (Greek)). Another method, which on account of its material was not likely to survive to our day, seems to have been something of the nature of a half timber construction, in which courses of short lengths of timber set transversely in plaster across the wall were used at intervals, in the ashlar, or plastered rubble, as the case might be (fig. 2). There are grounds for supposing that we have the remains of such a course in the megaron at Knossos. In interiors the ends of these were masked by rosettes or medallions.

In the last phase of Egyptian architecture, the

over the doorway of the so-called Treasury of Atreus (see p. 683 and figs. 3 and 17).

On the whole it may be said that there is a distinct architectural decadence which in Crete becomes obviously marked about the 14th century B.C. But in the north it seems to be otherwise, and the masonry continues to improve until a later date, as, for instance, in the very fine beehive tombs at Mycenae, which may be not much earlier than the 13th century. This may be accounted for by the fact that the artistic impulse spread from the south. Hence the north would be longer in developing; and, on the other hand, a northern subjugation of Crete, which seems to be probable, would have greatly arrested progress there.

The spanning of openings seems in most instances to have been with timber lintels, and in early work the stones are not evenly gathered over above. Stone lintels, however, were sometimes used. The jaubs of doors were very commonly of stone, and in later work certainly an inward inclination was usual, which is very possibly the origin of the same feature in Greek doorways (fig. 3 below and fig. 8, Architecture (Greek)). Windows, as contrasted with Greek architecture, seem to have been of frequent occurrence. They appear to have had timber lintels, jambs, and sills, and we may notice a remarkable anticipation of the modern window in the division into 'panes' of which we have clear evidence in tablets found at Knossos (fig. 3). The nature of the filling is unknown; it may have been oiled cloth or parchment, and is indicated in red colour on the tablets.

Timber seems to have played a large part in the construction, especially in the columns, which were commonly of wood, although with bases of stone. The columns, and generally the bases, were circular in form, and it is noticeable that the columns tapered towards the lower end (figs. 4 and 12), the exact contrary of columns in Greek architecture. The taper, however, is generally exaggerated in drawings. The charred remains of actual columns were found both at Knossos and at Phaistos. Stone examples of similar shape but of much later date
ARCHITECTURE (Ægean)

occur at Eleusis and Mycenae. They were treated with different kinds of fluting as ornaments, sometimes vertical, sometimes diagonal (fig. 4), and this may even have suggested the Doric flute. The anta was used both in stone and in wood, and is possibly the prototype of that feature in Greek architecture. It is interesting to notice that when stone columns were used they were almost always square in section, especially in early work, as in the case of the Northern Portico at Knossos, the so-called 'pillar rooms' at Phylakopi, and at Knossos both in the palace and in houses outside. They are also of rectangular shape in the court at Phaistos, and by the N. entrance at Knossos, and even in the megaron itself, although there they are recessed. This is important in view of the discussion regarding the origin of the Greek column (see ARCHITECTURE [Greek]). The inter-columnations were wide, and the architrave apparently was a wooden beam upon which the upper masonry rested.

In spite, however, of the use of wood, it does not seem to have been used for floors. The floor joists were of circular logs of wood, and above these was laid clay, and upon that a fine hard cement or a pavement. On the ground floor cement seems to have been the favourite material for exterior work, and is often laid over paving; but in interiors fine gypsum slabs are not uncommon. The ceilings, where there was no floor above, were in all probability of thick reeds covered with plaster. Remains of plaster have been found at Phylakopi, clearly showing the shapes of the reeds embedded in the plaster (fig. 5).

The plans are in almost all cases characterized by numerous offsets, angles, and returns in the outer walls, which must have given a most delightful effect of light and shade to the complete elevation, and which are carried out with a lofty indifference to the extra work that they must have entailed (figs. 6, 8, and 9). Where fortifications occur, an arrangement may also be noticed by which the entrance is guarded by a complicated and circuitous means of approach, as at Syros and Siphnos, and which attains its fullest development at Tiryns (fig. 8, E). This seems to have occurred due to northern mainland influence, and gradually to have spread southward. The buildings of greatest importance were the palaces of the kings, which show in almost all cases a remarkable complexity of plan; but there are certain marked variations. Both in the north and in the south there is a distinct parallelism in the arrangement, but the Cretan plan is more regular and conceived more definitely as an artistic whole. The equal balancing of the main masses about a central court is also a southern feature. In the north this is less obvious, and the court partakes more of the nature of a fore-court, and is surrounded by a colonnade. The greater regularity is doubtless mainly because in the islands the question of fortification was of minor importance. In the north the buildings were castles as well as palaces.

But there is also a difference in the artistic motif that cannot thus be explained. The northern plan tends to rooms comparatively square in shape; the Cretan type is long and narrow. The difference is most noticeable in the smaller chambers and magazines, which are very characteristic features of the style (figs. 7, 8, and 9), but it holds good throughout, and is true even of the great halls. Tiryns and Knossos, the finest examples and the best known, may be taken as typical (figs. 8 and 9). The fortress of Goulas or Glâ in Boeotia, although northern in its main features, is to some extent an exception, and shows affinities with the southern type. Propylae are common throughout, but here a northern type

![FIG. 7. MAGAZINE WITH PITHOI, 8 CISTS IN FLOOR](image)

![FIG. 8. TIRYN]{{LA MEGARON W·WOMENS A·ALTAR Z·MAGAZINES E·ENTRANCE G·GATE B·BATHROOM](image)
can be distinguished which is almost the exact counterpart of the later Greek examples (fig. 10).

The magazines are the narrow chambers on the left.)

But the most marked difference between north and south is in the megaron itself. The northern megaron is a broad rectangular chamber with an antechamber and a portico, and contains the hearth.

in the centre. Above the hearth was probably an opening, and the sides of the opening were normally supported upon four columns which in all likelihood carried a sort of clerestory admitting light and allowing the smoke to escape. The typical Cretan megaron, on the other hand, has no central hearth, possibly on account of the warmer climate; but it has a feature peculiar to itself in the open chamber at the end of the hall, apparently open to the sky for the admission of light. This 'light-well' is found alike at Knossos, Phaistos, and Hagia Triada.

The southern type also contains columns which presumably supported the roof; but they are arranged in lines, as the square arrangement around the hearth is unnecessary. Moreover, whatever may have been the case in the north, there is no doubt that in Crete there were halls upon different storeys one above the other.

The northern type, although belonging to the ruder style, eventually superseded the other, and we find it appearing in the south in the late third city at Phylakopi (compare the examples in fig. 11). In this northern type we see a plan closely resembling that of the classical Greek temple; and if it is really the origin of the temple form, it may be considered the most important of the Aegean influences upon later Hellenic architecture.

It is, of course, natural that we should know a great deal more about the plans than the elevations, but we have a certain amount of valuable evidence about the latter. In the south there is no doubt that there were several storeys, and in each storey the column played an important part. As in Spanish architecture, the main architectural features were in the interior, but the deep wells, with their tiers of columns and great staircases, must have produced a fine effect (fig. 12). There is some evidence that columns played a part in the external façade also. In

the north, upper storeys, above the megaron, were unlikely because of the hearth.

On the whole, it may be said that the northern influence is much more marked in the temple architecture of Greece than any influence we can trace to the southern types.

The columned storeys rising magnificently one above another are startling indeed, occurring at a date some 18 centuries before Christ, in a European civilization of which we had never previously heard; but the elaborate drainage system is almost equally surprising, finding its parallels only in the beautiful systems of the best work of the Middle Ages, and in those of modern times. Street drains were generally built of stone with large flat slabs above and below, but an open terra-cotta channel sometimes occurs. In small underground drains terra-cotta pipes with a collar were used (fig. 13), whereas in the great palace systems the main drains were well built passages large enough.

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**Fig. 11.—MEGARA, DRAWN TO COMMON SCALE, SHOWING N. AND S. TYPES.**

**Fig. 12.—RESTORATION OF GENERAL EFFECT; HALL OF COLONNADES, KNOSOS.**

**Fig. 9.**

**KNOSOS. GENERAL PLAN.**

**Fig. 10.**

**HIS.-SAR.**

**LIL.**

**TIRYNS.**

**OLYMPIA.**
to allow of a man entering them for cleaning purposes. Sanitary conveniences were supplied; and if there was not the extensive accommodation that was demanded in the Middle Ages, where in many instances every room has its own separate arrangements, at least there is no reason to suppose that it was less than satisfied the last generation, or than is commonly found on the Continent to-day. The same remarks apply to bath-rooms, which were plentiful, and often elaborately treated. Sometimes there was a sunk bath with steps, sometimes merely a move-

able bath with a channel all round the floor to carry off any splashings.

Such is a very brief description, enough to indicate the highly developed character of the style. When we turn to consider religious architecture, it is obvious that there was little or none, and the main importance from that point of view is the influence exerted upon succeeding styles. Yet there are just a few points that may be noted. We have in the 'pillar rooms' at Knossos and Phylakopi something of obvious religious significance. It does not seem to be necessary to suppose that the pillar was not purely structural in its function,—even a sacred sign upon the top does not preclude the possibility of its supporting other blocks. Many of the blocks of the palaces in Crete are marked with sacred signs, which may be paralleled by the numerous masons' marks upon our own medieval buildings. But there does seem to have been a special sanctity attaching to the pillar form, and in the case of a 'pillar room' in a house at Knossos, a great number, some 200, of little inverted cups were discovered, beneath which were found the charred remains of small vegetable offerings (fig. 14). If we cannot

say that these rooms are examples of religious architecture, it can at least be said that some religious significance was attached to their architecture.

We have also a fresco, mentioned above, which in the light of the secular architectural discoveries of the palaces, admits of interpretation, and seems to represent a temple or shrine (fig. 16). Below we have the great basalt blocks that we have seen in the palace, and above half timber work with its frescoes on the plaster. The pillars, presumably of wood, are of the usual inverted form of Egean architecture, and their sacredness is thought to be indicated by the horned cult object set before them. An interesting frieze, resembling that of porphyry-like stone found at Knossos (fig. 15), or the alabaster example from Tiryns, occurs below the central opening. This seems to be the progenitor of the triglyph frieze of the Doric order. The triglyphs in this instance, judging by the colour, were apparently of wood. There is also indication of the blue glass paste or enamel which occurs at Tiryns—a delightful form of architectural decoration—the κόρινθος of Homer, so long a stumbling-block to the critics. In this connection may also be noticed some little gold ornaments found at Mycenae, which are also generally supposed to represent a shrine (fig. 16). The lower part is again of ashlar masonry, the upper part is apparently of timber. There are three timber-framed doorways through which appear columns; but it is difficult to say whether they are meant to be within the building or form part of the façade. In front of them are the same sacred horns. The most interesting point is that the central part is higher than the sides, and it certainly does suggest a nave and aisle construction with clerestory lighting. On the other hand, it might equally well represent a lantern rising above the hearth, which, of course, be visible from a point of view a little distance in front of the shrine, and could therefore quite legitimately be represented pictorially in the plane elevation.

Lastly, there remain to be considered the tombs, which were of a sacred and in some instances definitely religious character. The famous shaft graves of Mycenae—deep shafts sunk vertically in the rock—represent for us a stage of burial that can hardly be considered architectural. So also with the larnax burials of Crete, where the corpse was first skeletonized in the earth and afterwards deposited in an earthenware sarcophagus or larnax and buried. But in the chambered tombs and the still more elaborate domed structures we have something very different.
They are found widely distributed over the Greek mainland, where the best specimens occur, but have been found at Phaistos, Palaikastro, Praisos, in Crete, and also in Melos.

The chambered form is that of a square chamber cut in the rock, with a gabled roof and approached by a dronos, or passage. It seems probable that it is merely a development of the shaft grave, and the dronos is simply a means of closer and more ready access to the tomb itself for the worshippers of the shade of the deceased. This finally develops into the great domed chamber out of which in some cases the tomb itself opens, and which can hardly have served any other purpose than one connected with religious ceremonies in relation to the deceased. This development is borne out by the shaft-construction of the grave at Orchomenos, in some respects the finest example of these beehive tombs. It is, however, not in perfect a condition as the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, which was a trifle larger than this example (fig. 17).

**Fig. 17.** In both cases a large domed chamber, of beehive shape, about 47 feet in diameter, is cut out in the hill-side and lined with masonry of large blocks built on the corbelled system (fig. 17). Opening out of the central chamber is a smaller side chamber, which in the case of the Orchomenos example was, like the shaft graves, clearly excavated by a shaft sunk from the top. The bottom was first lined with small stone slabs and then covered with marble slabs. This was roofed over with great slabs of green schist elaborately decorated with a typical Mycenean pattern (fig. 18), and the marble walls were decorated in the same way. Above was another chamber to relieve the ceiling of weight, and above that again the shaft was filled up with debris.

The vault part is marked with numerous holes, some still containing bronze nails, and, as was also the case with the Mycenean example, it was covered with bronze rosettes.

The fine doorway to the latter tomb can be restored with some degree of accuracy. A great door, narrower at the top than at the bottom, is flanked by two half columns, which are wards and are adorned with zigzag flutings. Above is an enormous lintel, the pressure upon which is relieved by a great triangular space originally filled with a light triangular slab. The architrave was ornamented with a pattern, clearly recalling the short log construction mentioned above, and below this was probably a series of lions' heads.

**Fig. 18.**

ARCHITECTURE (American).—Both in character and in material the dwellings and temples of the American Indians present the widest variety, ranging from the brush wikiup of the Pai Utes, and the snow igloos of the Eskimos, to the elaborate stone palaces of the Mayas of Yucatan. This diversity, however, must not be construed as racial in origin, since closely related neighbouring tribes frequently have dwellings of different types; nor is the cause any essential intellectual limitation. The divergence is climatic and economic in source. The snow-covered wastes of the extreme north, the forests of the Atlantic coast, the arid, desert which once abounded in herds of bison, the arid regions of the south-west, and the tropical luxuriance of Central America, each produced a distinct type of architecture. The dwellings of the American Indians admit of a triple classification: temporary, portable, and permanent, the first being exemplified by the Pai Ute wikiup, the second by the Dakota tipi, and the third by the stone pueblo. The temporary dwelling is represented in its simplest form by the wikiup of Arizona. This is constructed by placing branches about 10 feet in length so as to form half or three-quarters of a circle. The tops are then brought together and smaller branches are thrown over them. The entire structure is, therefore, little more than a wind-break, and may be a development of the kiva of the Hopis, which is a rough shelter set up in the fields to protect those who watch the flocks. The general type of temporary dwelling is especially characteristic of the less developed tribes of the western desert, where the arid soil furnishes little building material beyond brush and mud. Closely akin to the wikiup is the Navaho hoggin, but built either of branches covered with smaller boughs or of poles plastered with mud; and the same statement holds true of the Pimas and Mohaves. Such dwellings are frequently abandoned, since the materials of which they are composed are not portable, and the region affords no other kind. Religion also enters into the migrations of these tribes, since they do not occupy a dwelling which has been entered by death. Here too may be mentioned the gigantic houses still built by the Wichitas, but formerly characteristic of the Cadoons (except the Pawnees and Arikaras, who built, instead, the 'earth lodges' noted below).
2. A higher grade of American architecture is found, under more favourable economic circumstances, among the prairie tribes. Here the wigwam yields place to the tipi. The typical form of this structure is found among the Outhanas, and is constructed by tying two twenty or thirty long poles together at the top, and spreading out the bottom so as to form a circle. This frame is covered with skin or canvas, and an opening is left at the top for the smoke. While this tribes were used by no means restricted to the tipis, since in the summer they sometimes built lodges covered with bark or earth, the former suggesting the Algonquin wigwam, and the latter what may be supposed to have been an earlier stage of pueblo construction. At all events, both represent a transition to the permanent dwelling. While the wigwam is naturally devoid of any ornamentation, the tipi often received somewhat elaborate adornment, this decoration being frequently totemistic, and sometimes the result of a vision or other omen. Here the form of the dwelling is conditioned by the material at hand, since trees are comparatively rare, while the thick, which only ranged the plains, furnished an abundance of skins to form the covering of the poles. According to Dakota tradition, the tribes formerly dwelt in houses of bark in the present State of Minnesota, and were first forced to the tipi, by the invasion of the Utes, to adopt a nomadic life, and, in consequence, portable houses.

3. The tipi, thus forms the transition from the temporary dwelling to the permanent. The latter form of house is characteristic of a settled people, and, is therefore, found among the most highly civilized American Indians. In its simplest form it may be exemplified by the wigwam of the Algonquins and Iroquois, but in the Mississippi valley, Florida, the North-West Coast, and Arizona, and, in its highest form of development, among the Aztecs and Mayaas. For some centuries before the advent of the permanent village, in contrast to the temporary encampments found, for example, among the Pai Utes and the Dakotas. These villages were frequently defended by palisades, as among the Algonquin Lenni Lenape, the Virginians, and the Caddoans of the Mississippi valley. A remarkable feature of many of these permanent dwellings was their elevation on mounds of earth, which were frequently formed artificially. The original motive was, in the main, sanitary, dampness being thus avoided. This practice was also common among the natives of Florida, where these artificial elevations are described as being kind of platform two or three pikes in height, the summit of which is large enough to give room for twelve, fifteen, or twenty houses, to lodge the cacique and his attendants. At the foot of this elevation they mark out a square, according to the size of the village around which the leading men have their houses.

To ascend the elevation they have a straight passage-way from bottom to top, fifteen or twenty feet wide. These steps are made by massive beams, and others are made by beams serve as walls. On all other sides of the platform the sides are cut steep (quoted from Garcilasso by Thomas, Mound Explorations, p. 647). The temples naturally stood at a still higher elevation than the houses of the people. Even dwellings of the permanent type here described, however, were liable to speedy decay if long abandoned for any reason, and consequently no longer exist. Yet in them probably lies the secret of many of the mysterious mounds so common in the Ohio valley, which were formerly supposed to be the work of a race differing widely from the American Indian. Modern developements have shown that their builders were simply American Indians, differing in no respect from their congeners elsewhere in the continent. The great majority of mounds are doubtless mortuary in origin, and thus do not properly come within the scope of architecture (cf. Yarrow, Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs among the North American Indians, Washington, 1880, pp. 17-29). Others, such as the Serpent Mound of Ohio valley or the pyramid of Cholula in Mexico, were structures designed for purposes of religion, the latter, at least, serving as the base of a temple. Yet it is not impossible that the religious mounds (though not entirely so) find their analogues in the wigwam, and the tipi in the North-East Coast. Here the abundance of cedar, which may readily be split, renders it possible to construct houses of planks instead of poles and bark, these structures being more permanent than the eastern wigwams. In the dwellings of this type, moreover, as in the Iroquois "long house," separate rooms were partitioned off, thus marking a distinct step forward in civilization. Farther to the north, the Alaska form of framework of the house, the whale, driftwood, stone, turf, or any material which may be at hand in that barren region. The dwellings are not infrequently built entirely of turf cut in slabs. The most curious form of American Indian architecture, in some respects, is the Eskimo igloo (properly iglugaat, 'house snow'). This is made by cutting compact blocks of snow, which are so laid on a circular base as gradually to form a cone, the only case in which the only case of a true arch among the North American aborigines. A house designed for occupancy throughout the winter is some 12 feet in height and 15 in diameter. It is heated with stone lances, and, moreover, ordinary light is admitted by a window of ice or the intestine of a seal. Whenever his supply of material renders it possible, however, the Inuit constructs a still more durable dwelling of whale ribs, driftwood, and the like, thus approaching to the Aleut house. In this same region, moreover, were semi-subterranean dwellings, especially among the Aleuts, Eskimos, coast Salishans, and kindred tribes. Their affinity with the subterranean houses of the Gilyaks, Kamatchatkans, Koryaks, Chukchees, and Yukaghirs of North-Eastern Asia is too striking and too close not to be due to borrowing on the part of the American Indians (Jochelson, in XV Congrès international des Américanistes, Quebec, 1907, ii. 115-128). Among the Pawnees, as among the Arikaras, Osages, Omahas, Ponens, and other tribes, are found earth lodges, also semi-subterranean, the roofs of such houses—bow 1186
but the stars also exercised authority. The earlier star cult of people is reflected in the significance attached to the four central posts. Each stood for a star—the Morning and Evening stars, symbols of the male and female cosmic forces, and the two other stars, the direction of the path to the abode of perpetual life. The posts were painted in the somber colors—red, white, blue. Sometimes certain corns of one of these colours was offered at the foot of the post of that colour. In the ritual of the Pueblo, the head man would go through the posts of the pueblo, the method of construction of the walls of the pueblos varies considerably. In the pueblo of Puebla they consist of stone slabs laid in mortar of adobe (mud mixed with straw), while the Rio Grande pueblo at Built on adobe, famous Casa Grande, near Florence, Arizona, was built by the construction method, in which adobe mud is rammed into large wicker frames and left to dry, after which the result is removed and used for the 

In the valley of the Lake of Mexico many houses were built on piles over the water, finding an analogue on the one hand among the American Indians of the North-West Coast, and on the other among the South Americans of Lake Maracaibo. The adobe dwellings were frequently constructed on platforms of stone, while the temples, as already noted, were elevated on high platforms of earth or stone, the Toltec pyramid of the sun at Teotihuacan having measured 650 ft. at the base by 180 in height. The so-called pyramid is, in fact, one of the most remarkable achievements of Aztec, Maya, and American architecture. It differs essentially from the Egyptian pyramid in its object, since it is designed simply and solely as a foundation for a building, while the African structure is a gigantic tomb. The Great Pyramid of Cholula, at Cholula in Mexico, is 81 ft. square at the base, and reaches an altitude of 250 feet. The pyramid of Huizilopochti and Tlaoc in Mexico itself had five terraces, the lowest 360 ft. square and the highest 76, and was ascended by a flight of 113 steps, the procession to the chapels on the summit winding round each terrace before mounting to the next. Not only temples but palaces were constructed on platforms, so that the Maya palace of Palenque stands on an oblong mound 30 ft. in length by 260 in width, and 40 ft. in height.

5. North and Central American architecture reached its zenith among the Mayas of Yucatan, Honduras, and Guatemala, the three countries which are scattered ruins of ancient cities, and many more, hidden in the tropical vegetation, doubtless still awaiting discovery. The final history of the art and culture of the region cannot yet be written for many years, for it is by no means unlikely that even more extensive and important remains may yet be found than are thus far known. The sites hitherto best described are as follows: Yucatan, Uxmal, Pakal, Chichen.

The pueblos are also important as forming the transition to stone structures. The Pecos ruins in North-western New Mexico have walls of sandstone slabs; and round stone towers, frequently with two or three concentric walls, are not infrequent in the South-west. Some of these latter structures seem to have been like the modern Moki kiva, or places of general assembly for the men of the pueblo. The method of construction of the walls of the pueblos varies considerably. In the pueblo of Puebla they consist of stone slabs laid in mortar of adobe (mud mixed with straw), while the Rio Grande pueblo at Built on adobe, famous Casa Grande, near Florence, Arizona, was built by the construction method, in which adobe mud is rammed into large wicker frames and left to dry, after which the result is removed and used for the 

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5. North and Central American architecture reached its zenith among the Mayas of Yucatan, Honduras, and Guatemala, the three countries which are scattered ruins of ancient cities, and many more, hidden in the tropical vegetation, doubtless still awaiting discovery. The final history of the art and culture of the region cannot yet be written for many years, for it is by no means unlikely that even more extensive and important remains may yet be found than are thus far known. The sites hitherto best described are as follows: Yucatan, Uxmal, Pakal, Chichen.
Itza and Tuloom in the east; Izamal, Tucu, Mayapan, Mérida, and Aké in the north; Lulphak in the south; in Honduras there are Tenampua, Calamulua, and, above all, Copan; and in Guatemala, and yet more, the mysterious Chichen-Itza, Mecallo, Patanimin, Uatatlan, and Tikal. Here, too, must be classed the ruins of Palenque, in the Mexican State of Chiapas, which are akin to those of Yucatan, but with western Honduras the line of and architectural remains in Central America seems to be drawn. Of the sites here noted—the list does not pretend to be complete—the most important for a knowledge of Central American architecture are the principal remains in Palenque, Uxmal, and Chichen-Itza. From these three centres a general idea may perhaps be gained of the main outlines of a Maya city, supplementary information being obtainable from a study of other sites. It becomes, therefore, advisable to give a brief summary of the principal structures still preserved at each of these three cities.

At Palenque the chief ruins are those of the Palace and the Temple of the Three Tablets, the Cross, and of the so-called 'Nunnery.' This site, the first-mentioned, though there is, of course, no evidence that it was actually intended to be a palace, this structure is erected on a quadrangular platform, somewhat more than 200 by 310 ft. at the bottom, originally faced with stone (perhaps once painted or plastered) and ascended by broad central stairways on the east and north. The palace itself, which nearly covers the upper surface of the platform, and measures about 180 by 225 ft. and has a height of 30 ft. In the outer wall were some 40 doorways, 8 ft. high and 9 ft. wide, while above them ran a cornice pierced with small holes which may have held the 'acanthus' cornice (Bancroft, Native Races, iv. 217). The main building is found to consist of two corridors, formed by three parallel walls and covered by one roof, which extend entirely round the circumference of the platform, and are each 80 ft. long, 10 ft. high. The walls of these corridors are 4 ft. thick, as are also the walls of the Nunnery, 173 ft. in number, are plastered with a thin coat of white material like plaster of Paris. The windows of these buildings are 2 ft. wide and about 3 ft. high. They all present the same general features of construction—angular-arched ceilings, wooden lintels, stone rings, or hinged doors, and doors of wood. The entrance to one of the buildings on the east side, and to the western, is 9 ft. wide, and 12 ft. high. Opposite this gateway a stairway 90 ft. wide leads up to the upper terrace which supports the northern building. On each side of the stairway is a column, or fluted column, which supports a ruin of the usual construction, in which six small apartments may be traced. The sides and ends of each building are . . . plain and unplastered below the cornice, which extends round the whole circumference just above the doorways. Above this point the whole surface of the four buildings, is covered with elegant and elaborate sculptured decorations. The four buildings on the court are preceded by all the builders the chief of among the primitive decorative art in America, being more chaste and artistic, and, at the same time less costly and elaborate than the temple. From this view of the other fronts in Yucatan. . . . The buildings, standing on a terrace 22 ft. above the platform which supports the other structures, and consequently overtopping them all, was very probably intended by the builders as the crowning feature of the Palenque, Casa de Monjas, and the edifice, Casa de las Monjas, was an ancient convent, later a convent of the Monjas, or Nuns. The edifice, Casa de las Monjas, was an ancient convent, later a convent of the Monjas, or Nuns, and the buttress, viz., the narrow corridor surrounding the upper part of the edifice, is a curious structure, one of a line of buttresses. It is a circular, domed building, 22 ft. in diameter and some 24 ft. high, with two narrow corridors surrounding it apparently solid core. It rests on a
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pyramid of two rectangular terraces, the lower 130 by 225 ft., and the upper 53 by 80 ft. The walls often have partitions of palm-leaf or bark. The development of the Guiana house is shown by the temporary dwelling, or bimbo, a rough affair, triangular in base and covered with palm-leaves, the sides being later replaced by pointed arches. The square form of the houses of this region (Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guiana, London, 1883, pp. 202-210). The Chiriguans of Bolivia had quadrangular thatched houses with frameworks of reeds or posts, arranged in a circle and enclosing an open space in the centre. Those of the Guaranis of the Amazon are about 4 metres square and thatched with the sides and leaves, and similar material (Grubb, Among the Indians of the Paraguay Chaco, London, 1904, pp. 72-73). On the Pampano tents were used, consisting of a framework of poles and mud, and in Patagonia, as in America, wattled tents of reeds were used. The framework of these latter structures was frequently between 10 and 12 ft. in length, 10 in width, and 7 in height, and the interior was divided into a number of rooms, thus forming a sort of permanent dwelling. In Tierra del Fuego, on the other hand, with its far inferior civilization, wretched huts are built of sticks wattle with grass or rammmed with of the lowest types of architecture to be found on the American continent.

7. Midway between North and South America stands the architecture of the Antilles. The majority of houses on these islands were round, pointed huts, with leaf roofs and wattle sides, often of perfumed reeds and elaborately adorned. The villages were small. There were, however, large houses, especially in Cuba, where some lodges between 100 and 200 men, and the residences of the caciques naturally received special attention. The larger dwellings frequently had covered porches, and were divided into a number of rooms. While it is not impossible that in the most archaic period the inhabitants of Spanish, Brazilian, Haiti, Cuba, and other West India islands, were, at least in part, troglodytic, by the time of the first discoveries they were largely village-dwellers, their groups of houses being palisaded as in Florida, Virginian, etc. The Haitian (and probably the Porto Rican) houses, called bahius, conyes, and ercas, were of two types: circular, with upright sides supporting a sloping roof converging at the apex and thatched with leaves or stalks of cane, the door forming the only opening; and rectangular, constructed of similar material, but with windows and a small porch. No remains of stone or adobe houses are known on any of these islands; but since the accounts of the early discoverers and such analogues as may be traced in the modern cabins (which resemble the second rather than the first type) agree in general with the domiciles along the Orinoco and its tributaries, 'this resemblance is often the many which can be advanced to indicate kinship of the people of South America with those of Porto Rico' (Fewkes, The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighbouring Islands, in 25 R E W p. 46).

8. Architecture reached its zenith in South America among the Chibchas of Colombia and the Quichuas of Peru. The ordinary houses of the former people were built of straw and earth, and were frequently 100 or 150 ft. long. The modern houses, moreover, are generally com-
and thatched with straw (Botero, Relaciones universales, Venice, 1600, i. 234). Stone structures, however, were unknown, even in the case of the temples. This is the more remarkable since the sculpture was known to the Chibchas, who were also acquainted with the column. The architecture of the Peruvians forms the South American counterpart to that of the Aztecs and the Mayas, although it is not entirely identical. The Peruvians, however, were probably the first to enclose their temples in stone, and many of them, unlike those of Mexico and Central America, are true examples of cyclopean construction. A large cyclopean monolith measured 13 ft. 5 in. in length, 7 ft. 5 in. in height above the ground, and 18 in. in thickness, with a door 4 ft. 6 in. high and 2 ft. 9 in. wide. At this same site are a large number of monoliths bounding a rectangle 440 ft. in length by 388 in width. These pillars vary from 14 ft. to 25 ft. in height. Elaborate sun-circles, bounded by monoliths, also occur, as at Sillustani; and the latter site and its vicinity are also of importance for the chullpas, or funeral towers. These are plain towers, usually round, with corrèled cupolas, and ranging from 16 to 40 ft. in height, containing, within walls of extreme thickness, a very small funerary chamber (cf. Tifes, PARIS, DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Peruvian]).

The chief sites of ancient Peruvian (and Bolivian) remains are Pachacamac, Gran Chima, Marca Huamachuco, Huamuc Viejo, Vilcas Huaman, Cuzco, Ollantaitambo, Pisac, Chullonco, Huayna-cuana, and the islands of Lake Titicaca. At Pachacamac are found the ruins of the Temple of the Sun and the House of the Virgins of the Sun, the former covering an area 600 by 450 ft., and the latter 200 by 250 ft. Neverfour, hills which form the site of the ancient city are scattered the remains of other large structures, including communal dwellings which recall the pueblos of New Mexico. But Pachacamac, like Ancón, is more noteworthy for its necropolis than for its architecture; nor are the coast sites of Peru, generally speaking, as important in their contributions to a knowledge of the ancient architecture of the country as the more inland remain. Nevertheless, mention should be made of the elaborate fortress at Paramonga. Here a hill about 825 ft. high, surrounded by an adobe wall, sustains a fortress of three terraces with a detached quasi-bastion of similar construction. Underneath this, and another, more extensive, wall is found at Marca Huamachuco; and the presence of such structures in Peru is the more noteworthy when it is remembered that in the corresponding culture-regions of Mexico and Central America the sole clear example is found in the Maya site of Tulum. This wall at Marca Huamachuco is nearly 10 ft. high, and it encloses the still imposing ruins of two oblong rectangular buildings, originally of three storeys, surrounding central courts. The exact purpose of these buildings, known locally as the Church and the Castle, is uncertain; but close by are the undoubted remains of extensive llama-stables. On a terrace behind the Castle—a massive macaggi by a triple wall, is the Convent, an appellation which may not be without reason. The entire group of structures at Marca Huamachuco is dominated by the Cerro del Castillo, where the rulers evidently dwelt; and the entire community was, accordingly, thus divided, running from north to south: Cerro Amara (residences of the warriors and citizens), Cerro del Castillo, Cerro de la Palma (residences of the nobles), Cerro de la Virgen (nunnery), and Cerro Viejo (purpose unknown).

Huamuc Viejo, which, according to the conquistador historian Xerez, covered an area three leagues in circumference, still has a perimeter of nearly a league, even when the dwellings of the people have disappeared, and only the palace, battle, temples, and wall surrounding the principal buildings remain. This is the most remarkable since the grey stone, and a noteworthy feature is the baths "se composant de onze piscines murées en pierre et surmontées de parois d'un appareil admirable, pourvu de niches au fond desquelles sont fixées des pierres pierre" (Vilene, Pery et Bolivie, p. 211). Mention should likewise be made of the elaborate system of courts and of an avenue with four large pylonic gates. Vilcas Huaman is a noteworthy example at Tiahuanaco, a circular pyramid in three stages, ascended by a flight of steps, and surrounded by a wall with doors whose sloping sides resemble those of Huamuc Viejo. The structure is strikingly suggestive of the Aztec and Maya pyramids.

At Ollantaitambo, some 12 leagues from Cuzco, are the remains of vast palaces, with their terraces, pylons, stairs, aqueducts, and cisterns, and distinct traces of the ancient city, as well as of the so-called Tribunal and Prisons; while about 2 miles away are enormous fortifications. Pisac also has an interesting group of ruins, comprising a fort, a temple of the sun (intihuanatana), and traces of the ancient town. The elaborate fortifications throughout Peru, a marked divergency from the architectural remains elsewhere in America (unless an exception may be made in certain structures of the 'Mound-builders'). And it is also noteworthy that not only does the building material change from adobe to stone as one proceeds from the coast, but that the construction becomes, pari passu, more and more cyclopean.

Peruvian architecture reached its height of grandeur in the structures at Tiahuanaco and the islands of Lake Titicaca. At the former site are the remains of the Fortress, Temple, Palace, Hall of Justice, and Sanctuary. The Temple measures 388 by 455 ft., with a sunken court 290 by 190 ft.; while the Hall of Justice is a cyclopean platform 131 by 23 ft. with a group of seats at each end and in the centre, these groups being separated by monolithic columns. Copper clamps were used to hold the stones together. (On the entire site cf. Strübel and Uhle, Die Ruinenstätte von Tiahuanaco, Breslau, 1882). On the islands of Titicaca and Coati are buildings dedicated respectively to the sun and to the moon. On the island of Coati is the Palace of the Incas (also called the Temple of the Sun), the Storehouse of the Sun, and the Bath of the Incas. The Palace, or Temple, 51 by 44 ft., is in two storeys, and originally had pointed and stuccoed walls; while the Bath is 40 by 100 ft. and 5 ft. in depth. The island of Coati is especially famous for its Palace of the Virgins of the Sun, which, also in two storeys, is 183 by 80 ft. It contains numerous apartments, but, rather curiously, none of the structures on these two islands is cyclopean in type, nor is there any approach to such monuments as the monolithic gateways at Tiahuanaco, mentioned above.

Although more than the Maya structures, Peruvian architecture is of a higher type. The arch is occasionally found, especially at Pachacamac and Vilcas Huaman, and windows were not unknown in the interior, though they do not seem to have been constructed on the coast. The most important advance over the architecture of Mexico and Central America, however, was the roof, which obviated the necessity of the exceptionally narrow rooms which forms so marked a characteristic of the more northern style. The smaller structures seem to have been covered with a hip roof, at least in some cases, while in the larger buildings it has been suggested that the interior
was lined with wooden columns supporting a sort of verandah which did not cover the entire floor space. Although there is, naturally, no trace of columns in the present condition of the Peruvian type of building, as it is fully dedicated, and one or by the footpaths which border the interior of the walls. Such a form of roof, moreover, would admit the necessary light to the dwellings, and the entire structure would thus present an analogue to the Peruvian temple-tower. It is improbable that other temples and shrines may have been founded in the same way.†

One of the most interesting temple-plans is that of the goddess Nin-mah, as excavated at Babylon by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (Deitersch), *Im Lande des einstigen Paradieses*, p. 39. The ruin lies on the eastern side of the Ishtar-gate, and, as is usual in the sacred buildings of Babylonia and Assyria, has its corners towards the cardinal points. It is of sun-dried brick, and its remains have even now traces of white decoration. The entrance on the N.W. led into a large vestibule communicating with a room on the left, and giving access to a court-yard with six other doorways serving the remaining chambers, in number. Four of these had smaller rooms, probably the sanctuaries where were kept the statues or the shrines of the deities worshipped there (for the temple-E-mah probably was a temple of Babylonia in associating certain companions with the principal divinity). The first hall was entered from the court-yard by a doorway nearly facing that giving access to the court-yard from the vestibule, and, thus, in its turn, led to the inner hall—the holy place. There seems to have been no rule for the position of the small rooms which probably contained the statues or shrines, some of them being at the S.W. end (when the halls were as usual, E.S.W.), some at the N.E. (when the temple ran N.W. to S.E.). The court-yard was not in the centre of the building, but set more towards the S.W. side, so that there was space on that side for only one row of two narrow rooms, whilst on the N.E. side there are two rows of rooms, narrower and longer, with sanctuaries for statues or shrines. Behind the ‘holy place’ are two narrow rooms only.

To all appearance the temples of Babylonia and Assyria were built upon the same general plan. From the outside the visitor gained access to a vestibule, which, in its turn, admitted him to the court-yard, or to a hall around which were the two doorways leading to the remaining halls and chambers.

More ornate, to all appearance, than the temple of Nin-mah at Babylon was that built by Sargon of Assyria at Khorsabad. This edifice lay in the ‘temple-court’ of the palace, on the S.E. side of which were the ‘priests’ rooms,’ the temple itself being on the S.W. side of the court, facing the state-apartments. A flight of stone steps gave access to a platform of crude brick (faced by a retaining wall of black basalt with a cornice of grey limestone). Two chambers were traced, floored with a mixture of stone and chalk. The fragment of a black basalt statue was found, which showed that the ornamentation was the same as that in the palace, but the subjects were religious.‡

A better example, however, is the Assyrian temple excavated by Sir H. Layard in the mound of Nineveh (Calah). This lay at the S.E. angle of the great temple-tower, but was apparently unconnected with it. Here also we have an outer court, an entrance leading into a vestibule, a side-chamber (with two entrances), and a hall with a

* JRAS, Jan. 1899, p. 103 ff.
† A temple of these proportions may have been simply an enlargement of the popular household sanctuary.
‡ Rawlinson’s Monarchies, vol. i, pp. 369-371.
recess at the end. It differs from the Babylonian temple of Ninmah, however, in having no interior court-yard. Its importance for Assyrian art, on the other hand, was considerable, many slabs of a religious nature having been found; and its pavement-slabs give the history of the reign of Ashurbanipal (B.C. 668-627) as its builder. Its main entrance was adorned with winged man-headed lions, and the entrance leading into the side-room had reliefs showing the deity expelling an evil spirit from a tomb, with a dragon, from the place. At the side of this doorway was the arch-headed monolith with the representation of the king (Assur-nasir-apli) in his divine character, with an altar before it, implying that sacrifices of some kind were made to him. The smaller temple apparently had no vestibule, and the visitor entered at once into the holy place, which had a recess for the statue or shrine at the left-hand end. Chambers supplying the place of the vestibule were constructed at each end. Altars for libations were placed in angles made to receive them on each side of the main entrance. These objects were hollow, and were decorated with griffins, similar to those of the walls already described.

On one of the sculptures found at Khorsabad is a small building which has been regarded as a fishing-pavilion, because built on the banks of a river. It also, by the title of a small temple. It is one storey high only, and is built, as usual, upon a platform. The roof is supported by two columns resembling the Doric of the Greeks. Above the columns the entablature broadens out into a cornice, which is also divided into griffins like those above the walls of the temples and temple-towers, but rather smaller. No doorway is shown, so that the building looks like a mere shelter from the rain. That it is really a temple is also implied by the similar structure sculptured on a slab from the palace of Assurbanipal-4pli in the British Museum. It shows a temple on rising ground beside a terrace on arches (possibly the "hanging gardens" of Babylon) It is flanked by thickish columns, and has two slender ones in the centre, but no entrance is shown. The entablature above the columns has griffins, but its cornice is provided with a more elegant ornament. On the left side it is surmounted by a shallow moulding and griffins, but otherwise, to all appearance, plain. The arch-headed stile in front was evidently detached from it. It has the figure of a Babylonian king in the usual conventional attitude, and an altar like those found by Layard at the smaller temple, at Nineveh, already described.

Though there may be doubt as to the origin of the Babylonian temple—whether it was a development of the tomb or of the simple household shrine—the testimony in favour of the temple-towers of Babylonia being tombs is exceedingly strong, and is rendered still more so by the analogy of the pyramids of Egypt, which they resemble in their general appearance. Ctesias says (Diodor. II. vii. 1) that the great sepulchral mound built by Semiramis at Nineveh on the Tigris was erected over the body of her husband Nisir and Ovid (Metam. IV. 98) speaks of the "tomb of Ninus," under whose shadow the tragedy of Thiseke and Pyramus took place. On the other hand, this tomb-theory of the origin of the Babylonian temple-towers is quite unsupported by the older writings (Gn 11:1; Berossus, ap. Euseb. Chronicon, 13, Preny. 8G. 71. 2); Synec. Chron., 44), which state that the tower at Babylon was for the purpose of reaching heaven. As far as the Babylonian records are known, this statement is likewise unconfirmed, though the use of the name Ziggurat (i.e. the raised mountain) would still seem to indicate the "peak" of the mountain on which the Babylonian Noah sacrificed on coming out of the ark, would seem to support the idea that these erections were for the purpose of getting nearer to the deity when sacrificing and likewise, probably, when offering prayers. It has also been suggested that the original inhabitants of the plain of Shinar, having come from a mountainous country, desired to break the monotony of their new home, and therefore built these mountain-like structures, which they turned to pious uses.

Apart from the descriptions given by explorers, perhaps the best account of a Babylonian temple-tower is that of Herodotus of Halicarnassus. The temple of Belus at Babylon (i. 181—183)—the building called by Nebuchadrezzar the "Tower of Babylon." Herodotus describes it as a massive tower 200 yards square at the base, within an enclosure 200 yards square, and with gates of bronze. The stages, or 'towers,' as Herodotus calls them, amounted to eight in number, and, like the temple-tower found by the French explorers at Khorsabad, were provided with an inclined path on all sides of each, enabling the visitor to reach the top. About the middle of the ascent (apparently the fourth stage) was a stopping-place, with seats to rest upon. On the topmost stage was a large cell, with a couch and a golden table, but no image, as the god himself was said to descend thither when he visited the woman chosen by him to pass the night there. The image of the god was in a cell below, with a table, probably for offerings, and an altar outside. Image, table, and altar are all said to have been of gold, and the last-named for sacrifices only. An altar for full-grown animals, and one for frankincense on the occasion of the god's festival, were placed on an oratory of 885 to 860.

A detailed description of this famous temple is much needed, that given by Nebuchadrezzar being altogether inadequate. The late G. Smith was once fortunate enough to have in his hands a Babylonian tablet in which the building was described, and this is probably the most trustworthy account of it in existence. Adopting his estimate of the metric system used, the "grand court" of the temple measured 1156 ft. by 900 ft., and the next, the "court of 'Isar and Zaggara," 1056 ft. by 450 ft., with six gates admitting to the temples.

The next division is described as a space or platform, apparently walled, called, in Sumero-Akkadian, bigalla or zur, and in Semitic Babylonian hyqyqtu or biritu—words apparently meaning an enclosed and levelled space. It was described as a square, 2 lu each way (this is possibly the portion described by Herodotus as 'the temple' or sacred precinct, which measured 2 stadia—1213 ft. 6 in.—each way, and was furnished with bronze gates). In accordance with the usual Babylonian custom, the angles indicated by stone points, and each side had an entrance. Inside the enclosure, at the time the tablet was written, stood some kind of erection 200 ft. square, connected with the 'zippurut,' or tower, and having round its

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* Nicolai Gallery, British Museum; Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, plate 5.

1 Assyrian Transcript, W., British Museum; Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 373, 374.

2 Botta, Monuments de Ninive, plate 114; Rawlinson, Monarchies, vol. I., p. 382.

3 An altar upon a hill to the right of this building suggests that it may have been merely for worship, the sacrifices being made outside, or in smaller chapels or small temples are also found in Phenician architecture (see p. 705).

4 The Athenian Rev., Feb. 19, 1876; repeated by Prof. Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 437 ff.
base the chapels or temples of the various gods, on all four sides, and facing the cardinal points.

On the E. side was a building 70 or 80 cubits long and 40 broad, containing sixteen shrines, the chief ones being dedicated to Nebo and Tannin, his son, who was regarded as having the power of calling the various deities to answer prayer. This was the temple of Nisibus, or temple of Nisir, situated on the E. side of the city. At this point the city was closely confined between two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, the former flowing in two channels, the latter in one.

The S. side had a temple on the N. side, and a large structure on the S. side, which was probably the temple of the goddess Nisir, or of the god Nabû, the former being the city of Babylon, the latter of the city of Carchemish.

The N. side had a large temple on the E. side, and a building on the W. side, which was probably the temple of the goddess Nisir, or of the god Nabû, the former being the city of Babylon, the latter of the city of Carchemish.

The W. side had a temple on the N. side, and a large structure on the S. side, which was probably the temple of the goddess Nisir, or of the god Nabû, the former being the city of Babylon, the latter of the city of Carchemish.

The main building was the zigurrat, or temple-tower, square, and with its corners towards the cardinal points. The lowest stage was also the largest, being 300 ft. square by 110 ft. high. It had the usual recessed or panelled ornamentation of Babylonian architecture. The second stage was 150 ft. square by 110 ft. high, and the third stage, 100 ft. square by 110 ft. high, and the fourth stage, 50 ft. square by 110 ft. high. The fifth stage, 25 ft. square by 110 ft. high, and the sixth stage, 12 ft. square by 110 ft. high, and the seventh stage, 6 ft. square by 110 ft. high. The latter stage was the topmost, and was exactly equal to the dimensions of the base.

The raising of the base above the level of the ground would naturally make the height above the plain greater than this. Weissbach's estimate of the measures does not differ greatly from that of G. Smith; he makes the base to have been about 100 metres, or 328 ft.*

The differing heights of the stages of the great 'Tower of Babylon' are in contrast with the regularity of the proportions of the base, and the dimensions at Khorsabad. At present this latter shows portions of four stages on a low platform; and those who visited it gained the summit by means of the only stage remaining, consisting of the topmost portion, which was about 140 ft. above the platform. Though in their restorations Perrot and Chipiez do not place any chambers in the structure, it is not improbable that such existed, if not at some intermediate point, at any rate on the topmost platform.

Exceedingly noteworthy, however, are the excavations made by Layard in the ruins of the temple-tower at Ninevah (Calah). Wishing to find out what authority there might be for supposing that Ctesias and Ovid were right in indicating that these towers were of the nature of tombs, he cut through the masonry in certain places, and was at last rewarded by finding a vast vault on the platform-level 100 ft. long, 12 ft. high, and 6 ft. broad. There is no doubt that this discovery justified him in regarding these temple-towers as being originally tombs, as stated, but that it is the 'temple-towers' of the ancient authors which, according to the Greek geographers, stood at the entrance of the city of Nineveh, must be left doubtful, notwithstanding that Calah (Ninurta) may have been regarded as part of Nineveh, at least in later times. Layard's statement that it had been entered at some unknown period by people who must have known exactly where to make the opening, is also in favour of his supposition; they had apparently entered for the purpose of rifling the tombs. The vaulted gallery found by Layard runs east and west. Details concerning the upper part of the monument are unfortunately wanting. Layard may have been a tower in shape, but the dimensions of all but the lowest are unknown. This last was built massively with a thick facing of stone, exactly 20 ft. high, and finished at the top with a line of gradines. The stones were carefully fitted together, without any mortar, though mud may have been used instead, as at the present time. As far as preserved, the upper part is of brick. As has been pointed out by Canon Rawlinson, the Babylonians and Assyrians made their temples insignificant in comparison with the dwellings of their kings, thus apparently not imitating the Egyptians. As the Babylonians and Assyrians, like all the Semitic nations, were exceedingly religious, this shortcoming was probably due to some extent to climatic conditions and the want of suitable building-stone; perhaps, too, more of the temple-revenues may have been appropriated by the priests. The want of stone was more especially felt in Babylonia; the Assyrians made use of it largely, though not to the same extent as brick. The possession of stone enabled the Assyrians to adorn their temples with many fine bas-reliefs.

As an accessory of a temple, and therefore belonging to religious architecture, may be mentioned the Istar-gate at Babylon. This is situated near the ruins of the temple of Eshmun, and consists of massive walls—the sides of the gate—decorated with bulls and the fabulous creatures called sirrush and imposible serpent-dragons. These alternate vertically from top to bottom, and are exceedingly well preserved. The beauty of the workmanship and the excellence of the enamel were not surpassed even by the artizans of the Persian period. From the Istar-gate a 'festival-street' led northward to the 'place of Fates', where the oracles were declared yearly in Nisir. This is an excellently-paved causeway, apparently decorated with tiles imitating valuable stones.

In the temple of the Sun at Abu-habbah (Sippar, identified, though doubtfully, with Nisir in Sepharvaim), bitumen seems to have been used for the pavement; and beneath this, in a corner of one of the rooms, was found an earthenware coper containing the celebrated 'sun-god stone' (see Art. Assy.-Bab.). Receptacles for sacred objects were probably made in all temples in Babylonia. It seems likely that there were but few erections of the kind which had not closed recesses, at each corner, for the reception of the cylinders recording the building, re-building, or repairing of the edifice.

Naturally there are a number of religious erections whose real use is at present difficult to discover or to prove. At Babylon, on the site which the German explorers regard as being that of

* Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, plan 2, and p. 122 ff. The stones were bevelled with a shaving level, and in the face of the wall were eight recesses or false windows, four on each side of a square projecting block between gradines (Layard, p. 125).

The northern side had a semicircular tower in the centre, flanked by three platforms on the E. and five on the W. The western side had no projection, but the platforms were eleven in number. The eastern and southern sides were, however, distinctly plain.

1 The inner walls of this building. Nebuchadrezzar states, had been overlaid with silver; but this he took away, substituting pure gold.

of 'the place of Fate,' several chambers were found, which may have formed part of that edifice. This seems to point to the probability that the oracles of the Babylonians and Assyrians were declared in special buildings, though such things may, from their very nature, have been dispersed in the temples, such as are described above. At present we know nothing of the lives of the declaimers of their oracles, or of the rites which accompanied their declarations of events, save that the oracles and nature of the building itself frequently receives no illustration from the ruins which have come down to us.

At Lagas were discovered a number of cells whose uses seemed to be religious, though in what way was not clear. Some of them contained a bronze figure of a kneeling bull upon a shank or tang, others had a figure of what has been described as 'the god with the firestick.' They were accompanied by inscriptions on stone dedicating them to a deity. The figures are thought to have been for the protection of the buildings in which they were found. Here and there tanks and cisterns occurred, suggesting some connexion with liquids. In one instance, there was discovered, containing skeletons, a lamp of glazed ware, and vases with short handles. Notwithstanding the early objects found in the tombs, it is regarded as certain that they are of late date.

These tombs were sometimes painted. The decorations, at least, one reference to a bit-šili or batel, 'house of god,' is found, but in what these differed from other religious buildings is unknown. The large temples seem always to have been dedicated to some special deity, notwithstancd that several deities may have been worshipped within them. These batels, however, had no special designation; any deity, it may be supposed, could be worshipped there. Perhaps, as they were regarded as the abode of the gods, without specifying its attributes, any worshipper could enter, and perform his religious duties there. That it was simply an emblem of divinity, or of the presence of the divinity, without any walls to shield it from the gaze of the careless passer-by, seems, from the inscriptions, to be unlikely. The places where oracles were declared must have contained chambers where the animals were killed when it was intended to examine their entrails or other oracular appliances.

The bricks used by the Babylonians and Assyrians vary in size from 1 1/4 in. square and 2 1/2 in. thick to 13 in. square by 3 in. thick and 16 in. square by 7 in. thick. Sometimes crude and burnt brick and sometimes smooth and baked, of a thickness, but more commonly the unbaked brick was used for the internal parts of a building or for the core of a temple-tower, and the baked brick for the parts exposed to the weather. The layers of reed-matting which are found seem to have been used for buildings of unbaked brick. The use of this is exemplified by the ruins of the temple-tower at Warra (Erech), dedicated to Istar, which is now called Dagharkik, 'reed-mats.' The mass of the structure is of unbaked brick, the lower part battressed with baked brick. That these buildings have resisted so long is remarkable, but they must always have been temporary. As a contrast to the temple of Istar at Erech may be mentioned that of Nebu at Borsippa (the traditional Tower of Babel), where there are masses of brickwork of extraordinary hardness. This is sometimes complete preservation. Besides brick in Babylon, and brick and stone in Assyria, the building-materials mentioned in the inscriptions are cedar, terebinth (?), oak (?), palm-wood, cypress, pistachio-wood, etc. Nebu-

chadrezzar speaks of the cedar-beams from Lebanon which were used for the roofing of the temples of Babylon, which, he adds, were overlaid with shining gold. Besides this, silver, bronze, copper, rare stones, and ivory were used for their adornment.

As before stated, the masonry of these temples was of baked brick. The masonry of Assyr-Babylonia was of the same nature; the buildings received no illustration from the ruins which have come down to us.

Concerning the inscriptions, these give but little information. The principal architectural decoration of the upper terminations of the walls were the grattines already referred to. The panellings of the walls, which were also a speciality of Assyrio-Babylonian architecture, were generally an application of the grattine pattern to form recesses in the brick or stone walls in a vertical direction, and, when well carried out, had a sufficiently decorative effect.

Failing stone, certain of the buildings of Babylonia were decorated with reliefs of enamelled brick; and though this cannot be proved for the temples, it is extremely probable that some of them at least possessed it. There, more especially as some of the fragments found seemed to have been parts of fabulous or mythological beings (see Architecture (Assyr.-Bab.).). In these there was an attempt at reproduction in natural colours, and there were inscriptions in white characters on a blue ground, the whole showing considerable knowledge and skill.

The Babylonians seem often to have employed, however, the same method of decoration as the Assyrians—namely, trees, traces of which have been found. In the case of the temple E-mah at Babylon, the distemper, as far as preserved, is white, probably chosen as the groundwork for decorations in colours, similar to the more or less geometrical carved-stones of the painted doors and other decorations of the temple called Kudimari at Calah. The centres of the tiles, which were circular or lozenge-shaped, are generally provided with a knob pierced with a hole, probably for the purpose of hanging a lamp, though no remains of lamps are stated to have been found. Other Assyrian ornamentation consists of rosettes between two coloured borders, and red, blue, and black rosettes above a similar border supported by a kind of arcade-ornament—perhaps the original suggestion for the true arcades of architecture. The colours in Assyrian distemper-ornamentation were exceedingly bright.

The principal ornaments of the temples of Assyria were guarded by colossal bulls and lions, with the usual sacred figures, which, in the case of the smaller temple at Nimrud, were generally covered with inscriptions. The bas-reliefs always represent religious subjects. The exterior walls of this building seem to have been faced with enamelled bricks, some of which were found. Whether the temples at Babylon had their entrances flanked by colossal winged bulls or not is doubtful, but this seems probable, at least in some cases, as they are to all appearance referred to by Assur-bani-šapi, king of Assyria, in his account of the destruction wrought by his grandson Ašurnasir-pal on the inhabitants of Babylon on the occasion of his final conquest of the city (see Ašur-bani-šapi's great cylinder, col. iv. line 70).

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made of wood and wicker-work (Strabo, iv. 4. 3; Caesar, v. 43; Vitruvius, ii. 1. 5). The Gauls did not use stone except for building the walls of their oppida, and even then it was unhewn stone, adjusted by means of wooden cross-pieces and iron bolts (Cæsar, vii. 23). They seem to have been ignorant of the art of hewing stones and joining them with mortar.

They probably found it as ridiculous to enclose the gods in any kind of house as to represent them in human form. Diodorus tells that Brennus laughed very much on seeing wooden and stone statues of anthropomorphic Gauls in a Greek temple (xxix. 9. 4). Lucan, when describing the sacred wood near Marseilles, and Cæsar, when speaking of the Gallic Mercury (vi. 17), use the word simulacra to denote the representations of the gods. Does this refer to more or less rough wooden statues similar to the Ídhar of primitive Greece, or to shapeless stone statues like some of the extant menhirs? It is possible that the Gallic races employed now the one method of representing their deities and now the other, according to the nature of the soil. The deities of the Gallo-Roman period—the Bull, the Woodman, the god with the mallet, the god with the wheel—undoubtedly arose from a new religious notion due to the influence of the Gaul uses of the druids. No text gives evidence of the Druids having forbidden idolatry, and no text states clearly that there were real statues of gods among the Celts; therefore we cannot affirm that their sacred enclosures contained anything but very rough and uncouth symbols similar to those of savage tribes. The huge bronze statue of Zeus which the Galatians had at Tavium was probably of Greek origin, like the cult of the god whom it represented (Strabo, xii. 5. 2).

There do not seem to have been any buildings devoted to worship in pagan Ireland. Idols were apparently erected in the open air, as, e.g., the large stone idol called 'Cromn Cruc'h,' which was surrounded by twelve smaller idols covered with brass and bronze ornaments. There were similar idols in various parts of Ireland, and some of them were believed to deliver oracles, e.g., the famous "Lin Fail" at Tara. The idol Bel, in honour of which bonfires (through which cattle were made to pass) were kindled on the 1st of May, does not seem to have been enclosed in a temple any more than the other idols.

As regards the civil architecture of ancient Ireland, it is practically the same as that of races at the same stage of civilization. The houses were usually round in shape, built of wood and wicker-work, and covered with thatch. They were very small. The chief room served as kitchen, dining-room, bed-room. Among the higher classes of society, small recesses were fitted in along the walls, each containing one or more beds. But the common people undoubtedly slept on beds arranged along the wall, as was the custom in Gaul and in Scotland during the same period. The fire was in the middle of the house, and the smoke escaped through an opening in the roof. The beds were placed in such a way that the sleepers had their feet towards the fire. Each bed contained often two and sometimes three persons. It was only in the houses of chiefs that arrangements were made to avoid too complete promiscuity, and that beds were surrounded with curtains.


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terms, such as locus consecratus (Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. vi. 13. 17), ἱερόν (Diod. iii. 27. 4; Strabo, iv. 5. 5; Plut. Cæsar, 26; Dio Cass. lxii. 7; cf. xxvii. 90), temple (Strabo, vii. 22; Suet. August. 54), τειρεόν (Strabo, xii. 5. 2; Diod. v. 27. 4), and σηχνός (Strabo, iv. 1. 13).

The sacred places of the ancient Celts, therefore, resembled neither the sanctuaries of the Greek temple nor the pagan cathedral. They were in the form of the temples of the Romans. There is no doubt that enclosures were frequently situated in the woods. Lucan (iii. 399-425) describes a sacred wood in which human sacrifices were made to the gods with barbaric ceremonies, and where there were altars on which crude rites were performed; all the trees in the wood were purified with human blood; the miserable effigies of the gods were devoid of art—shapeless masses of tree-trunk. Pomponius Mela (ii. 2. 17) remarks that the large sacred woods of Gaul lent a pleasing appearance to the country. Cæsar mentions the sacred place in the territory of the Carnutes where in the year of our Lord assembled to administer justice (de Bell. Gall. vi. 13), and states that in the sacred places of many races were to be seen pieces of spoil taken from enemies, and that a Gaul would never set foot in his native wood without taking or carry off anything from these stoves (vi. 17). The Arverni had hung up in front of a temple (πρόσ τειρήσ) the little sword that Cæsar had left with them during a battle. Plutarch (Cæsar, 35), who reports this fact, seems to have been influenced by the Greek and Roman custom, and we cannot conclude from this statement that a building was referred to. At Touloise the sacred places included lakes, where great treasures were frequently accumulated under the water (Strabo, iv. 1. 13; Roidot, 1879, vii. 2. 10).

There were temples among the Cisalpines; and it was to one of them that the Boi brought their booty and the head of the consul Postumius. There they made this head into a cup hooped with gold, and it was this sacred vessel that was used by the priests of the temple on their feast-days (Livy, xxiii. 24). Polybius mentions a temple (τειρήμα) of Athens among the Insubrians where the ensigns of war were kept (ii. 32). There is nothing to show that these temples were anything else than uncovered enclosures.

The Britons in the time of Queen Boadicea had sacred places, and they offered human sacrifices in the sacred wood (Strabo, xii. 7). In B. 61, Strabo (xxiv. 3. 19) speaks of the sacred woods of Mosa, which were devoted to savage superstitions, to be cut down (Tac. Ann. xiv. 50).

The council of the Galatians of Asia Minor met to judge cases of murder in a place called Δωριονεον. The second part of this word means, in Celtic, 'sacred wood.' Probably it refers to a place consecrated to worship (Strabo, xii. 5. 1).

It must further be added that the Druids were regarded as the inhabitants of the forests. According to Pomponius Mela (iii. 2. 19) they taught, and according to Lucan (i. 405) they lived, in caves or secret places. According to many states that it was in oak-forests that they gathered mistletoe. The oldest etymology of the name 'Druids' made them 'the men of the oaks,' from the Gr. ἱερόν (Pliny, xvi. 260, 246).

If we may calculate the shape of the sacred enclosures from the ruins of Gallo-Roman temples, they were almost perfectly square. But nothing can be determined concerning the Gallic period from the numerous stone temples which ruins have been found in Gaul, and which date from the Roman epoch. If there were small buildings sacred to the gods in Celtic countries in ancient times, these buildings, like the Gallic houses, were
Chinese architecture. From an architectural point of view, this is a very novel and interesting subject. A style never dreamed of by Europeans is adopted quite freely, and a design which they call irrational and unnatural is executed with success. Little wonder, therefore, that we find few students of Chinese architecture, and those few touching on the subject but superficially.

The style of the architecture is the combination of some systems, the materials consisting of wood, brick, and stone. The curved roof, with the skyward-projecting caves, forms the principal feature of the building. This feature is especially noticeable in Southern China. Generally speaking, however, both the plan and the elevation are monotonous, and the complete structure is rigidly symmetrical. The mode of decoration is strikingly peculiar. The exterior is usually coloured bright red; and temples and palaces are sometimes decorated with ornamental sculptures and paintings. Gorgeous colours are applied to the interior, and the whole appearance of rooms and furniture is very picturesque. Red is the predominant colour; and the blue, green, and yellow (gold). Northern China is destitute of trees, as rain falls only once a year. Hence the building materials are principally brick and stone. Chinese architecture, although made of wood and stone, has not been so much influenced as Europe by the material of the main structure of the building, and hence the stone of a building, the ages of their vegetation, and their age. As to the origin of the concrete outline of the roof, there is diversity of opinion. The present writer considers it but a natural result of the necessity of raising a gradual change in the slope of the roof as it approaches the ridge and the maintenance of harmony of its curves. Thus the bold curve of the eaves always follows the bold concave of the roofs. It is rather strange that the plan of Chinese architecture is always an arrangement of rectangular blocks; not a single example of ordering on irregular planes is known. This is due to the direct transmission of the ideas of primitive times, and is a good illustration of the stagnant mind of the people.

Chinese architecture may be called the architecture of colouring. Without colours it is a bare, rugged skeleton. Both without and within colours are profusely adopted. The fondness for red be- 3. Confucian Architecture. The religious church, the main elements of architecture are the "Hsin-shih-miao" or Wen-miao (the latter different from Wu-miao [see § 3]), are dedicated everywhere in China, and towns; the most celebrated one is in Ch' an-fa- hsien, Shantung, the birthplace of the sage. The temples of Pe-king and of Nan-king are well known, the former on account of the stone drums in the Ta-ch'ing-men, and the latter on account of its immense size. But from an architectural point of view they show very little variety of plan and elevation.

The main edifice of the temple is the Ta-ch'eng-tien, built on a high platform, two-storied, and mostly hip-roofed. In the centre of the platform stands the tablet of Hsien-shih ("the most sacred Confucius") is enshrined. To its left, the tablets of Tsung-sheng-te-sheng-tzu and Ya-sheng-ming-tzu, and to the right, those of Fu-sheng-yen-tzu and Tsung-sheng. On the walls of the building are the Confucian relics, the Drums and the Tablets of the twelve disciples. In front of the Ta-ch'eng-tien is the Ta-ch'ing-men, and in front of the mien is a pond, and still further forward is a pet-lou (popularly known as the "pavilion" on this side of the ponds) and the East and the West corridors. Occasionally beyond the Ta-ch'ing-men there is a building which is sometimes called Ch'ung-cheng-tien. Within the
Ta-ch'eng-mên there are sometimes a bell-tower and a drum-tower facing each other. The general arrangement of the buildings resembles that of the Buddhist temple: e.g. Ta-ch'eng-mên stands for Fou-tien, Ta-ch'eng-mên for Tien-wang-tien, etc. As a rule, the Wen-miao is combined with the institution of learning. One of the most famous institutions is Pai-hsiu-yüan, at the foot of Wu-luo-fêng, a south-east peak of Lu-shan in Nan-kuang-fêng, Kiangsi. This was established by Chu-tzu. The largest among numerous buildings in the temple is a bell-tower, and in the South-east the guardian is Pai-hsiu-yüan, while in the North-west there is a bell-tower, with fifteen cells on either side. Then comes the Wen-hui-t'ang ('meeting-hall'), and behind it another court, with five cells on either side. Last of all, the two-storeyed ch'in-feng-lou is reached. The architectural system of educational buildings is more or less similar to the above. The Kuang-yüan is an examination hall for the degree of ch'i-chen, and is noted for its extensive scale. One in Nan-king is said to be many times larger than the one in Nan-king to accommodate over ten thousand students. In fact, learning in China means Confucian teaching; hence the relation of schools to the Wen-miao is similar to that of monasteries to the Buddhist temple.

2. Buddhist Architecture.—The most important factor in the development of Chinese architecture is Buddhism. History says that in the reign of Ming-chuang (33 A.D.) the Buddha was first introduced into China (65 A.D.), and Pai-ma-sun was built at Lê-yang. Henceforward it spread and flourished continuously, until the meridian was reached under the Six Dynasties and the T'ang. The North Dynasties built its first temple in the South, the earlier Si-an and Lê-yang, and the later Lu-shan and Chien-yeh (now Nan-king) being the centres. The highest pagoda ever recorded was built in Yung-ning-szu by the Empress Dowager Hsü of the Sung Dynasty, and it is said to have been 900 ft. high, with a finial of 100 ft. But Buddhism suffered from the corruptions and disorders that were prevalent from the later T'ang to the Five Dynasties, and no temples of any importance were built. A temporary revival began under the earlier Sung, resulting in elaborate temple-building in Southern China during the South Sung Dynasty. T'ien-tai-shan, Lin-gan (now Hang-chow), Ching-hai (now Kiang-yu), and Ta-kuang, were the centres. Under theYii dynasty, Lâmaism was made the State religion. The architectural style of Lâma temples does not differ from that of Buddhist, except in the occasional application of Tibetan styles to details, and in the introduction of new images and ritual articles. One new feature is the introduction of a pagoda which is a direct copy of a Tibetan model. Since the Ming Dynasty, Buddhism has been in a dormant state, greatly influenced by Lâmaism. In earlier days, Buddhism was divided into thirteen sects, but under the later T'ang only three prevailed: Vinaya sect, Dhyâna sect, and Sakhâvâti sect. Dhyâna was subdivided into five sects. At present this is the riling sect, other shades of belief being indistinguishable. We may say that the architectural features are practically common to all sects. Among the temples now existing are Yung-yuan-ku in Pe-king and the temple of the population resembles the Wei-tu in its large size, and is situated outside of the city. Wu-tai-shan in Shan-si, Tientai-shan, P'ei-t'ung, Tien-t'ung-shan, Tien-emu-shan in Ch'ê-kêg, Lu-shanman in Kiang-si, Wu-shan in Kiang-si, and Lung-kuo in Szech-ou are widely known, but they are almost in ruins and deserted, without a trace of their former splendour.

The commonest arrangement of Buddhist architecture is as follows:—In the main front there is the bell-tower (ch'in-t'ien), the usually two guardian figures (ch'en-t'ien) are kept. Then comes the T'ien-wang-tien ('temple'). In the centre of this temple is an image of Maitreya with the features of Pu-tai is enthroned; behind Maitreya, and back to back, is a standing figure of Vedadeva. In the four corners are the Su-tien-wang (four heavenly kings); in the North-east is Vîryâksha with a sword, in the North-east of Dharâtushâ with an umbrella, and in the South-west Virâdhaka grasping a serpent. Behind the Tien-wang-tien is the Ta-tien, known by various names, such as T'ien-yun-tao-tien or T'ien-yun-tien, where the Buddha and eighteen Arhats are enthroned.

Still further behind the Ta-tien are sometimes the Fu-t'ang ('preaching hall'), T'ang-ching-ke ('library'), and Fa-chouang-gat-lou for nick-name ('priest'). To the right and left of the above buildings are corridors, divided into sections, used for various purposes. Generally there are the Ke-t'ang ('reception hall'), Ch'ieh-ten-tien ('shrine for the guardian'), Liu-shik-tien ('shrine for the founder of the sect'), Shou-t'ang ('meditation hall'), Chi-t'ang ('eating hall'), Yu-shu-t'ang ('cloister for mendicant priests'), etc. To the right and left of the Tien-wang-tien a bell-tower and a drum-tower stand facing each other, sometimes with the addition of a pagoda.

The pagoda is the most interesting and tasteful of Buddhist buildings, there being numerous varieties of form. Usually pagodas are obviously transported from Central Asia and India. The process of the modification of form is not yet plain, as even the pagodas of a very remote period seen on reliefs and carvings are many-storied, and the shapes of the older receiving an influence from Buddhism. With a slight modification of the images and ritual articles, a Buddhist temple gives a good idea of the Taoist temple, such as is represented in Pa-yun-kuan at Pe-king. Behind the entrance gate of the latter there is a shan-sun; and then comes a ling-kuan-tien, where at the centre and in the four corners the images of Lin-kuan are enthroned, corresponding to the Tien-wang-tien of a Buddhist temple. Then there is the Yu-huang-tien, where Wu-huan is worshipped; the Lao-tseki-tien for the seven sages of Taoism; the Ch'ien-t'ang-tien, and the Se-ni-tien successively follow. In the last hall even the 'Eight Treasures' of Lâmaism are contained.

Temples for Chinese gods owe their origin to Taoism. The architectural style is Buddhist, with the following exceptions: at the front they have a stage for theatrical purposes, and before the stage there is an extensive court-yard. The architectural details are more minute, and the decorations more elaborate. The Kuan-ti-miao, or Wu-miao, is seen everywhere in China. Here Kuan-yi, worshiped as a Buddha by his two followers, Ch'ou-t'ang and Kuan-ping. The Ch'eng-huang-miao is a guardian temple of town and village. Numerous temples, such as Wên-chang-miao ('Temple of the Star-god'), Ts'ai-shen-miao ('Temple of the god of Weather'), Ta-kuang-miao ('Temple of the god of Fire'), Peng-shen-miao
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(‘Temple of the god of Wind’), Shiu-shen-kung (‘Temple of the god of Water’), Nuang-niang-miao (‘Temple of the god of Love’), and many others for ‘profane’ use and for social and religious purposes. Many-storied temples such as Yin-huang-1 and Kwei-hsing-lou, are abundant all over China.

4. Muhammadan Architecture.—Since the first mosque was built at Canton in the 7th ce., and Mecca and Medina with their associations of pilgrimage,Mosque and minaret, have been established, the minaret has assumed, during the course of time, but it is flourishing far and wide. Ardent adherents are numerous, especially in the provinces of Kansu and Shen-si. All the architectural features of old Mohammedan architecture have been lost; according to investigations made by the writer, there is none older than the early part of the present dynasty. The temple is known by the one name Ching-chén-szu, or popularly, Li-pai-szu. In style it resembles an ordinary Chinese temple; but the plan and the interior arrangement show the characteristic traits of the faith of foreign origin. The building consists of porch, hall, and sanctuary. The roofs are also divided into three distinct sections. The sanctuary is either square or hexagonal in plan, two- or three-storied, and pagoda-shaped, instead of domed like the mosques in other countries; the inner wall is niched, with a mihrab, and decorated with Arabic characters. The hall is usually divided into front and back portions, with an arcade between. The minbar is placed at the right-hand corner of the back hall, where decorations of arabesque and Arabic characters are again executed here and there. Near the hall there is sometimes a fountain, and sometimes a hall for purification. Occasionally halls for the head priest, for receptions, etc., are arranged as in a Buddhist temple. Often even the interior of the hall is set with the usual symbols of all signs of Muhammadanism. Thus in a Chinese mosque there is neither dome nor minaret; it is but a slight modification of an ordinary Chinese temple.

Later on, monuments were erected, accompanied by stone figures of men and animals. This custom was prevalent as early as the later Han dynasty, and still exists at the present time. The Massive stone-designed mausoleums of the Tang Dynasty may be seen in the neighbourhood of Si-an. Earth is raised in a mound, and human and animal figures of stone are erected on the site. Hsiao-ling in Nan-kang and T’ien-t’ang in the north of the Tang Dynasty are the best-known mausoleums of the Ming Dynasty. They are of the same design: pai-lou, ta-hung-men, pei-lou, stone-men, stone-animals, and then again gates and archways leading to the last mound. The mausoleums of Ts’ai-tai and Tai-tsong of the present dynasty are near Mukden. They are simply copies of the Ming mausoleum. In the tomb of an ordinary person there are no stone figures. It is a little cone-shaped mound, often enclosed by earth heaped up in the shape of a horse-shoe. Sometimes the coffin is placed in a cave made on a hill-side and covered with stone slabs. Sometimes a stone chapel is contained in the mound. The tombs of priests are pagodas of either brick or stone, or pagoda-shaped monuments of some architectural design. There are, of course, many varieties.

6. Secular Architecture.—Castles, palaces, meeting-halls, dwelling-houses, and the like, are distinguished from ecclesiastical architecture. The castle is surrounded by high strong walls of brick. Battlements, with embrasures, are erected on the walls. Often the entrances consist of double gates (yüeh-chén and yueh-hsiang) and the build form the innermost is simply a vaulted passage, which can be closed at will by huge doors strengthened by bands of iron. On a large building in the main street of the city there stand bell- and drum-towers for reporting the time, the upper part being the tower and the lower the passage. The general plan of palaces is much the same in general is the same as that of the past. The Pe-kung palace is similar to the old Ming palace of Nanking. It is called Chiu-chung-tian-men (‘Nine-fold system’). The front part, which is used for public audiences, is placed on the old plain of the palace. The private, for nature and ancestor-worship, may be included, for which the Tien-t’an at Pe-kung is so famous.

A building called hui-kuan is an assembly-hall for colonial clans and commercial guilds. The club-system is wonderfully developed in China, and there are magnificent buildings for the purpose. In front they have a theatrical stage facing an extensive court-yard, which is surrounded by corridors. Dwelling-houses in Northern China vary in some respects from those of the South. In general, the premises are enclosed by high walls. At the entrance is a gate with a cell, and then a court-yard. A second gate with corridors, a second court-yard, a third court-yard, etc., are repeated in the same manner, the number of gates and yards indicating the wealth and rank of the occupant. The house itself is a simple repetition of rectangular blocks and corridors. The unsuitable materials, the heavy mode of construction, the defectiveness of lighting and ventilation, etc., detract from its architectural value; but, on the whole, with its fantastic features, it presents a picturesque appearance.

C. Tuo

ARCHITECTURE (Christian).—Although it is possible to discuss the different edifices erected by Christians in divers times and places, it is most important, at the outset, to dispel any of those misconceptions which would suppose that there ever was any Christian style as such. The Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages has often been spoken of as Christian architecture par excellence, and undoubtedly it is most important of the styles in which Christians have erected their buildings, and being the style of our own country, it naturally demands the largest share of our attention. But Christianity, as such, never has created, and never could create, a style of its own. It may, however, be a strange fact, that it could create a style of mathematics, or science, although it may make use of all of them. It has used buildings of the Latin, Byzantine, Moorish, Gothic, and Renaissance, and even the Greek styles, which differ from each other as much as one style of architecture can differ from another; and the differences are due to differences in the aesthetic expression of the people. These may be associated with other differences of character which may affect the forms of Christianity itself, but they are both the outcome of causes behind the one is not the cause of the other. A certain type of man will produce a certain type of architecture. The type of Christianity does not make the type of art, any more than the type of art makes the type of Christianity. Even schools of science or philosophy may be coloured in the same way. The failure to grasp this very simple fundamental principle has led to much absurd criticism and a complete misunderstanding of art and architecture. Doubtless the cause is to be sought in the fact that to a Christian, it is unnecessary to know anything about good Christian, quite innocent of any knowledge of art, has endeavoured, in the light of what he did understand, to interpret things which he did not understand.
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All this does not alter the fact that a church is a definitely Christian building erected for Christian purposes, and as such it was built in the same manner as a dwelling, store, or any other building. This is a fact; but, at the same time, its principal architectural qualities are aesthetic rather than religious, and a building such as St. Paul's is architecturally more akin to Castle Howard than to Westminster Abbey, which in its turn was built in the remoter past of its association with Westminster Hall or the town halls of Belgium. The architecture of the Middle Ages was as much an architecture of castle and hall as of cathedral and church, and is as closely related to the spirit of chivalry and romance as to Christianity. Medieval Christianity, chivalry, romance, and architecture are alike the outcome of the medieval man; one is not the cause of the other, even although there is a certain amount of interaction. To speak of Christian architecture, then, as a parallel term with Greek architecture, is entirely illogical. In this article, therefore, we can examine Christian buildings in various styles of architecture, although we shall strictly speak of Christian architecture as such. It may also be possible to show how Christian building doubtless left some impress upon the several styles of which it made use.

Latin Architecture. — In fact, the earliest form of church with which we have any intimate acquaintance is the so-called Christian basilica, and its origin is exceedingly difficult to trace. One thing at least is clear; it is not directly derived from the Roman basilica, as was absurdly suggested in an unceremonial and unhistorical age. The Christian church naturally developed from humble beginnings, where two or three might gather together; and such a lordly prototype is impossible. It used even more suggest that the actual basilica was the first Christian churches. But, as Christianity was some 300 years old before the conversion of Constantine, the Christians could not have had the remotest chance of using these buildings. Moreover, even after A.D. 312 (the date of Constantine's conversion), the basilicas were still required for their original purpose, and could not have been handed over to what, even at that time, was but a minority of the people. During all these three hundred years the Christians had required places of worship, and undoubtedly a more or less definite arrangement of their buildings by that time had become crystallized.

As an instance of the clearest of the contexts, we may note the following passage of the main passages quoted in favour of this theory. In a laudatory piece of writing by Ausonius addressed to the Emperor Gratian thanking him for the consistory, we find the following passage: "Oulis, immanum, locus est, qui non beneficia tuis agitent, infamant? Nullus, immanum, Imperator Augustus, quis admundandum spectum non venerationis incutat: non palamit, quod in, cum terribile accipere, amabile preceptum; non forum, ben basilica olim negotia plena, nume voce, spectaculo pre tua salute susceptus? The passage is given by Professor Baldwin Brown in his admirably suggestive work, From Socratic to Christian (1880) and, as he points out, vows for an Emperor's welfare in palace, forum, basilica, or senate house (mentioned later), are scant evidence that any one of these places was turned into a church, and why the basilica should be singled out from the others with which it is coupled remains a mystery.

Leaving such puérilities, it remains perfectly true that the Christian basilica in the 4th cent. A.D. bore some resemblance to the Roman basilica, though it has never been proved that the Roman basilica was ever roofed in; but one might as well argue from a modern fleet as to the appearance of the Spanish Armada, the interval of time being the same, and the development of Christianity as rapid as that of our fleets. What was the case in A.D. 312 is of little value as evidence for what was the case at the beginning of the Christian era, in architecture just as in anything else.

The earliest Christian services were held in the Jewish synagogues, and in private houses; and in comparatively early times we find the Christians legally occupying the position of the sodaliis, which correspond to our Friendly and Burial Societies. These Societies often possessed a scutula, or lodge-room, where they held their banquets in honour of the deceased.

These three forms of building may all have influenced the early form of the Christian church, although it should be noted that the scutula, with its apse, was probably itself derived from the large private hall, which often had an apsidal termination.

On the whole, the largest influence may be assigned to the private house (Fig. 1). Certainly such houses were made over to the Christians for their use, and it may be even more than a coincidence that we find in the atrium of the early church the atrium of the Greco-Roman house, in the cloisters the peristyle of the house, and in the church itself the hall, aeduh, or principal chamber, as at St. Ambrogio, Milan (Fig. 2), or the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, where the atrium is reduced to a simple narthex.

The narthex, which gradually disappears from the Christian church, was the outer vestibule into which catechumens and penitents were permitted to enter, who were not admitted into the church itself. It is probable that the atrium originally served a similar purpose, and the idea may be derived from the Court of the Gentiles in the Jewish Temple.

Some of the earliest actual places of meeting that still exist are the little chapels such as that in the catacomb of St. Agnese (Fig. 3); but their value as evidence is slight, as the conditions were peculiar, and the form caused by throwing two or three cells together was the result of necessity rather than choice. The several cells may suggest divisions between the sexes or simply be
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between clergy and laity, the clergy fairly obviously occupying the end cell and the bishop the seat at the end. The altar must have been somewhere in the body of the chapel, and as there is no trace of it, it was presumably in the form of a wooden table. But even this cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 250, and there is room for much change in a couple of hundred years.

What, then, are the characteristics of the early Christian basilica when first it emerges into the light of history? It is a three- or five-aisled hall, with the central aisle rising higher than the others and lit by a clerestory. At the end of the central aisle, generally the west end, is an apse containing the seats of the clergy. The entrance is at the opposite end, and beyond that is a narthex, and sometimes a complete atrium. The baptistery, commonly of circular or octagonal form, is usually in a separate building, on the other side of the atrium, or of the narthex, as at Parenzo. In the latter arrangement we may possibly see the origin of the German two-apsed church.

Occasionally, particularly in Rome, there is a space in front of the apse, and a great arch is thrown across the last pair of columns, known as the triumphal arch, as in Santa Maria in Trastevere (figs. 5, 7, and 10).

In this space is seen by some the origin of the later transept, but it does not occur in the Ravenna churches, and the later transept probably has a double origin; and this is, at any rate, not the only factor. The building was apparently roofed with a simple open timber roof. The flat ceilings that occur in some Roman examples are late Renaissance, although they may possibly represent something older. They are rarely found elsewhere, but are supposed by some to have been a feature of the Roman public basilicas (fig. 6). The walls were generally of brick, and comparatively thin, as there was only the wooden roof to support. Unlike the Roman basilica, it had no galleries, and consequently we find a very large wall space above the line of columns (fig. 7). This formed an excellent field for pictorial decoration, and at the same time distinguished it from the public basilica. Neither were the columns returned across the end opposite to the apse, at any rate in Italy, as was the case with the Roman building.

On the whole also, it seems probable that the apse was not a usual feature of the public basilicas, and, when it did occur, it was practically in a separate part of the building. The columns in the Christian basilica, particularly in the case of Rome, were stolen from earlier buildings, and it is very usual to find that they do not match. This also accounts for the poor proportions of the earlier Christian buildings in Rome, as compared with those in Ravenna, where there was no such available spoil to hand, and the builders had to fall back upon their own resources. At first the horizontal entablature is more common, but it is gradually superseded by an arcade of arches, which gives an appearance of greater height to the building, although the necessarily wider intercolumniations detract somewhat from the effect of length. The principal entrance was perhaps more often at the east end, following the arrangement of the temples of Greece. But the question of orientation was of little moment, and churches faced in any direction. After the custom of having the entrance at the west, and the altar at the east, came into vogue, as in England to-day, it was hardly ever more than a Northern fashion. Moreover, the first fashion was exactly the reverse way, with the altar at the west. The first church that we know to have had an altar at the east end was built in A.D. 470 (St. Agatha, Ravenna). Of the early churches in Rome 40 out of 50 have not their altars at the east.

The altar or tabernacle in the 5th cent. was at the opposite end from the main entrance, but in the body of the church in front of the apse, so arranged
that the faithful sat round it, the clergy on one side and the laity on the other. Of course, this arrangement in most instances has been altered, but

the following churches in Italy show the old plan more or less undisturbed:—Torcello Cathedral, St. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, and Parenzo Cathedral (figs. 8, 11, and 4). (The bishop presided in a raised seat in the centre of the apse, very much as did the president at the table in the early scholae.) Outside Italy, in the East, where there has been less change and alteration, such churches are quite numerous, but the following instances will suffice:

—Ezra, Pitzunda, Mochvi, Bedochwinta, Abū Sargāh (fig. 14), Dair-as-Suriani. Bedochwinta has the seats at the back and down both sides, advancing even beyond the altar (fig. 9).

Churches with the altar in the body of the church, and the bishop’s seat behind, but without the other seats, are familiar in Italy. There seems also to have been an arrangement, at any rate sometimes, for the lesser clergy and choir, whereby they occupied all the space immediately in front of the altar and were separated from the laity by a low screen. In the old church of St. Clemente in Rome, this screen, part of which is built from the actual pre-existing screen, may be taken to represent the original arrangement.

The floors of the churches were of ordinary marble mosaic, but this has often been altered in later times, and we see the so-called Cosmati work made with large pieces of coloured marble, surrounded by small mosaic, and this, again, by bands of white marble.

A good example of the basilican church is

S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome (fig. 10). This, although almost entirely a modern restoration after the fire of 1829, is still the best representative of a great five-aisled basilica that has come down to us. It is 400 ft. long and 200 ft. wide, with a central aisle of 78 ft. The complete atrium of Old St. Peter’s is here represented only by a narthex. The bema hardly projects beyond the aisle walls, and is peculiar in being double. It is in area among the largest churches in Christendom; but it is quite a simple thing to build these comparatively low buildings, with their light wooden roofs. There are 10 columns with pseudo-Corinthian capitals and a sort of Attic base. They are without flutings, and carry a series of simple, round arches. Above is a cornice, and where there would be the gallery in a Roman basilica, or the triforium in a Gothic church, is a series of medallions. The triumphal arch is carried upon a pair of columns on plinths. These columns have Ionic capitals, and the whole arch forms a very imposing feature, although not comparable with the great arches of the crossing in a Gothic cathedral. The general vista is fine, although, partly, from excessive breadth, and still more from an inadequate marking of the bay divisions, which is so well managed in a Gothic cathedral, the length here is not felt. The church at present has a rich coffered ceiling, but it is doubtful whether this would have been the case with the original church of the 4th century.
the capitals, as at S. Vitale (fig. 12), and the polygonal exterior to the aпе, we see Byzantine features.

The capitals are carved for their place. Above the nave arcade is a series of medallions, as in S. Paolo fuori le mura. The aпе is raised, with a small crypt below it, and it retains the seats round the altar on the side opposite the entrance. The brick exterior is bald to hideousness.

In the Eastern Empire one of the best examples of the Latin or basilican style is St. Demetrius at Salonica. It has certain features, more or less characteristic of the East, which should be noted. The columns are returned across the building at the entrance end, which in this case is the west, and so form a sort of inner narthex. Over the aisles are galleries for the women — another arrangement common in the East. The capitals are finely carved, as we have here the still living Greek influence. This, as already indicated, was felt in the West. It was long before the Italians could carve capitals or lay mosaics for themselves, and either they made use of the old work, as we have seen, or else the new work was executed by Greek workmen. Even in the 8th and 9th centuries, when the Italians began to copy the old work, theirs is very inferior and rude in comparison. In St. Demetrius there are fairly clearly defined projections which perhaps may be termed transeptal, but they are at the extreme end of the church, even projecting beyond the aпе, and they are cut across by the main arcade of the church which makes them more or less invisible, and, in short, they are side chambers rather than a transept. Consequently there is no triumphal arch.

Other modified forms of the basilican church are found in Egypt and in Syria. In both cases there seems to be a tendency to keep the form of the aпе only on the inside and to make the outside of the building square. The Coptic churches in Egypt are generally triapsidal with three apheres exactly at the end of each of the side aisles — a form we shall meet again later (fig. 14). Syrian churches generally show a marked reminiscence of the style of Ancient Greece, and are finer in their work than those of the West. Not only were there many remains of ancient Greek work, but doubtless after the conquests of Alexander there was a certain admixture of actual Greek blood in the population. In many cases piers, and not columns, are used, and the church is divided into a few great square bays. The result is curiously suggestive of some of the later Romanesque Gothic churches. Almost invariably there is a narthex, and above this, and outside the building, often a gallery with columns, forming a sort of loggia which makes a very pleasing feature (fig. 15). A point in Syrian construction might be noted which is possibly another reminiscence of Greek tradition. There is a distinct aversion to the arch construction, and often an arch is merely an arch in form, or is reduced by corbelling to the smallest possible limits (fig. 16). Note also another common form shown in the figure.

The Christian basilicas, then, may be considered as a type of building, but hardly a style of architecture; and although we have seen that it was erected in various styles, they are all more or less a
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continuation of the later Roman manner, affected nevertheless by different influences, as in Ravenna or Syria. It is perhaps convenient to group the whole together as the Latin style, and remember that other buildings than churches were built in it, but, as is natural from the lack of sacred association, they have very largely perished.

2. Byzantine Architecture. - In Italy, although Greeks to a great extent executed the work, they were trammeled by the traditions on an alien soil, and by the masters they served; but when the seat of the Empire passed to Byzantium they were able to build more freely on their own lines, in their own country, and among their own traditions. The result was marvellous, and we find the speedy growth of one of the greatest styles of the world, culminating under Justinian, which itself gave birth to descendant styles, and is still a living influence. There are two great ways of covering a square space so as to leave all the sides open - the intersecting vault and the dome. The first was used by the Romans, yet the full extension of its principles and possibilities was not grasped until the Gothic architects invented the true rib. The dome was used by the Byzantines, and although they cannot exactly be said to be the inventors, they perfected (fig. 17, I and III), and herein lies the great achievement of the style. The problem involved is the fitting of a hemisphere upon a square. Now, the circle may be made to touch either at the corners or at the centres of the sides. In the one case it is too big; in the other it is too small (fig. 17, I and II).

In the former case we may carry up the sides of the square, so to speak, cut off the overhanging portion of the hemisphere, and the dome then rests upon the points of the square, and, provided abutment is brought to resist the outward thrust upon the arches formed by this process, the dome is stable (fig. 17, I and III), and herein lies the great achievement of the style. Now, it is interesting to notice that these arches, formed by the intersection of the planes of the sides of the cube below the dome, are semicircular, and, further, the intersection of a sphere by a plane always gives a circle, and therefore it is always possible to raise such a dome upon semicircular arches; moreover, it is always possible to place one such dome upon another, and it is not necessary for the two domes to be of the same size. It is only necessary that the chords upon which the arches rest should be of the same length; the arches themselves will always be semicircles. It may also be put conversely that the intersection of two spheres is always in a plane circle. Herefore the intersection of two domes always allows of the forming of a plane arch; and thereby the Byzantine architect escaped the greatest difficulty of the Gothic builders, who found that the intersections of their vaults were not in a plane. This was perhaps the principal peculiarity or most individual characteristic of the Byzantine style, which, in certain of its aspects, can be described as a congeries of globular forms growing out of one another, as in the case of a mass of soap bubbles, which perfectly illustrates the system (fig. 18, St. Sophia).

But although such a dome, in its simple form as thus described, occurs in Byzantine architecture, it is open to certain objections. The apparent height is given only by the part above the arches, and the resulting effect is comparatively low and flat. In order to remedy this, the dome is raised in one of two ways. The first is another instance of the intersecting spheres. A dome (as in fig. 17, II) with diameter equal to the diameter of the square, intersects, and rests upon, a dome (as in fig. 17, I) with diameter equal to the diagonal of the square. Of the lower, nothing is left, save the ring upon which the upper hemisphere rests, and the four triangular portions that remain after the four sides of the square have been raised in the manner indicated above. These triangular portions are termed pendentives (fig. 18).

This is the characteristic method of the first great period of Byzantine architecture. But the dome may be even further raised by the introduction of a cylindrical drum between the dome itself and the pendentives. This is, on the whole, the characteristic arrangement of the second period of Byzantine architecture, although it is not universal. The same pendentive method may be employed above an octagon as above a square, and it is not uncommon to find such an octagon set within a square, and the lower dome, resting on the octagon and forming the pendentives, itself intersected by little domes that form semi-domes in the corner of the square (fig. 18). Another method, one frequently used in the case of a dome upon an octagon, is a system of corbeling, wherein squared stones are set horizontally, instead of radiating to the required curve of the dome. It is really the same system as the domed chambers of the Mycenaean civilization, but in this case the surface of the stones is not rounded off to the curved surface of the vault (fig. 18, Corbelled Pendentive).

The first great period of Byzantine architecture may be said to be from A.D. 500 to 600, but its principal achievements were all accomplished in the first 50 years. Its crowning glory is St. Sophia, completed in A.D. 537. Then follows a blank interval during the Persian and Saracen wars, until we come to the second great period which lasted from the middle of the 9th cent. to the end of the 12th. In this period the great masterpiece is St. Mark's at Venice. After this follows a long period of decline, lasting till about the end of the 16th century.

(a) In the first period the plan generally approximates to a square, and there is almost invariably a narthex, and often an exo-narthex beyond that. The church is commonly entered by three doors, and a great dome covers the central area of the church, which contains the principal available open space. The dome rests upon piers, generally eight in number, between which are columns forming, in
the alternate intervals, semicircular niches which extend the central area toward the corners of the square (fig. 19). There is an apse behind the altar containing the seats of the clergy. The outside of the apse is polygonal. The central apse in which the altar stands is shut off from the church by an iconostasis, and where there are two side apses there are generally two more of these screens. The side apses, except in the rarest instances, do not contain altars.

The whole style is much lighter and more skilful than that of the Romans, and the Byzantine builders made their domes generally of brick, using no concrete. Consequently the supporting piers were much less massive. Columns were used, as we have seen, not as an essential feature of construction, but rather as screens, and to break up the building. Thus, by this slight use of the principle of multiplicity, they produce an effect of scale that the open, unobstructed building would lack. The columns have bases with a few simple moldings, and a capital, generally most elaborate in execution. Above the capital is the dosseret— one of the sign marks of Byzantine architecture. It is sometimes said that its use is to enable the column to support the very thick wall above it. It may be so, but the upper section of the dosseret is generally about the same area as that of the capital itself, and, in any case, there is no advantage in diminishing to the bottom of the central apse, and then starting with a large top to the capital, so as to diminish again. The very function of a capital is to do this work, and there is no reason why, if necessary, its sides should not slope inward more sharply. A capital that cannot do its work is a solemnity. It seems, perhaps, more likely that the dosseret is a curious survival of the entablature (fig. 20). In any case it is not a pleasing feature. When it is so reduced as to make merely a sort of double abacus, there is not the same objection, as the diminution in the upper one, or dosseret, makes it a mere molding, emphasizing the horizontal nature of the abacus, as in some examples in St. Sophia (fig. 21). The shafts are commonly monoliths of colored marble, generally with an entasis but no flutes, and the whole style depends for its effect upon colour rather than upon solid forms. The forms that are used depend for their vertical patterns upon mass, dombeness as the result of the same aesthetic preferences where surface rather than solidity is used as the medium of expression. Hence we find no great cornices, as in classic architecture, and no subdivided columns or ribs upon the vaults, as in Gothic architecture. The wall surfaces are flat and the decorations are flat. There are practically no moldings, and the arches have plain soffits. Plinths or bases to the wall, and string courses, are insignificant or altogether absent. The very corners, even, are rounded off to allow of mosaic being carried round them. Hence the carving is all surface carving.

Large semicircular windows are occasionally divided up by shafts, and even by a sort of transom bar, as at St. Sophia. The result is not beautiful. A more beautiful device is the thin slab of marble, often carved with the most exquisite patterns, which frequently fills the smaller windows. These patterns are cut deeply into the marble, which is sufficiently translucent to allow the light to come through. It is conceivable that this represents a Greek tradition.

The total result is a style easily grasped as far as its main architectural features are concerned. The variety which actually exists is perhaps surprising, considering that it is achieved within such comparatively narrow limits. Of course it cannot amount to the variety found in the Gothic style, which depends for its aesthetic expression largely upon complexity, whereas the Byzantine style, in its purely architectural character, is wholly simple. Complexity, with a touch of Eastern barbarism, makes its appearance only in the surface ornament.

The glory of Byzantine architecture of the first
period—indeed of the whole style—is St. Sophia. This church was begun in A.D. 532 and completed in the extraordinarily short period of six years. This time can apply only to the architecture, and much of the interior decoration must have been added afterwards. In the centre is a great dome, a trihedral over 100 feet in diameter, and nearly as large as the dome of St. Paul’s, London. It rests on pendentives raised upon four immense piers. The great feature is the extension of this central space by two huge semi-domes of the same diameter as the principal dome, abutting against the arches of the pendentives. These semi-domes, together with the great masses of the piers in the direction of the length of the church, resist the thrust of the great dome in that direction. But the thrust in the direction across the church is met by enormous masses of masonry carried by arches over the aisles, and forming a bold, if somewhat extraordinary, feature upon the outside of the building. The result is the most spacious interior in the world. In order, however, to preserve the apparent as well as the actual size, there is a skillful arrangement of columns, in two storeys, in the great arches at the S.E. and N.W. sides, and in the semicircular niches that we have already seen as characteristic of the first period of Byzantine architecture. These columns give something of the principle of multiplicity, and provide a unity of measurement, without destroying the majestic simplicity of the whole.

The central area is surrounded by aisles covered with intersecting groin-vaults, after the Roman manner, and at the lowest end is a fine narthex 295 ft. long. Over it is a gallery for the women, which is continued on either side over the aisles. A gallery for the women is the usual arrangement in Byzantine churches, and may be contrasted with the curious arrangement in the Basque provinces, where there are two or three galleries, one above the other, for the men and the boys. The lighting is effected by forty windows round the central dome and five in each of the semi-domes and the minor domes. Above the two tiers of columns on the sides are two tiers of windows (fig. 23). There are also large windows in the aisles. But in no case is the window arrangement satisfactory, and this is the weakest feature in the church.

St. Sophia was by far the most important church in Christendom built in this epoch, and it is interesting to notice that there is no attempt made to orientate it: the axis is one degree south of S.W. The majesty and simplicity of the interior of St. Sophia, with the richness of its colouring, make it by far the finest interior of its kind in the world. It is difficult to compare things that are so utterly unlike as a Gothic cathedral and this building; each is wonderful in its own way: but certainly there is nothing in St. Sophia that warrants us in ranking it after any interior whatever. The exterior is different. One may work up a qualified admiration for it; but, in spite of a certain dignity of mass which it shares with all great engineering works, it is hardly architectural, and finds its compeers rather in the pyramids or in a modern railway station.

St. Vital at Ravenna is generally classed as one of the great churches of the first Byzantine period; but, as Ferguson points out, it shows affinities with the so-called temple of Minerva Medica at Rome, quite as marked as any resemblances between it and St. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople. There is, however, Greek influence in the Roman building, so there is something to be said for this view.

(b) The churches of the second period are smaller than those of the first, and have several characteristics of their own, although in the main they follow the earlier work. The lighting of the dome had always been a difficulty. Windows in a dome are, of course, not vertical, and the effect is always unpleasant. The difficulty can be met on the exterior by raising a vertical wall, which at the same time is helpful in resisting the thrust, acting as a pinnacle would in Gothic architecture. The outside of the dome is then generally treated with a double curve (fig. 25).

Viewed from the exterior, this naturally suggests the drum, which we find as the characteristic feature of the second period, even if it made its first appearance earlier. It is, however, not invariable. The effect of the drum is on the whole pleasing, forming an effective lantern in the interior, and giving altitude and architectural character to the exterior (fig. 26), which latter is so much needed at St. Sophia. The central dome is still the leading feature of the design, but subsidiary domes are frequently grouped round it. In St. Mark’s, Venice, there are five domes. The dome is almost invariably, in this period, placed upon four supports only, instead of the eight common in the earlier period; and the semi-circles (as in fig. 19) do not occur. The general proportions of the building show more variety than the practically square outline of the previous period. Sometimes we find an elongated rectangle or an approximation to the cruciform plan. The triple ase is almost universal in this period, with the
architectural features the two great Byzantine periods are not markedly different.

Of this period the greatest church is undoubtedly St. Mark's at Venice, which, in spite of numerous later alterations, still preserves in its interior its principal Byzantine features. The Byzantine parts of the church of St. Mark's, as we now see it, are the result of extensive alterations, amounting nearly to a re-building, in the middle of the 11th cent., of an earlier basilican church of A.D. 976, itself containing parts of a still earlier building. The western narthex, the walls and arcade of the nave, and portions of the east end, are practically all that remains of the basilican church. The columns in the eastern part of the church were removed, and six great piers were introduced—two at the west end and four in the centre of the building. These are themselves pierced by arches of the same height as the nave arcade. Two transepts were added, the east end was lengthened, and the narthex was continued round the two sides of the building. Above the nave and the crossing were erected two large domes and three somewhat smaller domes over the bema and the transepts, which are made slightly smaller than the crossing by a thick wall of the plaster so that superimposing the arches leading into the three arms. By this skilful device a perspective effect of greater size is obtained. Great arches, which are practically barrel vaults, cross from pier to pier, and upon these the domes rest. Above the nave arcade is a narrow gallery, some 3 ft. wide, which represents the women's galleries of the Eastern Byzantine churches. It is, however, valuable as providing a unit of measurement, and thus giving size to the church, rather than for any utilitarian purpose. The capitals are not very characteristically Byzantine, being of a sort of pseudo-Corinthian type. They probably belonged to the original basilican church, and are of very excellent workmanship. Above them is a double abacus, or abacus and reduced dossel. The church is not nearly so well lit as St. Sophia, the principal light coming from sixteen windows in each dome, placed just above the springing.

The colour effect is the main feature of the building; the marble columns, and the famous floor with the wonderful Byzantine mosaics on their golden ground, and even the pictorial mosaics of a later age, all give a richness unsurpassed elsewhere. Hence we find the usual flat Byzantine treatment with few moldings of any kind, although St. Mark's, figs. 27 and 28, has an unusual amount of carving of a bolder type than one associates with Byzantine work, most of it, however, not belonging to the Byzantine design of the building. St. Mark's retains a magnificent example of an iconostasis with figures of the Virgin, St. Mark, and the Twelve Apostles. This feature in the Byzantine churches corresponds to the rood loft of the Gothic buildings. In later times, particularly during the 13th and 14th centuries, a great deal of ornament has been added, especially to the exterior, which has been cased with a veneer of marble. The domes have been covered with tall cupolas, and to the same period belong the pinnacles and overflorid Gothic ornament.

3. Gothic Architecture.—During the development of Byzantine architecture—the direct outcome of the aesthetic character of the people of the regions where it occurs—we have another style developing in the West, a little later in reaching its maturity, but roughly the contemporary of the Byzantine. This style, to which the name 'Gothic' is not altogether inappropriately given, if we extend the term a little beyond its usual and somewhat arbitrary limits, was the style principally used by the Christians of the North. Those of the East made use chiefly of the Byzantine, and Italy of the Latin style—one, as we have seen, much more closely related to the Roman. Of course other styles have been used by Christians in different countries, as, for instance, in Norway or in Russia. Even in N.W. Europe, although it is convenient to group the styles of several countries under the one heading; there are in reality several styles; and the more one studies, say, the Gothic architecture of England and France, the more one realizes how little they have in common. It is true that to some extent the great wave of Romanticism marks the aesthetic character of the whole area, so that a church in England is, of course, more like a church in France
ARCHITECTURE (Christian) 706

After the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, while Europe was in the meltings pot, architecture seems to have been somewhat stationary. It is, however, difficult to make certain, as later re-building has practically destroyed all evidence. Even if the conception of building, there was much less opportunity for it in times of peace. About the beginning of the 9th cent., we find men's thoughts turning towards an architectural expression that rapidly blossomed out into great things. The Saracens, along the Rhine valley, in Lombardy, in Norway, and in our own country, arose architectural schools, all of great interest, with their own individual characteristics, which endeavoured to express this artistic feeling. But English art, so long as extent a practical precaution against fire, is still more the expression of this aesthetic principle. The effect of organic growth, rather than of aggregation, marked by an extraordinary artistic approach, with the labourer to the matter in hand, than in other cases, all helps towards the final scheme. Above all, the suggestiveness of a certain instinct of plan and elevation, of structural masses and ornament, marks out the aesthetic character of the Northern peoples as a whole, during which these buildings were erected.

It has been suggested that the Latin style had in itself a power of development that would have given us the future forms quite independent of the North; but, without entering into the argument, it is practically sufficient to point out that Central Italy itself never produced anything of the kind, even when the North had invented the style and carried it in the form and style of other schools were not equally successful. Burgundy and Provence, with their barrel vaults, exercised comparatively little influence; and although the Rhine churches at first were in the van, they dropped behind and left it for England and Norway, and the slightly later school of the Ile de France, to perfect the art. The influence of the Ile de France school ultimately became the greatest of all, although the date dauphiné have not been settled beyond dispute, and prove that the Durham, or at any rate the English, school was first in the field, with perhaps the two greatest inventions of the Gothic architects—the shell vault on ribs and the flying buttress. But this was absolutely uninfluenced, pursued its own line of development to the last, ignoring the French work alike at Canterbury and at Westminster.

In a short article such as this, a sketch of the development of our own school, and a brief comparison with that of the Ile de France, will perhaps be the best way of illustrating the leading features of the age.

(a) Celtic-Saxon work.—Putting aside for the present all architecture save that of church building, the influence of domestic and civil work upon churches is enormous and commonly overlooked—we find that we have in this country a Celtic-Saxon type of church, resulting from the composition of divergent elements, of which the more important are as follows:—

In the first place we have a purely Celtic element in the architecture, partly surviving through the Celtic or British population, partly derived from the architecture introduced by the Celtic missionaries of St. Columba from the North. This spread over the whole country save the South-Eastern portion. St. Columba himself died in 597, but his missionaries continued to further his
ARCHITECTURE (Christian)

work. In the year in which St. Columba died, St. Augustine came over to Canterbury, with the powers of a bishop, to convert the English, and he introduced a Latin element. But this influence was small, and affected the style but little.

Later we have an influence of Northern monasticism, which must be distinguished from the great Norman influence of the Conquest, but which also represents the Romanesque Gothic of Northern Europe. East Anglia was converted by a Lombard, Felix, afterwards bishop, and even before this a lusty race we find a distinct un-English influence at work in the great Bene- dictine foundations of East Anglia. Sussex was converted by Birinus, an Italian or Lombard monk, early in the 7th cent., and to some ex- tent East Anglia, Kent, and Sussex remained the stronghold of Continental influence until the last. Monastic builders from Normandy were employed at Romsey Abbey in 967, and upon Bishop Ethel- wold's cathedral, Winchester, during the reign of Edgar, who with Dunstan as admiral, largely reformed the monastic system.

The first element is by far the most important in the formation of the Celto-Saxon type of church. It is characterized by a narrow rectangular plan, commonly with a tower at one of the angles of Trinity Church, Glendalough, Ireland; Eglise, Orkey; St. Regulus, St. Andrews, Scotland; Escob, Durham, and Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, England, may be taken as typical. The different characteristics to be noted are—(1) the general length as compared with the breadth; (2) separate rectangular chambers; (3) large porch, or side chambers, as at Bradford, Repton, Deerhurst, etc.; (4) a western tower of defence, round or square, usually entered from within the church; this is a common feature; occasionally, as at Brechin, it is separate from the church; (5) a type that occurs as at Studland, Dorset, Barton on Humber, or Basing, Hants, where the tower actually forms the body of the church (fig. 29).

All these features continue to play a prominent part in English architecture, and help to distin- guish it from that of the Continent. In the first place, the extreme length of the English churches is one of their most important characteristics; they are the longest in the world. Secondly, the rectangular, instead of semicircular, ends to English churches are too familiar to need comment. Although the apse was introduced, it speedily dis- appeared, and never made way at all in the West of England. Thirdly, we may notice the Eng- lish tendency to a series of more or less separate chambers—the separate closed-in choir, the nave being often, as at Canterbury or Windsor, com- pletely shut off, and the separate extensions at the east end, as at St. Albans, Wells, Gloucester, Here- ford, Winchester, and indeed most of our cathedrals. Fourthly, the large porches or side cham- bers have a double influence. As entrance porches they are exceedingly common, e.g. Worcester, Gloucester, Canterbury, etc., and in hundreds of small parish churches. It is said that the in- element Western weather is the original cause of the western entrances being rarely used or alto- gether absent in this country. We also see these side projections in the very marked English tran- sects, as evidenced in those of the Continent (see figs. 55 and 56). Frequently there is a second transept; many of our English cathedrals have three, while Lincoln has four, pairs of such projec- tions. Fifthly, the single western tower, so familiar in Continental work, is often added back to this source, and it hardly ever occurs in France. With regard to the last feature—when the tower forms the centre of the church—we reach by the addition of the characteristic side chamber a cruciform central towered type (e.g. Braemore, Hants, and the Priory, Dover Castle). There are doubtless other influences that give us this type, but it is probably the double influence that pre- serves it as the typical English great church, right through the centuries.

The second element in the Celto-Saxon style is the Latin style introduced direct from Rome by St. Augustine, i.e. the basilican type of church; but the Augustine influence seems to have been local and of short duration. A church at Canterbury was quasi-basilican with an eastern as well as a western apse, the altar presumably being in the western at so early a date. There are certainly one or two examples of a square or semicircular apse, in the country, but they are very rare. It is, indeed, not at all certain whether the type as found at Wing in the vale of Aylesbury has anything to do with St. Augustine, and may not rather be a sur- vival of the old Romano-British type, that can rather be traced back to such a date, such as, presumably, we see in the plan at Silchester.

Latin influence, however, does make itself felt, but through an indirect channel, and the division into nave and aisle is introduced, and the third great element—the Northern monastic church. The aisle, however, never becomes quite the popular feature in this country that it is on the Con- tent. Five aisles, so common abroad, practically do not occur in English cathedrals. We are largely to this influence that we owe the great central towered cross-church plan. But even this would probably have disappeared along with other importsations had it not practically coincided with a type of the native origin. To this native influence we may be said to owe the unequalled pyramidal composition of Salisbury, or the domi- nance of the central tower in such magnificent tower groups as Durham, Lincoln (fig. 57), or Lichfield, quite unapproached by the Continental architects.

The details of the Celto-Saxon style are very largely of Celtic and Teuto-Scandinavian origin, although distinct Roman influence in certain details may be considered. There are certainly affinities with early German work, particularly noticeable in the method of wall building, which is solid, and not built with a rubble core after the Roman method, found in the older towers. A brief resume of the principal details is as follows:—

(0) Long and short work, or massive corner quoins. (2) Ab- sence ofbuttresses. (3) Pilaster striping or strap work—a feature whose origin is obscure, but a far-away derivation from the Roman pilaster is perhaps the most pro- bable. (4) The arches are semicircular, and often cut out of a single stone, or else they are straight-sided—a peculiarity not found in other styles. (5) The windows are often balanced by bishelor shafts, which are set in the centre of the wall, with a long stone forming a sort of abacus that runs from front to back.
through the whole thickness of the wall. (9) The windows are widely placed, both internally and externally. (10) The great roundness for parallel lines as ornament, foreshadowing the later characteristic English paneling of many kinds, which contrast with the simpler flatter treatment of the Continent. (11) The intersecting bands and characteristic Celtic curves seem also to foreshadow the English ornamental art of the 13th century. There is a vast difference in the character of English and French ornament, which is generally overlooked. It is probably connected with a difference in origin.

Such are some of the principal points in connection with the Saxon work—a style much more important than is commonly supposed, which tends to be hushed up on account of the greatness of the next style of architecture that made its appearance in these islands, and was in its turn made use of for Christian purposes.

(b) The Rise of English Gothic.—The Norman Conquest produced in Britain a massive style of architecture, of towers, fortresses, and strongholds. The churches, which naturally are always built in the style of the country, partake of the same character, so that the change over the church building in these lands. Contrasted with the comparatively light buildings of Saxon work, we find heaviness almost the leading feature of the new work. But the English soon made their own influence felt, and for a time English church architecture undoubtedly led the way in Europe.

In the first place, the number of churches built is entirely without parallel. During the hundred years that followed, when the country had settled down after the disturbance of the Conquest, there were built between three and four hundred great cathedrals and monasteries, churches of first-class rank, besides numberless smaller buildings. In the last hundred years, with a population nearly twenty times as large, and enormously improved methods of transit and mechanical appliances, we have built only one great church, nearly completed a second, and laid the foundations of a third. Not only, however, was the number of churches remarkable, but the scale of the English churches very greatly exceeded all other churches in the world that were built about that time. In all the rest of Europe there were built only two churches of over 50,000 sq. ft. area. In England there were four churches that exceeded even 60,000 sq. ft.

**AERAS OF GREAT MEDIEVAL CHURCHES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>England</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Albans</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Etheldreda, London</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Edmund's, Bury</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cluny half a century later contained 54,000 sq. ft.

In many respects the very fact that England led the way was against her, because her great churches were already built when advancing art would have allowed her to build greater. Still more was she hampered in re-building and enlargement by the sizes already fixed. A new choir built on to an old nave cannot be made altogether out of scale with it.

That England led the way in number and size shows an activity, a resource, and an impetuosity that, even taken by themselves, would be strong presumptive evidence in favour of her being a leader in style; and this we shall afterwards see to be the case.

The Romanesque Gothic is marked by the cruciform plan, and the Norman form has the central lantern tower. The origin of both these features is far from clear. The transept is generally considered to be the development of the area of the altar in the Latin style. This, however, is not found at Ravenna, for instance, and is not common outside Rome, and the intermediate steps any case can be said to be traceable. The central lantern is still more doubtful in origin.

Some have suggested a Byzantine origin for the whole North European Cross church as explaining both the cross and the central lantern; but although it may explain the cross better than the basilica church, and there is at least the lantern dome, while the basilica has no such thing, it is still a far cry from a Byzantine dome of the first period to a Norman lantern tower. The few dated examples are merely those high two towers of drawing hasty conclusions. There seems no particular reason for not supposing that the central tower was invented in the North, except that it is the fashion just now to believe that no one ever invented anything—which is true only within certain limits. The object of the lantern tower was two-fold. In the first place, it threw light into the centre of the building, where the high altar was put; and, in the second place, it formed a unifying central feature, both externally and without. The removal of the high altar from its proper position to the east end leaves the lantern tower to throw its light upon an empty space.

In any case, we have two distinct types of Cross church making their appearance in this country, both of which the national genius modified to suit its own aesthetic conceptions. First, we have the multiaspidal type, and, secondly, the chevet type. The origin of the multiaspidal type is possibly to be sought in the Byzantine or Egyptian types already noted, or it may be directly derived from the basilica, but it certainly becomes quite a common variety. The Normans in Normandy treated it in their own way, squaring the end and two bays beyond the crossing, in a manner perhaps foreshadowed at St. Apollinaris Nuovo at Ravenna, and then adding

![Fig. 30.—SAXON DETAILS](file://example.com/image.png)

![Fig. 31.](file://example.com/image.png)

The Anglo-Normans took this plan, and it at once began to assume the first English characteristic of greater length. We find a typical example at St. Albans, with its long parallel apsed chambers (fig. 31). This becomes one of the great types of Benedictine orthodoxy in the East of England.
But it is to the West and the North that we have to turn to find the truly English manner. Here we find Hereford with a square end as early as 1079-1095, and Lindisfarne and Romsey early in the next century. It has been said that the square end was introduced into this country by the Cistercians. This is impossible, as it was in use before the Cistercian order was founded. But it is interesting to observe that from this very Western district came Stephen Harding, one of the original founders, and head of the order, and abbot of Citeaux in 1109. It seems most probable that the Cistercians owe their square East ends to him. Hence, when we find Cistercians at a later date building their square East ends in England, they are merely bringing back an English feature that naturally falls in with, and helps to strengthen, the native tradition.

So we find that in English hands the multapsidal type develops a squared form, such as we see in Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire.

The Reformed orders, Cistercians and Augustinians, mainly in the West and North, worked out the English manner, and although the great Benedictine abbeys of the East have had the fortune to survive, it is rather to the ruined abbeys of Yorkshire and the Welsh Border that we must turn if we wish to see the English style in the making. Hence, while the conservative Benedictine abbeys were still using the round arch and the apsidal termination, we find the pointed arch and the square end in the North and the West. The change of style is, as in France, partly due to an Episcopal influence that furthered advance and reform. In the latter country the bishops joined hands with the laity against the old Monastic orders, and got the great late cathedrals of France. In this country they joined hands with the Reformed orders, and to this is due the strongly marked Monastic character of English building. In early days the Cistercians eschewed ornament, central towers and triforiums, which gave a chasteness to the style in their hands that, to some extent, it would be true to say, marks the English work.

The Anglo-Norman church of Bury St. Edmunds had a wide-spreading front of 260 feet. Ely was planned for a west front of 200 ft., although it is doubtful whether this front was ever completed. These two are about three times as wide as the nave.

**Width of West Fronts, Naves, and Main Transepts of English Churches.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>West Fronts</th>
<th>Naves</th>
<th>Main Transepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peterborough</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rouen (English)</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Albans</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ely</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bury St. Edmunds</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 13th cent.</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells (a small church)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Conquest Westminster</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glastonbury</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York, 14th century</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old St. Paul's, 12th cent.</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Compare these with**

- Notre Dame: 155
- Rheims, 13th century: 155
- Amiens: 150
- Angers: 150

The best way to obtain a general survey of each period is to work from the ground plan upwards. It has already been pointed out that Romanesque Gothic in England, perhaps best termed Anglo-Norman, is massive in its treatment, and this naturally shows on the ground plan. A single pier of Durham contains as much material as the whole set of piers of some of the later churches. The walls are always immensely thick, even when they support only a wooden roof, which on the whole is the commoner arrangement; but when they have to resist the thrust of a stone vault, this
is even more the case. Buttresses are as yet quite rudimentary, and the history of Gothic architecture might be described as a progression from a heavy wall with a wooden roof to a glass wall and a stone roof. The projection of the buttresses becomes greater and the wall thinner, and the progress might be diagrammatically represented as in fig. 35. So what practically happens is that the wall is turned round in sections upon itself, whereby, with the same or even less material, a greater resisting power is obtained (fig. 35).

Before passing upward to details, the general treatment of the elevation should be noted. The Anglo-Norman great church is a three-aisled building of three storeys (fig. 35). The nave-arcade is the principal series of arches in the church, and divides the central aisle, or nave, from the side aisles. In order to lighten the central aisle it is raised above the roof of the side aisles, whereby we obtain a clerestory, through which the light passes, and which is contrasted with the blind storey or triforium that occupies the space of the aisle roof. Sometimes the triforium is transparent, as it is termed; that is, it is treated as a gallery.

There is more variety in the bay treatment in this country than in France, arising in part from a different initial standpoint. The French architects were more interested in the logic of construction, and the tendency for their buildings is to become, as it were, skeleton constructions, and for the wall as such to disappear. The English, however, continued to regard the wall as a feature in itself, giving an aesthetic sense of horizontal continuity, as distinct from the vertical skeleton expression of French architecture. The wall, therefore, continues to some extent to be regarded as a field for decorative treatment on its own account.

A single instance must suffice, and is seen in the interesting bay treatment, favoured mainly by the Augustinians, in which the triforium is treated as a hanging gallery, depending from the main arcade. Examples may be seen at Jedburgh, Romsey Abbey, Oxford Cathedral, Glastonbury, and Dunstable. It gives a sense of height greater than either the simple two-storey or the simple three-storey treatment.

Anglo-Norman piers are of two main types. In the first, which is more or less columnar, we probably see a far-off descendant of the columns of Greece. There are two distinct varieties, of which one, although generally built up in courses, and not in single drums, still, in general proportion of capital, and base, preserves the characteristics of a true column. The other is a huge mass of masonry with a few moldings round the top in lieu of a capital. This partakes more of the nature of a pier, and is peculiar to this country. Examples may be seen in Gloucester, Durham, Tewkesbury, etc. The second type is the pier proper, developed from a section of wall left between the arches.

Both these types develop in two ways which mutually influence each other; first, the struc-
particularly characteristic of this country. In the first system additions are made to the pier, in order to support sub-arches and vaulting shafts; thus we get a composite type of pier where each part is assigned to the performance of some definite function. In the decorative system the pier also becomes composite, but in a different manner. The corners of the pier, for instance, may be chamfered off so as to form an octagon, or cut out as at St. Lawrence, Kent, and ornamental shafts inserted (fig. 38), thus giving a sense of lightness to the whole. Later we find these ornamental shafts arranged round the octagon formed by cutting off the corners. The octagon may become a circle. In the decorative system the change begins with the shaft, and the abacus remains square, and, in any case, the detached shafts have no direct connexion with the load above. When both load and support become very complex, the eye is sufficiently satisfied with the complex support for the complex load, without logically following out each subordinate part. The carpal and metacarpal bones in the beauty of the human anatomy may be taken as a parallel. The bases are generally set on a square plinth, often with an ornament to fill up the angles. The commonest form of moulding is a hollow below a round (fig. 39).

There are three types of capital: (1) a pseudo-classic, a sort of debased Corinthian or Ionic, much commoner on the Continent than here; (2) a cushion-shaped capital which seems an original invention; and (3) the scalloped capital, a type derived from the cushion variety, which, in its turn, has important influences upon the next period. The abaci is always square, first with plain cham-

It is not treated with the elaboration of the door. Some later Anglo-Norman windows show rich decoration on the outside, but it is interesting to notice that, whereas the door becomes a less important member as Gothic architecture advances, the window gradually becomes the most important of all.

In the roof we reach the most complex and most interesting feature in Gothic architecture. It has even been said by some that Gothic architecture is nothing more than the art of building stone vaults. This, of course, is ridiculous. In the early writers, such as Rickman, whose work still remains one of the most interesting on the subject, wrote of Gothic architecture with hardly any reference to the vault at all. There is certainly enough that is distinctive, and shows the whole spirit of the thing, without taking notice of the vault. Gothic architecture is not the mechanical treatment of any one feature, neither the vault not the business, nor even the window, which probably, after all, is both more influential and more characteristic than any other single feature. It is not even a question of mechanics; Gothic architecture is architecture—a truism, one would have supposed; it is neither engineering nor building as some writers would have us believe. Hence it depends fundamentally upon aesthetic principles, which, so to speak, set the mechanical problems for the mechanics to solve, and the latter are only made easy by the former. Of course any one is at liberty to define 'Gothic' as he pleases; but to deny the title to such a building as Eltham Palace or St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, is so to circumscribe the sphere of inquiry as to make it, of comparatively little importance. It is a primary and more fundamental question to find what is the root principle common alike to Crosby Hall, Exeter Cathedral, and Notre Dame, and differentiating these buildings from St. Sophia and St. Stephen's, Walbrook, than to find what differentiates them from each other—not that this latter inquiry has not great importance within the larger sphere.

A full discussion of the vault would be impossible within the limits of this article, but it may be thus briefly summed up. In early days it was more common to find an open-timber roof, but a desire to give organic unity to the whole conception, coupled doubtless with the advantages of greater security against fire, led to the gradual substitution of the roof of stone. This we find first in the aisles, and then over the wider spans, such as the great English Chapter Houses, some of them 40 ft. wide, or the high vaults over the nave of the great churche. The vault was almost always covered by a wooden roof to protect it from the weather. This is to some extent a false construction, which is at variance with the ordinary methods of the Gothic architects. But there are a few examples of true stone roofs in this country,—the Treasury,
Merton College, Oxford; Willingham, Cambridge; Minchinhampton; Roslyn; and Bothwell.

The simplest form of vault is the plain barrel or waggon vault, which gives a great continuous thrust throughout its length, and therefore requires a very thick continuous wall. The effect is gloomy, because the lighting problem is difficult of solution. Large windows are impossible in a wall bearing a continuous thrust, and sloping windows in the vault are both weak and ugly. If a window is put in the vault, it is a natural step to carry up the vertical surface of the wall below, as we see in Byzantine architecture (fig. 25). This at once suggests the treatment of intersecting barrel vaults, which is constantly suitable for the vaulting of a square space, A, O, C, being the square of intersection of two half cylinders of hemispherical section, corresponding to A', O', C' (fig. 41, I and II). This form of vault was used by the Romans, and the tradition never completely died out; and this vault, the ribless quadruparte vault, as well as the simple barrel vault, is used by the early Romanesque builders, as in the castle at Oxford.

The intersection of two cylinders is not a circle, as in the case of intersecting spheres (see p. 701), but an ellipse. This elliptical line of intersection is termed the groin of the vault. Directly the space to be vaulted is not square, difficulties arise, and as long as semicircular vaults are used they will not intersect at the crown at all, as the vaults are of different height (fig. 41, III). It is therefore necessary to bring them to the same height, which may be done by stitting the narrower vault, that is, raising it on two vertical walls that serve the purpose of stils. This may also be helped by using less than a semicircle for the larger vault.

But, in any case, the groins will become twisted in plan, as may be seen in fig. 41, IV and V. In the narrow vault it is obvious that any point in that vault, up to the height of the stilt, must be vertically above the line CB. Any point, therefore, being on the line of intersection of both vaults, must be vertically above the line CB. The greater the distance above the side CB, until a height above A is reached. On the other hand, in the bigger vault, there is no vertical portion, and it curves gradually away from the side BF at the outset; the groin, therefore, will tend away from above BF, but keep close above CB. When the top of the stilt is reached, however, the narrow vault curves rapidly over to the other side, but the larger vault continues its gradual curve, so that the groin now crosses rapidly over to the other side, and then keeps similarly close above GF until it reaches G. In actual building the curve is generally coaxed a little, so as slightly to reduce the violent break in the line, as seen in the plan above, but in any case it is excessively ugly and weak, as the weight of the vault rests upon the groins. By making the vaults enormously thick and filling in the back with concrete, until the whole becomes one solid mass for some way up the vault, the weakness is counteracted, but it means an undue weight upon the walls and supports.

Now the great invention of the Gothic architects was the substitution of another principle. So far the vault has been regarded as the intersection of two continuous cylindrical tunnels, and the groin is merely the line of intersection. At any point along the vault we have, say at ML or HK (fig. 41, V) a section of a perfect cylinder of the groove of the groove, however, we saw was not in a plane, but twisted. The invention is to build the groin regular (i.e. in a plane), and then accommodate the vaults to fit the groin, which is made in the form of a strong rib to support the whole. The vault is built by first erecting a series of arches of regular shape (i.e. in planes), not twisted, to form the ribs. The short ends may be stilled, the diagonals segmental, and the broad ends semi-circular, so as to be of equal height. The vault itself is then built, as a light shelf, resting on these ribs. This shelf is built in courses, as NP, PR (VI), which are practically straight, but very slightly arched to the ribs upon which they rest. The consequence is that the shelf must follow the curve of the groin ribs, it cannot itself be part of a regular cylinder; and as before the diagonals were twisted to suit the vault surface, now the vault surface is twisted to suit the diagonals. The result is a curved surface very much resembling that of a ploughshare.

The ribbed vault—and by ribbed vault is meant a ribbed shell vault upon the above principle, i.e. one which is structurally based upon the rib curvature—is perhaps the most distinctive invention made by the Gothic architects. Ribs may occasionally have been used in earlier days to strengthen the groins of vaults, based upon the curvature of the vault surface, but this is not the Gothic vault. There is no doubt that the earliest vaults of this type of which we have any knowledge are those of Durham Cathedral. Such were the high vaults of the choir begun in 1093. The earliest properly attested date in France is, at the very least, more than thirty years later.

* The whole discussion of these dates, with regard to England and France, is given in Dibdin's able little book, Beginnings of Gothic Architecture (1859). No other writer approaches Dibdin in his thorough grip of his subject. A short résumé of the subject is given in the present writer's book now in the press (Fairlains & Co.).
As to the cause of the compartments assuming the rectangular form instead of the square, it can hardly be questioned that the primary reason was aesthetic and non-mechanical, as the great English Chapter Houses, with spans of 40 ft., where there were no structural considerations, are so built. The invention of the pointed arch made to the vista, and the beauty of the apparent length thereby gained, quite apart from any principle of unified complexity, are sufficient to account for it (fig. 42). The French continued to use the square vault for a long time, taking two compartments of the aisle to one of the nave, even inventing the sexpartite vault (fig. 41, VIII) to get over the difficulty before finally following the English lead. The introduction of the pointed arch into the vault followed not long after. It offers an aesthetically more pleasing solution of the problem of vaulting over a rectangle, at the same time preserving the level crown, than does the stilted arch (fig. 41, VII). The pointed arch in every rib gives a far more satisfactory sense of aesthetic unity than the mixture of segmental and stilted arches, and it also reduces the ploughshare twist.

The pointed arch was used by no means solely in order to keep the level crown over the different spans, because in France the domical vaults, used when the ribbed system was introduced, continue even after the introduction of the pointed arch in the vault, and there is no attempt to make the crown level. Nevertheless, the fact that pointed arches of the same height can be erected over varying widths (fig. 41, IX) is one of their many advantages, as we may see in numbers of transept crossings, e.g. St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.

An interesting variant of the sexpartite vault, which we might term quinquepartite, occurs in the aisle vaults of Lincoln, which is an ingenious and more justifiable use of the principle, as there are two windows on one side and only one opening on the other (fig. 42).

The origin of the pointed arch is another of those unsolved problems, but it occurs in the East long before it is found in Northern Europe. It is even found in Roman work—in the bridges of Severns in the Levant. It was certainly in common use in France earlier than here, although an example is found at Gloucester (c. 1090), of which Bilson gives an illustration. The pointed arch cannot be considered a specially Gothic feature, being found in various Eastern styles; and, moreover, many buildings where it does not occur are obviously completely Gothic in feeling.

In connexion with the ribbed vault appears the other great invention of the Gothic architects, namely, the flying or oblique buttress, where the buttress, instead of descending vertically to the ground, is carried obliquely upon an arch over an intervening space. This enables the abutment of the high vault to be carried across the aisles. The beginnings of this are seen in the semi-barrel or half-barrel vault of Gloucester (c. 1090), strength-
On the exterior the lofty spires of these two periods are the most distinguishing features.

The decorative sense develops and shows itself in every member. Three great types of pier make their appearance—the South-Western, the South-Eastern, and the Northern. The South-Western type is formed by triplets of shafts attached to a central core and ranged regularly round it (Pershore, fig. 45). It is probably directly derived from the Anglo-Norman composite pier. But it makes little difference before it and drives back the Northern, so that during the 13th cent. (Early English period) it practically becomes the type of the period, and is found, for instance, as far north as Durham. The Northern type, e.g. Roche and Sweetheart (fig. 45), is a composite pier of several shafts all united in one, without a central core, and seems to have originated from such forms as we see in Bishop-Auckland Castle, York crypt, Durham galilee, or Selby triforium. In these cases there are a number of separate shafts not grouped round a central mass. In the Northern type the composite pier is built up in horizontal courses, and the shafts composing it are therefore not continuous.

For a time the South-Eastern type carries everything before it and drives back the Northern, so that during the 13th cent. (Early English period) it practically becomes the type of the period, and is found, for instance, as far north as Durham. The Northern type remains supreme, as long as Gothic architecture lasts, and is found all over the kingdom. A very beautiful example occurs at Grantham, with the fillets particularly common to this type. In the same church is an early example of the South-Eastern type (fig. 45).

The commonest base in the 13th cent. is characterized by the water-holding molding (fig. 47), developed from the so-called Attic base (fig. 2, ARCHITECTURE (Greek)). In the 14th cent. the hollow, filled with water-holding molding, the lowest member often overtopping the plinth. The English capitals are distinguished from those of the Continent by the characteristic boss, which in English work is almost always round, and in the thirteenth century consists of a roll and fillet deeply undercut, and in the 14th of a scroll molding. The neck-molding is generally a plain astragal in the 13th cent. and a scroll molding in the 14th. Those capitals that have features marked in the 13th cent., by a beautiful type, apparently derived from the scallop capital (see fig. 46), and very different from the French type derived from the classical capitals. The English variety, which we may term stiff-leaf foliage, is generally said to have the same origin as the French capitals, being derived from the classical volutes; but a careful examination of the capitals of the West Country and the North, where the national style has its origin, has led the present writer to the above conclusion. Doubtless the Continental variety was not without its influence; but not only does the other derivation explain the general form more satisfactorily, with its stiff-leaf and without the lower band of foliage found in French work, but it also explains another peculiarity of the English capital. The English foliage tends to twirl round the capital instead of standing out from the centre as in Continental work.

In the 14th cent., although the forms are some-
times exceedingly beautiful, there is a distinct artistic decadence. An attempt to be true to nature results in being untrue to the stone material in which the artist is working—a much more serious fault. The forms are ill adapted to stone, and, moreover, instead of growing up from the neck, are twined round like a harvest festival decoration, and have no part in the organic unity of the whole.

The arches are pointed, and with numerous moldings, of which those in fig. 49 are typical. The Early English moldings are marked by freehand drawing, and numerous independent members, separated by deep hollows, e.g. Peterborough. Characteristic members are the roll and fillet and the pointed bowl. Decorated moldings are set out by the compass instead of being drawn freehand. The fillets on the triple roll and fillet are set differently. The ogee curve makes its appearance, and a three-quarter hollow often marks off the orders of the arches (fig. 49). Up to the end of the 14th cent. the orders of the arch are generally clearly distinguished.

The development of the window is a long story, whose course can only be briefly indicated. The normal early Anglo-Norman window is a square with a semicircle over it. This tends to become longer in its proportions, and the process continues after the introduction of the pointed arch, producing the so-called lancet window, until such extreme examples are reached as at Bottesford, which is 8 in. wide and 15 ft. 6 in. high. The natural result is to group windows together, one being insufficient for lighting purposes (fig. 50).

In the gable end the normal arrangement in the first half of the 15th cent. is three windows, the central one raised to fill the gable. At first the windows are quite distinct; then a common hood mold gradually draws them together, and finally includes them under one arch. The small spandrels are first pierced with various shapes and finally cut out altogether, and then cusped as at Cirencester or Peterborough Cathedral. But this pushes all the ornament up into the extreme head; and it is perhaps the two-light window in the aisle, which follows suit, that tends to the filling with tracery of the whole head of the window above the springing (see examples in fig. 50).

We thus pass from the lancet period to the first tracered period, which has been called the Geometrical period. This is a most misleading name, as it implies that the curves of the next period are not set out with a compass. Although at first glance they may not appear to be parts of circles, they invariably are. The real distinction is between curves of single and double curvature; and the first period may be described as composed of independent figures—curves, curvilinear triangles, and squares (not spherical, of course), quatrefoils, trefoils, etc., filling the head of the window. The terms Simple and Compound would be short and self-explanatory.

There are three main types of Simple or independent-figure tracery. In type I. (fig. 51) the circle or other figure rests on two sub-arches. The points of the sub-arches projecting below the central ornament are objectionable, and probably are this cause of type II. making its appearance, in which the outer curves of the sub-arches coincide with the curves of the window arch. It should be noted that type I. does not disappear but continues to be used, and this is the case all through the development of window tracery; a new form does not entirely ousted an old one. The objection to type II. is that it tends to push the ornament too much into the head of the window. In all cases the sub-arches may intersect or be separated from each other. Type III., which is really a three-light develop-
great discoveries—was to omit the points, and continue the curve of the sub-arch into the curve of the circle. Thus is obtained a curve of double curvature or an ogee curve. The other side of the sub-arch is made to correspond, and we have a circle supported on ogee arches (fig. 52, A). The bottom and top of the circle then disappear, leaving us the completed type I. of the Compound period. This develops on lines similar to the independent-figure period with a second and third type (fig. 52).

The vaulting continues to develop. First, in order to reduce the purlin-share curvature, resort is had to elliptical ribs, involving a most difficult and complex problem in the setting out and erection of every vault. This is superseded by pseudo-elliptical vaulting, where, instead of a true ellipse, an approximation to the ellipse is made by parts of circles, which join at points where the tangent is common to both circles, so as to avoid breaks in the curve (fig. 53). The line of the pier or shaft from which the vault springs is also tangential to the arch curve.

It is difficult, and indeed inadvisable, to try to assign any particular date or period for the summit of Gothic architecture. In many points it continued to advance down to a very late date, more particularly in the development of towers and of the vault, but the decorative foliage certainly declines after the 13th century. For beauty of lighting nothing equals the so-called lantern churches of the 15th cent., but the window itself is perhaps at its best in the 14th. It is so with all arts; decadence does not come suddenly throughout the whole, but shows itself here and there, while the main trend is still forward. It would be much easier to assign a definite summit to French than to English architecture. In France there is a more or less definite single effort culminating in the 13th century. In England there are continuous new impulses: vault, wall, pier, foliage, window, and vault again; each in turn seems to play the leading part.

As said at the outset, the French and English styles are entirely different. A summing up at this point of a few of the differences between the plan of a great English and a great French church may show that it is surprising, not that they are now seen to be different, but that any one ever thought they were the same.

The English church is long and narrow with three naves. The French is short and broad with five aisles.
The English West Front is broad. The French West Front is narrow, in Notre Dame narrower even than the nave.
The English transepts project enormously beyond the main lines, and often the English church has two or three of these.
shut off from the nave, being largely the result of monastic influence. It has no side chapels. The French church is broad and open throughout, with a short choir, largely the result of lay influence, and has numerous side chapels dear to the laity.

The four enormous central piers in the English church show the central tower that dominates the whole. The French church has great Western towers, but nothing, or merely a 'flying,' at the crossing.

The English church is cut up by screens and divisions. The French church is open (figs. 55-58).

The interior of a French church is hard to surpass. It is exceedingly lofty, which gives it a most impressive character. The internal effect of the chevet is often exquisitely lovely, and the grace of the proportions as a whole, width of bays, and width to height, is in every way admirable.

The English church in its interior depends for its impressiveness upon length rather than height, except where modern folly, as at Norwich, has planted an enormous organ that entirely destroys the whole raison d’être of the building, completely (not partially) blocking the vista which would be, in its way, perhaps the finest in the world. Both English and French effects are delightful, but perhaps the French is the finer. Yet there is no reason why they should not be combined.

But with regard to the exteriors there is no comparison. The English here loses something by want of height. (Visit Chartres, Amiens, and then Lincoln within two days of each other, and the result will be startling.) But the dominant central tower, the wonderful skyline, together with the tower-groups, the grand projecting transpents and fronts, with their fine shadow effects, make the French examples look in comparison a shapeless mass. Where there is a narrow tall twin-towered front, there is an unpleasant effect of an over-weighted end suggestive of a giraffe. The Franco-

(d) The Decline of English Gothic.—The last period of English architecture is marked by rectangular forms and horizontal lines, and is generally called 'Perpendicular.' This word in most minds is so closely associated with vertical, that 'Rectangular' is a more satisfactory name.

Roofs become nearly horizontal, tops of doors and windows and all the arches follow the same tendency. There is often an actual straight horizontal line, strongly emphasized, above these features, particularly in the case of doors. Horizontal topped towers take the place of spires, horizontal transom bars appear in the windows, and horizontal topped panellings, instead of niches, occur all over the walls. Even the foliage and other ornaments become rectangular in form.

The Early English period was an age of Ecclesiastic reform, and the work of that period is marked by a certain ecclesiasticism in its planning and arrangements. The Traceried period of the 14th cen. is the age of the great nobles; the very ecclesiastics themselves aped the pride and pomp of worldly splendour and the churches, with their private chantries and heraldic ornament and such things, partake to some extent of this character, as Mr. Prior points out (History of Gothic Art in England, 1900). The people, too, are beginning to assert themselves. The worship of Our Lady being particularly the cult of the people in England, we find the Lady chapels being built all over the country, in most instances actually at the east end, and approached from behind the high altar. The ecclesiastic privacy of the monastic choir perforce disappears. During the Wars of the Roses, the great barons gradually vanished, and the trading classes made their influence felt. This is the age of the guild chantries, and above all of the parish churches of the people. The large proportion of our parish churches belong to this date, and are built in the rectangular style. Hardly a single great monastic church or cathedral was built at this time, although, of course, there was a certain amount of re-building and enlargement. The chantries and other extensions affect the plans of the churches, and tend to obscure all transeptal projections.

The piers still belong to the Northern type, but incline to become meagre in their treatment both in section and in their capitals and bases (fig. 59). The S-shaped curve under the chamfered abacus is characteristic, as is also the curious cushion mold-
run right round the arch without a stop. Foliage when found is rectangular in treatment (fig. 59). The arches above show the same attenuation in the treatment of their moldings, and the distinction between the orders of the arch is often quite lost. The most characteristic feature is the cavetto, a deep hollow in the middle of the group (fig. 59). A drop arch, as it is called, gives the flat crown, but produces a broken effect where it springs from the shafts (II, fig. 59).

The triforium, owing to the horizontal tendency in the roofs, practically disappears and becomes a mere band of ornament. The window gradually becomes a series of rectangular panels, partly as offering increased strength for the vast windows that become common, partly to further the easy arrangement in the glass of rows of saints standing in niches. The vertical lines at first appear timidly in the head of the window, then ascend from sill to crown, and finally even cut across the tracery sub-arches (fig. 59).

The vault still continues its development until we reach the wonderful fan tracery characteristic of this country. The multiplication of tiercerons seems to have suggested a polygonal form for the vault conoid, and from this to a circle is easy, break with the lines of the ribs. It is probably this that led to the introduction of the four-centred arch, which allows the line of the ribs to pass imperceptibly into the central space (fig. 60, Windsor).

This is very satisfactory for a vault over a square, but the problems of satisfactorily vaulting a rectangular space began again. The most complete solution is by the Oxford arches of the Divinity schools and the Cathedral, which are not true fan vaults (fig. 61); and the same principle, somewhat meretriciously carried out in a true fan vault, appears in Henry vii's Chapel, Westminster. The principle is practically that of dividing up the rectangular space to be vaulted into a new nave and aisles, as it were. The springings of the vaults are then supported upon great transverse arches thrown across the whole space (fig. 60), and a square compartment is obtained in the middle, which is easy to vault, and the small minor compartments can be treated by some other method. In the case of the Cathedral at Oxford they are very effectively treated as barrel vaults.

![Fan Vaults](image)

The influence of domestic architecture upon that of the church is a subject of great interest which has hardly yet received the study that it deserves. In early days many of the problems were first worked out in the Norman castles. Later, the domestic window with its transom bars and the beautiful open timber-roofs of the great halls had considerable effect upon church architecture. Of course, the plans and arrangements are different, but the spirit of the two is the same. Sometimes, as, for instance, in Belgium, the greatest achievements are in civil architecture; and although the bulk of these buildings in our own country have perished, such examples as the small Town Hall at Cirencester have a charm quite equal to that of the churches. But in any case, whether the building is for the Church, the State, the Borough, or the private individual, the artistic qualities triumph over the special difficulties involved in the particular instance, and the series of buildings—castles, cathedrals, halls, palaces, and churches—is as noble as that in any style.

**Renaissance Architecture.**

When, at the time of the Renaissance, men's minds began to turn back to the glories of the classical epoch, the result was naturally seen in architecture as in everything else. It was also natural that the beginning of the architectural change should be in Italy, as was the case in other departments of the movement, particularly in view of the large number of actually existing remains upon Italian soil. The development, however, was considerably stimulated by the discovery of the manuscript of Vitruvius Pollio, the architect of Augustus, who wrote the *de Architectura*. This famous treatise, in ten books, upon the architecture of the Augustan epoch, was translated into Italian in A.D. 1501. In spite of the impetus thus given to
the study, it would appear to have been by no means entirely beneficial in its results. Vitruvius seems to some extent to have been the Palladio of his day. He left a part in a cut and by tried and somewhat lifeless manner, which was not without its effect upon his followers of a later generation. It is true that Vitruvius' work was drawn chiefly from Greek sources, although these were probably very scanty, and we must always remember that in the main, Renaissance architecture was founded not upon the Greek but upon the Roman style—a style itself a hybrid and full of solecisms. Many of the criticisms that are brought against Renaissance work apply equally to that of Rome, in such instances as the profuse use of meaningless decoration, and the unintelligent application of features imperfectly understood, e.g., the architrave that supports no ceiling, the incomplete drums, or drafted stones copied from unfinished Greek work, and chopped off sections of entablature, as in the church of St. Spirito, Florence.

It may be said that Brunelleschi, the Florentine, was the first great architect of the Renaissance. He produced a plan for the building of the dome of the Cathedral of Florence soon after A.D. 1407, which was eventually carried out. The spread of the style in Italy was extraordinarily rapid. The cause was largely that the style was new and, in a sense, style was never firmly established itself in Italy: indeed, it may practically be said that it never penetrated to Central Italy at all. Even in Florence such an example as the famous campanile of Giotto has hardly anything of the real Gothic spirit, in spite of the applied Gothic features and ornament. It is not the living organism of Gothic structure and ornament, but a simple rectangular block with an elaborate veneer of surface adornment. The Italian church was still a Christian church, it had a motive, and it was natural that the Italian mind should turn whole-hearted toward a style which it had never in essence entirely abandoned.

From Italy the movement spread throughout Western Europe with varying degrees of rapidity, and was strenuously fought by the architectural traditions of the lands into which it made its way. The Renaissance style made no headway in the East, because for the Greeks, whose art was one of the most cultured people of Europe, were at this time overwhelmed by the Turks. In fact, the sack of Constantinople in A.D. 1453, although it was the final blow to Greek civilization in the East, scattered the Greeks over Western Europe, and very largely made the Renaissance what it was.

In the case of any revival or Renaissance style, it is always more difficult to make a division into periods than in the case of a style of true growth; because, in the first place, the individual fact is stronger, depending upon study and research, and also at any moment fortuitous circumstances may combine to make a particular building a more complete representation of the old style. But it may be said that Renaissance architecture was, no means wholly a "re-naissance"; it was in many respects a living style. And it may be noticed that it did pass through three more or less clearly marked stages although these were not considered both in manner and in date in different countries. The first period is marked by a distinctly Gothic tendency, besides showing a comparatively limited knowledge of the nature of ancient work.

The second period, the period of maturity, shows a much greater knowledge of classical detail and arrangement, and is marked by a much more definitely classical spirit. The picturesque irregularities of Gothic planning and elevation gives way to a precise and calculated symmetry. The style reaches its zenith and exhibits itself in many of the world's noblest buildings, although the lover of Gothic architecture will always feel a certain coldness about them, and the lover of Greek architecture will be repelled still more by their lack of spontaneity, subtlety, and delicate restraint. In the work of the second Spanish period there is a certain restraint, it is true, but it is rather a formal coldness, and does not resemble the reserved but intense passion of Gothic work. The nearest approach to the true Greek restraint is in the best work of Florence. It is to this second period that we have to look for the true work of the Renaissance. It is here that we learn what are really its characteristics. The first period is but one of transitional preparation, and the last of over-ripeness and decay.

The third period, sometimes known as the "Rococo," is marked by exaggeration, ostentation, and a still more mechanical application of rule, which proceeds side by side with a tendency toward slavish reproduction of ancient work. The latter tendency resulted in what is sometimes called the "neo-Classic revival," doubtless hastened as an antiphone to the extravagances of the Rococo.

1. In the first period, then, the new style was fighting its way. Even in Italy, although the architects themselves were probably completely unconscious of the fact, the influence of Gothic work was evident. And the Gothic influence for a long time remained paramount, and the period of transition was enormously prolonged. In France, even in late Renaissance days, when Wren was building in England in a severely classical style, the high roofs and other features betray a Gothic origin.

In Florence, although the classical orders were used, they were very much subordinated, and in comparison with later work their use seems timid. Their actual scale was small, and this also was the case with the ornamental features which are characteristic of Gothic work. There was still a tendency towards that multiplicity of parts which characterizes Gothic feeling. Windows are generally round-headed, often with sub-arches in the typical Gothic manner, and occasionally they even contain a sort of tracery, especially in France and Britain (fig. 62). Even pointed arches are used, particularly in Venice, as in the Doge's palace.

VENETIAN SHELL ORNAMENT.

TRON KIRK EDIN.
BRUCH.

QUEENS.

COLLOXON.

RUSTICATED.

COLUMNS.

FIG. 62.
occasional square blocks in a round column—a device that even the most extreme admirer of Renaissance work does not attempt to defend. This, however, does not appear until the style is more or less advanced. It becomes common in France during the reign of Charles IX. (A.D. 1560-1574). Rustication was never popular in Venice, where there had always been a certain true Gothic feeling, mingled with Byzantine, which was distinctly opposed to anything Roman. Indeed, it was doubtful partly a survival of this feeling that caused the Renaissance style to be reluctantly adopted in Venice only when the 16th cent. was well advanced. A rather charming device common in Venice at this period may at this point be noted, namely, the so-called shell ornament (fig. 62).

Another objectionable feature, apparently first used by Alberti in St. Maria Norvelia at Florence, in A.D. 1470, is the inverted console placed above the aisles. Presumably it may be regarded as the successor of the flying buttress of Gothic work, but it is utterly unfit to perform any function structurally or aesthetically. A curve suited for a small decorative bracket becomes ridiculous when applied to a feature of the main composition over a score of feet in length (fig. 63).

On the whole, it may be said that, although many churches were built in Italy during the Renaissance, partly as a result of the counter-Reformation of the Jesuits, in the North the Gothic epoch had more than supplied all the churches that were required. Hence, religious buildings in the North, particularly during the first period, are comparatively rare, and it is only in such instances as the churches of London built after the Great Fire that there is anything very extensive in the way of ecclesiastical work. It was rather a palace-building epoch, such as is shown in the great château on the Loire, of which the Château Chambord may be taken as typical. In the North, Renaissance architecture made its way very slowly, at first appearing only in minor accessories such as altars, tombs, pulpits, doorways, and occasional enlargements, as the apse of St. Pierre at Caen. When the main fabric itself is attempted, the result is a building entirely Gothic in planning, arrangement, and construction, and the surface ornament merely is of the classical type. Pilasters take the place of buttresses, and cornices the place of corbel tables, and so on, as, for example, in St. Eustache, Paris—an excellent specimen of the first period of Renaissance work in France. In Britain, although Inigo Jones and Wren introduced a pure classical style earlier than anything of the kind in France, this transitional feeling continued in certain districts very much longer, particularly in Oxford. As late as 1648-1652 the charming little church of Berwick-on-Tweed affords a most pleasing instance of the fusion of the two styles.

In the South of France much of the work was done by hands of travelling Italians, who have left a considerable impress upon the minor features of the period in that district. In the main it is true to say that French work of the time of Francis I. (1515-1547) is marked by a special elegance which is peculiar to itself. It is doubtless the outcome of the elegant French-Gothic acting upon the Renaissance style, and applies especially to domestic examples. In England the Early period, which may be said to cover the reigns from Henry VIII. to James I., may be divided into two. The earlier part, from the close of Henry VIII.'s reign to the death of Edward VI., is marked by Italian influence, as in the case of Torrigiano's tomb made for Henry VII., and the later part is marked by Flemish and German influence; but throughout the whole period everything is tentative and experimental.

2. In the second period we have the matured Renaissance style, when buildings were classical not only in detail, but in spirit. This may be said to have been inaugurated in Italy when in A.D. 1566 Bramante commenced the church of St. Peter's in Rome, a date which was about contemporaneous with the very first beginnings of Renaissance influence in Britain.

In this second period the picturesqueness of Gothic planning almost entirely disappears. It is, however, to be noticed that the great cross plan of the large churches, although carried out in a severely symmetrical manner, is the indelible impress of the Gothic hand upon the succeeding age. Even St. Peter's itself is so planned. Not only so, but in the case of both St. Peter's, Rome, and of St. Paul's, London (figs. 64, 65)—the two greatest buildings of the style—the more severely symmetrical plan of the Greek cross, as designed by the architects, was altered to the long-naved Latin cross in deference to Gothic tradition. Both churches suffered by this arrangement, St. Peter's very seriously.

The orders in this period are no longer used in an unobtrusive manner, but become, except
ARCHITECTURE (Christian)

perhaps in Florence, the main feature of the style, although, as in ancient Roman work, they are generally little more than mere ornament unrelated to the anatomy of the building. They are generally treated on Roman lines; but there was considerable latitude, the shafts occasionally being even fluted spirally, or wreathed with bands of foliage and fruit, or worst of all, broken by square blocks. The Tuscan order becomes clearly defined in Renaissance work as a separate order. In Spain a new kind of capital appears, termed the ‘bracket capital,’ in which two or more brackets spring from the head of the column. It has the advantage of reducing the strain on the architrave.

FIG. 65.

In the best designed work one order is used for each storey; and in France this arrangement was practically universally observed. This was owing to the supreme influence in that country of Barozzi da Vignola, author of The Five Orders of Architecture who had been brought back to France by Francis I. But in Venice Palladio introduced a system wherein one order ran through two or more storeys, minor orders being introduced in the storeys themselves. This unsatisfactory arrangement, which still further degraded the orders as mere applied ornament, unfortunately became popular in Britain, owing to the influence of Palladio, who was the inspirer of Inigo Jones.

One might even make a division of Renaissance architecture according as the orders of the windows formed the main element of the wall design. The latter is distinctly more Gothic in feeling, and is found more particularly at the beginning and end, before the Gothic art had quite disappeared, and after the Renaissance had spent its force. To some extent the division would be one of locality. In Florentine work the order is always less dominant than in either the school of Rome or that of Venice, and this distinction may also be noticed in those countries respectively influenced by these schools.

The column itself frequently bears the arch, particularly in early work, although the more usual arrangement is a massive pier with attached pilasters. Occasionally the unpleasant device is used of a section of entablature above the columns from which the arch is made to spring.

The moldings of the orders and other parts were the simple circuit section of Roman work. The great series of receding moldings on the arches of Gothic architecture were replaced by square soffits; and string courses and moldings generally become comparatively scarce. Effect is given by strongly marked entablatures dividing off the storeys of the building, and altogether horizontal features become very pronounced. In Italian and particularly Florentine work, a great cornice of very large proportions is often used on the top storey, suited in its size to the whole height of the building and not merely to the storey in which it occurs. This on the whole gives a pleasing effect with its marked shadow line.

The ornament is founded upon classical Roman work; but in the best Renaissance examples, especially in Florence, it is more refined. It should be noticed that Renaissance carving was almost invariably executed after the building was set up. In Gothic buildings every stone was completed before it was put into its place. The result is that the joinings often cut unpleasantly across Renaissance work, whereas Gothic jointing and the carving-designs are thought out together. It is simply one aspect of the principle that the Gothic pile was always essentially a building; the Renaissance pile was rather a monument, treated somewhat after the manner of a picture.

The old Roman ribless vault was revived, at least in form, but a considerable geometrical improvement was made. In the plain barrel form it remained semicircular, but in the case of intersecting vaults over a rectangular space the curve of the vault was made elliptical, so that the diagonal groins might be projected as straight lines upon the plan (fig. 66). It should, however, be observed that in an enormous number of cases the vault was a mere plaster sham, and not part of the construction, as in Roman or Gothic work. All roofs in Italy were hidden within by ceilings, but in France and Germany the open timber roof was made an important feature. The roof is of low pitch, and in the majority of instances so low that from most points of view the parapet forms the sky-line. In France, however, we find the high ‘Mansard’ roof; and in Germany the high roof with tiers of dormer windows is a very common feature. The fact is that Germany never wholly adopted the Renaissance style until long after every other country in Europe, and these high roofs are medieval in character.

FIG. 66.

The glory of the style is the dome, which in its general treatment follows the Byzantine method. There is almost universally a drum, as in the second Byzantine period; but it is made an even more important feature, and very commonly is enriched by a colonnade. It was usual to build these domes with an outer and an inner shell of different curvature and a space between. The outer dome is frequently a mere timber-framed erection, resting upon the other, as in Sansovino’s S. Giorgio dei Greci at Venice, or the outer dome of the Église des Invalides, Paris, which consists of three domes (fig. 66). In this connexion may be noticed the very great use of carpentry all through Renaissance work, which has been compared by some writers to the modern use of iron. St. Paul’s, London, has an outer and
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an inner dome, with a brick cone between. St. Peter's, Rome, has two brick domes.

Renaissance spires were not of common occurrence save in England and Spain. They seem to have been invented first by Sir Christopher Wren, but the Spanish use is possibly independent. In the second period round-headed windows were less frequent, and square-headed windows, often with small pediments over them, were the rule. The rustication, so common in Florence in the early period, was now generally confined to the corners, as in the Pandolfini Palace designed by Raphael, and more or less freely copied in The Travellers' Club, London. At the same time there was a tendency for all wall space to disappear, and for the whole surface to be covered with an exuberance, and in which the features, the detail and moldings became more vigorous and elaborate, but lacked the earlier refinement.

The Roman method of building had been largely one of veneers. The inner part of the wall was of inferior material, but the outer side was faced with fine stone or more often marble. The Romanesque Gothic had made use of a double wall with a rubble core, derived from Roman use; but this system was gradually abandoned, and in the best work the walls were built solid, or at least all the face stones were bonded into and formed an integral part of the wall. The Renaissance architects realized that this was a better system, and endeavoured to follow it out in their work. At the same time veneers were not infrequently used, and plaster facing was by no means uncommon. This was particularly so in the last period, when panels, cornices, and ornaments even upon the exterior were of plaster—a most unsatisfactory arrangement.

In Italy itself it may certainly be said that there were three distinct schools of the art:

(1) The Florentine, which depended largely on the dome. The chief work of this period is that of the 17th century, with Mansart as the supreme architect. There is less severity, and many curves give a weakness of effect. Orders of varying heights are used, and are often piled upon other orders somewhat indiscriminately.

(2) The Venetian, which was shallower and more pompous, with great ornaments introduced for ornament's sake only. This work has a certain characteristic, and is therefore, less severe, and many curves give a weakness of effect. Orders of varying heights are used, and are often piled upon other orders somewhat indiscriminately.

(3) The Roman, which is midway between the two in severity. It is marked by great plasters of the whole height of the building, so as to give the effect of one storey, and in consequence of this it has had a greater influence upon church architecture. The pilaster and not the column is used, as the inter-columnations upon so huge a scale would make the span of the architrave impossible.

In this period there was a distinct decline, and a great deal of extravagance and affectation, such as broken entablatures, and pediments, and curved and irregular cornices. In Italy there is a peculiar lack of inspiration, and the work of Maderno and Bernini may be taken as typical. One of the most pleasing examples is that of St. Maria della Salute, by Longhena, in Venice (A.D. 1632). Its proportions and general mass are exact; although the details leave something to be desired. Doubtless it owes a great debt to its situation. St. Genevieve (The Pantheon), Paris (A.D. 1755), although greatly superior to most work of the time, belongs to this period. It was built from Soufflot's designs, and is interesting as having the smallest amount of area of supports of any Renaissance church, comparing even with Gothic work in this respect. Compare its plan (fig. 67) with that of St. Peter's or St. Paul's (fig. 68). It has not been successful, however, for it has been necessary to prop and support it several times.

The extravagances of the 'Rococo' in France are even surpassed by the work in Spain generally known as 'Churrigueresque,' after the architect Churriguera, doubtless partly caused by a revulsion from the over-bold mechanical style of such men as Herrera in the previous period.

In considering the Renaissance style as a whole, certain broad characteristics should be noticed. In the first place, there was a very distinct tendency, particularly in the case of its Italian inventors, to view the whole composition as a mass, and proportion rather than as a building. There is often very little relation between the uses of the building and its form. Architecture is an applied art, and therefore, unless it be well adapted to the function that it has to perform, it cannot be a success. But, further, it is not only upon these grounds that so much Renaissance work must be condemned. Even upon aesthetic grounds, in the erection of a monument as distinct from a building, it is necessary that the thing should form an organic whole; and a column which is the outcome of the aesthetic endeavour of many ages to express the beauty of support, is clearly out of place when it supports nothing. The concealment of construction and arrangement is a similar but different question. An enormously heavy lantern, rising above what is apparently a dome of light construction, may, if it is true, be defended upon the grounds that it is obvious that there must be some further support within. The eye would, however, probably be aesthetically more satisfied if there were some indication of this support, as otherwise there is considerable though not absolutely certain danger of the artistic unity being marred. To treat the matter as a moral question is, of course, absurd, and simply shows entire ignorance of the nature of all aesthetic.

![PANTEON
PARIS](Figs. 67 and 68.)

![S'TP AULS](Figs. 67 and 68.)
ARCHITECTURE (Egyptian).—We shall here deal only with the religious architecture; but as that is by far the greater part of what exists, the discussion will involve most of the known facts. The divisions of the subject are (1) the Materials, (2) the Ground Plan, (3) the Wall and its Decoration, (4) Furniture, (5) Popular features.

I. The Materials.—The materials necessarily condition the style and decoration of all architecture. In Egypt the commonest materials used by the peasant were to their exterior, a mud made of the stalks and stalks, and palm sticks, and palm logs. The simplest huts are made by lashing maize stalks (stems of the durra, called biis) together by means of palm-fibre; the flat screens thus formed are set upright at right angles, and lashed together to form a wall. Where a column is required, a bundle of maize stalks is bound together, from 4 to 10 in. in diameter, and plastered with mud, thus forming an extremely stiff and unbreakable mass. Two such columns are even used in the Invalides of the State, which weighs two or three hundredweight, and is kept continually in swaying motion. In ancient times the papyrus stem was also commonly used, as well as the maize stalk. Mud brick was the principal building material in Egypt in all ages; even in the rainy climates of Syria and Babylonia it was universal, and in the general drought of Egypt it is an excellent material. The mud requires to be mixed with so much sand that the grays shall be almost in contact, and then rain has but a slow effect upon it. Another way of making it durable was to mix it with chopped straw, or even grass roots, which bind it together. The brick is then set in a natural base of mud a few inches thick, and is lashed together at the corners. The palm-stick is used for fences, the tops being left with side leaves to form a barrier to men and animals. The logs of the palm tree are used for roofing-beams, but never for columns.

The materials of the architecture are closely connected with the general features of the architecture. The constant use of a portico or verandah in front of house, temple, or tomb, results from the common use of bundles of maize stalk. The palm capital results


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from strengthening the column with a coat of the hardest palm-bark. Some of these thin tops, were left loose around the capital. The sloping walls of the pylons result from tilting the courses of bricks inward, so as to prevent them from being easily dislodged. In order to save the corners of real huts or brickwork from being another stone gateway, lashed on down the edge; these were the origin of the torus molding marked by diagonal winding bands along the angles of the buildings. The fence, former of palmyra plants, with loose heads, lashed together near the top to a palm-log or post, served as the source of the cavoetto molding with torus roll below it. The palm-log roof is copied in stone in tombs at Gizeh and Abydos. Thus the forms adoped for the site are derived, belong to the earlier materials, as in Greece.

2. The plans.—The plans of the temples vary considerably in different ages. The earlier temples are scarcely known except from the plans of the Osiris temples at Abydos, and the views of primitive shrines. The hieroglyph for a shrine in early times retained the appearance of a plain square hut, with a fence in front of it, and two tall poles at the sides of the entrance. Another form is a hut with a gabled mud-brick wall, probably the one long, before it, having two tall poles at the entrance, and the standard of the deity placed in the middle of the court. The oldest plan of a temple at Abydos is a small temple, no larger than 42 ft. E.-W. and 21 ft. N.-S., with the entrance probably on the north; the wall is about 8 ft. thick. A great temenos wall was built round the site, and a block of store chambers placed at the side of the temple. The plan of the temple was circular, with a space at least 25 ft. wide and 42 ft. long; the entrance is a passage between walls 4 ft. apart and 35 ft. long, facing south. This is probably of the age before the first dynasty. Of the first dynasty is a temple of the same type, 42 ft. E.-W. and 21 ft. N.-S., with the entrance probably on the north; the wall is about 8 ft. thick. This is about 12 ft. N.-S. by 8 ft. E.-W.; it was about 15 ft. wide, probably entered from the north. Round this was subsequently added a stone wall reaching about 6 ft. farther out.

Lastly, in the time of Pepy I., a great reconstruction took place at Abydos. The new temple had the principal door to the north, and a lesser one to the south. The building was of mud brick, with stone doorways; it was 49 ft. N.-S. and 33 ft. E.-W. in the middle hall, or with side chambers 58 ft. wide inside. The walls were 5 ft. thick. From the position of the doorways this seems to have been a peristyle temple, open front and back, for the processions to enter, deposit the sacred lark, and pass out by the other door. The surroundings were also altered. The old temenos wall had a stone gateway inserted, and outside of it, 49 ft. in advance, was built an outer temenos wall, with another stone gateway. A colonnade led from the outer to the inner gate. To this temple Mentuhotep added a colonnade on the eastern side.

Another entire re-modelling took place in the Eleventh dynasty under Sankh-kara. A square of brick, 49 ft. E.-W., and 48 ft. N.-S., held the foundation of a stone temple, probably 44 ft. square. As this mainly overlies the Pepy temple, it was probably entered from the north, like that. The stones of Setebesh, Tacy, and other names, were very grand enough for Senusert I., who pulled it all down, and laid foundations over the pavement of his predecessor. This temple seems to have faced East, as the outside length of it was 133 ft. E.-W. As for processions, the temple was neither for processions, nor for having a statue in a naos. Such are those of Deir el-Bahri,

The great temenos was built around it, 192 ft. distant to the eastward, with a wall 30 ft. thick. To this temple Schekhhotep III. added a chapel and doorway on the south.

The XVIIIth dynasty saw all this re-built still larger. The temenos was 294 ft. long, E.-W.; in it lay the stone foundations were lashed down on the edge; these were the origin of the torus molding marked by diagonal winding bands along the angles of the buildings. The fence, former of palm-stems with loose heads, lashed together near the top to a palm-log or post, served as the source of the cavoetto molding with torus roll below it. The palm-log roof is copied in stone in tombs at Gizeh and Abydos. Thus the forms adopted for the site are derived, belong to the earlier materials, as in Greece.

Another early temple plan is that of Hierakonpolis. This was of a burnt-offering, a type, open back and front. We have detailed these successive temples as they are the only examples that have yet been observed and recorded, showing the growth and alterations throughout Egyptian history on one site. Many secondary details, and the onloring store-rooms, are not noticed here, nor buildings of the XIXth and XXth dynasties which were in adjacent positions, but are too much ruined to be traced. The total result is that there were seven entirely different plans on one site, beside alterations to these. The direction of facing was successively S., N., N.?, N., N.?, E., E., E., E.

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EGYPTIAN TEMPLE PLANS.

FIRST TO THIRD DYNASTY

ENCLOSURE OF EARLIEST KINGS

SIXTH DYNASTY

SACRIFICIAL HEARTH OF KHEPH
FOURTH DYNASTY

SMALL SQUARE (ELEVENTH) AND OBLONG (TWELFTH DYNASTY) TEMPLES OF OSIRIS, ABYDOS

COMPLETE TEMPLE OF TWENTIETH DYNASTY,
OF KHONSU, KARNAK

[All above, 1:400]
ARCHITECTURE (Egyptian)

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Sety I. at Qurneh, Ramess II., Merenptah, and Ramess III.

For noting the various divisions of a temple it is best to take an example, such as that of Khonsu at Karnak, built by Ramess II. The massive pylons lead to the peristyle court, with a single or a double row of columns around three sides. This is the expansion of the human figure or hieroglyph, a court-yard in front of it. Behind this is the closed hypostyle hall, which originated in the hall of the house which had sometimes a single column in it. At the back of this is the actual sanctuary, with stone chambers at each side, and sometimes also behind it. The sanctuary was either a long chamber, with wide doors front and back, and a wide passage around it for processions to pass bearing the bark of the god; or else it was a closed naos containing the statue of the god.

3. The elevations.—The elevations show almost always a slight slope inwards of the face of the wall, which is vertical inside, and thus becomes thinner towards the top. This form was inherited from building in brick. The doorways are, however, always vertical. The overhanging cornice with a roll below it was copied from the loose ends of the palm-sticks left free at the top, the roll being the end of the bent palm-stick, which was lashed. When elaborated, the cornice always has a palm leaf pattern on it. The columns are of various orders. The square pillar without any capital is seen in the temple of Khafra, and in the courts of the XVIIIth dynasty. The polygonal columns occur in the Xth and XIth dynasties. The further transition to sixteen sides belongs to the XIth and XVIIth dynasties. The palm column is apparently the same form from the base to the knoll of the leafy palm-sticks round the outside, with the leafy ends of the palm-sticks left hanging free around the top, forming a capital. It always had a square abacus to carry the weight free of the projecting leaves. The lotus column represents a similar bundle decorated with lotus buds stuck into the hollows of the binding, and a sculptured capital imitating a half-opened lotus flower. The papyrus column is a bundle of papyrus stems, with a sculptured capital copied from the papyrus leaf. The Hathor capital is usually on a polygonal column, or circular in late times, with a head of the goddess on one, or two, or all four sides. In Roman times we find polygonal columns with foreign elements were introduced.

The roof was either of wood, brick, or stone. The earlier little shrines were evidently roofed with the same stems which formed the sides. Brick roofing was certainly largely used for houses and tombs, and probably, therefore, for the smaller brick temples. Barrel roofs 6 ft. across were common in the Vth dynasty, and larger ones up to 13 ft. wide in later times. For stone buildings, roofs of stone were naturally used, either of limestone or sandstone like the walls. But so strong was the influence of brick arching that the roofs are often cut out in a curve beneath, while flat above, thus imitating the Abydos. The earlier stone roofs are very massive. The limestone slabs on the tops of the IInd dynasty reach the size of 20 x 8 x 3 ft., weighing 33 tons. The granite beams in the great pyramid are at least 21 ft. long, 4 to 5 ft. wide, and about 1 ft. thick. The granite blocks were specially selected; the centre of gravity of the block was over the wall, and it would not tend to fall over. The early roofs were often pointed, and on the cantilever principle; the centre of gravity of the block was over the wall, and it would not tend to fall over. The Early Egyptian roofs were generally ribbed, and from 30° to 40°; and with their great depth, as much as 7 ft., their resistance as beams was enormous. In the pyramids there are generally three layers of such beams, one over the other. The roofing of temples was on a similar scale. Deep stone architraves rested on the columns, and large slabs stretched across the passage and chambers; those which roof the axial passage at Karnak are built to a height of 10 ft.

4. The decoration.—The decoration was the life of an Egyptian temple. At first the walls are severely plain; at Medum there is not a single hieroglyph on the walls. At the granite temple of Khafra nothing is seen but perfectly smooth granite and alabaster, without even a moulding. But in the Vth dynasty the Ra temple of Ka-emunu is as richly sculptured as the tombs of that age. The temple walls of the XIth dynasty are very finely sculptured, and sometimes richly coloured (see Koptos and Lebenu). In the XVIIIth dynasty the more complete temples enable us to follow the scheme of design. But it is in a quite perfect temple, such as that of Denderah, that we can see the connections of the scenes with the use of each part. On the outer screens between the columns is shown the king leaving his palace, followed by his khs, and passed by an incense offerer. Then Horus and Thoth purify him, and the goddesses of south and north bless him. Mentu and Atum—of Thebes and Helipolis—bring him before Hather, the goddess of Denderah, while the sun-god Ra, in all his majesty, has taken the peristyle hall. The king is shown sacrificing to the gods of Denderah; and along the lowest line of the wall are the scenes of the founding of the temple by the king, losing the foundation, and presenting the bricks for the building. In the next chamber the king proceeds to worship the gods. And on reaching the sanctuary itself, the king is shown ascending the steps to the shrine, removing the sacred symbol from the top of the doors, opening the door, gazing on the goddess, praying to her, cleansing the sacred bars, and worshipping before the barks. Finally, he presents the image of truth to the goddess. Thus the decoration all has its purpose as an outline of the ceremonies proper to each part of the temple; it is a kind of ritual and rubrics in stone, like the scenes and figures of the early tombs, so that eternally the king should be considered to be performing the divine service in a temple.

Apart from the ritual decoration, there were many details of customary ornament. The palm-leaf cornice we have already noticed. On the screens of stone between the columns and the tops of shrines, a cornice of uroil was often placed. Such was originally proper to the judgment-hall, the deadly uroil serpent being the emblem of the right of capital punishment. A favourite combination was the disc of the sun, the uraei in front of it, a vulture's wings at the sides, and ram's horns above it. This represents Ra, in three aspects, as Creator—the ram's horns belonging to Khnum, the creative rain god; as Preserver—the vulture's wings spread out being the emblem of maternal care; and as Judge or Destroyer—the serpent being the sign of judicial right. Where the disc is shown over a king's head, it is often seen with the cornice, and the healthy, long, slanting neck, the projectoing head, and the rings of hair. The vulture's wings spread out being the emblem of the right of capital punishment. Similarly the heads of boars, the emblem of the Nubians, are shown in front of the sun-disc and the ram's horns, the cornice of uroil. The disc is sometimes drawn to judge by the ribbed green tiles; it often appears in later times, and was usual in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples. Similarly the ceilings are covered with a dark blue ground, spangled with
golden stars. The stars are always five-rayed; and the representation of stars with rays suggests that the ancient Egyptians were short-sighted like the modern, for stars appear only as points of light to long-sighted eyes.

Of minor decoration there is a very ancient form in the figure of a door surrounded by panelling, which became the emblem of the tomb entrance, and is often shown painted below the sacred hawk. Thus the design of the king is always written about such a doorway. The very elaborate coloured patterns of the panelling on examples in the Old and Middle Kingdoms should be noticed. The small square panels are probably an imitation of a woodwork screen built up of small pieces. Such construction was requisite in so dry a climate, where wood warped and shrank so much, and only small pieces could be trusted to keep their form. The medieval Arab woodwork met this difficulty in the same way. Another decorative use of wood was in the open-work carving of a pair of lotus leaves tied together, or a group of lotus signs, which formed a fretwork over the ventilating holes in the hypostyle hall. The hanging of wooden screens was inserted to steady the framing of chairs and tables by fretwork groups of hieroglyphs, as the girdle tie of Isis, the daed, the ankh, and other signs. Such furniture work passed on into stone decoration. Small sculptured wall decorations had a great part in Egyptian life. Every festivity, every sociality, was a field for floral ornament with wreaths, garlands, and streamers of convolvulus; every refreshment was floured over it and round it, and every group of offerings on an altar was heaped with flowers. Hence wreaths became a customary decoration on surface carvings and paintings. Also a favourite ceiling design was a vine trellis; and hanging from it beams purple clusters of grapes hung down, made in glazed pottery.

5. The furniture.—The furniture of the temples is frequently represented. The central object of devotion was the sacred bark. This was a boat about 8 ft. in length (Kaptos, xix.), fastened down to a framework of poles by rope ties (Temple of Kings, vi.). This framework was put upon the shoulders of the priests for carrying it in procession; as many as twelve to twenty priests are represented, each probably carrying a burden of half a hundredweight. To set down this bark a high stand was needed. This was sometimes of wood, a square box with decorated panels (Zosimus, 18). It was also used, as is shown by one in the British Museum with figures of six gods around it (see illustration in Art [Egyptian]). Upon the bark there stood a canopy or catafalque of slender wooden pillars and a springy top of board; and from this was suspended the square shrine of the god, hung by ropes, and kept from swaying by guides tied at the bottom. The detail of the structure is shown in a working drawing on papyrus. This shrine was elaborately carved and decorated, and was almost always half-swathed in a linen wrapper. Fore and aft of the shrine were statuettes of the king and of various gods, adoring the divinity. At each end of the bark was a figure-head, and a great engraved collar of metal hanging below it. Some shrines had a winged figure of Mast, the goddess of truth, at each end, embracing the shrine with her wings. Such seems to be the type of the worship of the Jewish ark. Of other furniture there were the standards of the gods upon long poles, which were carried in procession, as well as the stands for holding the libation jars and other vessels used in the worship. The back of a number of columns, water-jars hung round with garlands; and the tall trumpet-shaped stands of pottery or metal for holding jars. In the papyrus of Ramessu iii. are named the tables of gold, silver, and bronze, the collars and ornaments for decorating the statues on the festivals, and a great balance plated with electrum. The buildings and chambers which now seem so bare and blank were handsomely furnished with panelling of gold and silver, and bright with garlands of flowers.

6. The popular shrines.—These shrines were scattered all over the country by the waysides, doubtless by the modern Muhammadan. Such local worship is directly contrary to Islam, and must, therefore, have persisted from earlier times, like so many other customs. There still exist models of these shrines of Roman ages, which were used for domestic worship in the house. They are shown as small chambers crowned with a pediment, supported by six columns—three on each side—which were connected by lattice screens; or as an arched roof carried on four columns, with a dwarf wall joining them; or as a small donjon chamber with a doorway, exactly like a modern little shrine in the house. The shrine in the house was a framed wooden cupboard surrounded by a pilastered recess, covered with boards, which recess a lamp burned before the figure of the god.

W. M. F. FLINDERS PETRIE.

ARCHITECTURE (Greek).—The subject of Greek architecture is one that has been curiously neglected. A small amount of notable decorative work had a great part in Egyptian life. Every festivity, every sociality, was a field for floral ornament with wreaths, garlands, and streamers of convolvulus; every refreshment was floured over it and round it, and every group of offerings on an altar was heaped with flowers. Hence wreaths became a customary decoration on surface carvings and paintings. Also a favourite ceiling design was a vine trellis; and hanging from it beams purple clusters of grapes hung down, made in glazed pottery.

5. The furniture.—The furniture of the temples is frequently represented. The central object of devotion was the sacred bark. This was a boat about 8 ft. in length (Kaptos, xix.), fastened down to a framework of poles by rope ties (Temple of Kings, vi.). This framework was put upon the shoulders of the priests for carrying it in procession; as many as twelve to twenty priests are represented, each probably carrying a burden of half a hundredweight. To set down this bark a high stand was needed. This was sometimes of wood, a square box with decorated panels (Zosimus, 18). It was also used, as is shown by one in the British Museum with figures of six gods around it (see illustration in Art [Egyptian]). Upon the bark there stood a canopy or catafalque of slender wooden pillars and a springy top of board; and from this was suspended the square shrine of the god, hung by ropes, and kept from swaying by guides tied at the bottom. The detail of the structure is shown in a working drawing on papyrus. This shrine was elaborately carved and decorated, and was almost always half-swathed in a linen wrapper. Fore and aft of the shrine were statuettes of the king and of various gods, adoring the divinity. At each end of the bark was a figure-head, and a great engraved collar of metal hanging below it. Some shrines had a winged figure of Mast, the goddess of truth, at each end, embracing the shrine with her wings. Such seems to be the type of the worship of the Jewish ark. Of other furniture there were the standards of the gods upon long poles, which were carried in procession, as well as the stands for holding the libation jars and other vessels used in the worship. The back of a number of columns, water-jars hung round with garlands; and the tall trumpet-shaped stands of pottery or metal for holding jars. In the papyrus of Ramessu iii. are

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(1) The earlier periods of architecture in Egypt—of pyramids and temples—may be considered partly because they belong to a time that had long since ceased to exercise any influence on the civilized world. While some of the earlier buildings were doubtless foeresters in intention to anything built by the Greeks, who were never a race of tomb builders at all. Of the later Egyptian architecture, that of the Pharaohs, which Egyptian art strove to make mainly internal rather than external, and by which the Egyptian artist strove to make the structure hidden and sublimated, as contrasted with the special grandeur of Greek art, which expresses itself in reserve, refinement, and grace. Like the sturdy and unadorned construction of the Early Christian Church, such a most obvious method that occurs to every builder, it certainly does not possess any suggestion of conscious significance. This constructive design is a little too obvious an expedient to be interpreted as a sign of influence, and there remains the frequent use of columns as the only resemblance. But these are so essentially different a character, and their gradual development in Greece is so certain, that there is no need to make reference to Egyptian practice at all.

(2) Aysrian architecture offers even less resemblance. It may, however, be noted that the influence of minor orname-
tal details, as expressed by the arch or the vault. It was primarily secular, and neither tombs nor temples played any important part, but, as far as remains attached, the architectural design is primitive and simple. The ornamental detail in some ways resembles that of Egypt, and in fact the structure of the Later Asrian work seems to have a tendency to affinities, although probably not more than can be accounted for by a perfectly natural process of development or suggestion from preceding work in other lands.

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(3) Hellenic architecture it may be remarked that it was a naturally evolved style, and that it is better to separate it from the rest. This would be incorrect to say that its buildings were predominantly religious, although religious architecture played an important, perhaps the leading, part. It must always be remembered that a religious character is necessary for buildings to survive, partly from the natural conservatism of religion and religions veneration, partly as belonging to a corporate body in contrast to private property. We may expect, even in the case of an age where the building activity was evenly distributed, that remains of religious buildings would be the most numerous, of other public corporations next, and of domestic buildings last. The greater resources of a corporation, whether religious or otherwise, tend to a greater scale and possibility of survival; and, comparing religious and other public buildings, there is always the greater need for alteration and change on the one hand, and it is likely that those original and less altered style that would otherwise have been destroyed. An interesting case in point is the small temple of the Iliussus, which survived changes of religion for 2000 years; yet directly the age of religion was withdrawn the temple disappeared, as a channel to Greek art can, in any case, be indirect.

Here again, in the case of Aysrian architecture, the entire spirit of the style, which are those of palaces and tombs, and not the work of temple-building peoples at all, allows at most of a limited range of influence. The wholly different art character of the two peoples, if we may group the Aysrian peoples as one and the Greeks as another, is, however, a far more fundamental line of cleavage. The earlier art is more luxuriant and less restrained. It is less structural in its character, depending more for its effect upon applied surface ornament; while the later art is so much lessself-consciously intellectual, and expresses itself largely by an arbitrary symbolism, whereas the Greek art is marked by an attempt at rational and self-explanatory embodiment of its ideas. The growth of this characteristic does not necessarily mean a decline in the art; just as, it may be observed, that the same thing is characteristic of the Aysrian art; but it shows, on the whole, that the art of the Greeks was more conscious of the possibility of its being a religious art.

The fact that these buildings have been left us by the Hellenes in early work, as, for instance, in the temple of Hera at Olympia. This, therefore, does point to an early dependence on Egyptian sources.

The temple of Heraea at Olympia. The temple is an exemplar of the Greek style, which must have taken a considerable time to effect, implying several earlier stages. The temple has been dated as early as the 7th century B.C. and is of course a temple different from the temple of Eleutherios, the Bouleuterion, and the Prytaneeum (see footnotes, p. 67), must have ranked with the greatest religious buildings of all that has come down to us, judged from the purely architectural standpoint, is the Prytaneeum, which can hardly be classed as a religious building, actually having come into direct conflict with the temple of Jupiter. These constitute the only three orders, the column, and the entablature, are found in all three orders.

The temple was a temple, and not a temple of Zeus, which was a temple to Argo. It is considered as originally a temple for the building, adopted and gradually altered to the Doric style. The temple is somewhat lower and more formal than the temple of Hera, as at Tivys (p. 680, fig. 8). The plan of the Heraea temple is very great, upon which, which must have taken a considerable time to effect, implying several earlier stages. The temple has been dated as early as the 7th century B.C. and is of course a temple different from the temple of Eleutherios, the Bouleuterion, and the Prytaneeum (see footnotes, p. 67), must have ranked with the greatest religious buildings of all that has come down to us, judged from the purely architectural standpoint, is the Prytaneeum, which can hardly be classed as a religious building, actually having come into direct conflict with the temple of Jupiter. These constitute the only three orders, the column, and the entablature, are found in all three orders.
With regard to the temples, at any rate, it may be said that every building rested upon a platform or stylobate, generally of three steps. In this it may be distinguished from all other styles, where, although a base-mold or plinth may be found, nothing of this nature occurs. Upon this, as its name implies, stood the columns, and these in their turn supported the entablature or stone lintel which is the main characteristic of the style. This lintel, or truncature, construction was used, not because the Greeks were unacquainted with the arch: apparently they had deliberately rejected it upon aesthetic grounds. They knew of the arch in the East, and quite early made use of it occasionally for purely structural purposes, as in the case of a water-drain at Athens, a barrel-vault at Sicyon, the passage to the stadium at Olympia, an arch in Arcadia, and in the lower storey of a stoa at Alinda. It is not altogether improbable that the Tholos at Athens was covered by a small dome. The arches of the Egean period are not, as a rule, built with radiating voussoirs, although an example occurs in Arcadia. The arch principle is really involved at Tynys, perhaps unconsciously, but it is not truly the corbelled system. One may suggest that the reason is to be sought in the Greek type of mind, as it expresses itself both in religion and art, partly in its sense of reserve, the μύστηρ δάσιν of the temple at Delphi, partly in its tendency to seek the highest in a completed and finished perfection that does not lead out beyond itself. Hence it is more readily satisfied in the rectangular self-contained composition of Greek architecture than in a style involving the distribution of thrusts and the aesthetic incompleteness of the line of the arch. This became one of the most expressive features of the essentially suggestive, rather than perfected or finished, medieval style.

1. The Doric order has generally been considered the oldest; but there is no adequate reason for supposing so, although it is not unlike the pre-Persic remains from the Acropolis of Athens and the temples at Ephesus and Samos, Neaodria and Naukratis, show Ionic work of very remote date. Indeed, one might even suppose that they are egnostic developments from a common beginning, rather than that the one is derived from the other or is a later invention. The Doric order is marked by somewhat massive proportions; for instance, the columns of the temple at Corinth are 4' 47' diameters, and those of the Parthenon at Athens 34 ft. high, 6' 025 diameters. The entablature is similarly heavy in proportion to the whole.

The Doric column consists of a shaft and capital only; there is no base. It is conceivable that there was originally a plain square base, and that a series of these have coalesced to form the top step of the stylobate. The early columns at Corinth (c. 650 B.c.) are monoliths, but in other cases the voussoirs are built up in drums, fitted together with the most marvellous accuracy. The shafts are invariably fluted, with a sharp ariss between the flutes (fig. 2). These flutes are generally 20 in number, but other numbers are not so rare as it is commonly supposed. The flutes are

3 Flutes, Trozen.
8 " Bohunnos.
12 " Ascolus.
16 " Sounion.
16 " Egin.
16 " Shaft-round at Olympia, probably Young Column.
Porch.
16 " A shaft of the Parthenon.
18 " Pronaos of Ascal Temple.
20 " Naxian's treasury at Olympia, but only 11 flutes: the rest at
back are flat.
24 Flutes, Temple of Poseidon at Peumum.
25 " Isolated column in side at Assos.
28 " Fallen fragment at Ephesus.
32 " Two drums from Samos.
52 " Epidaurus's house at Olympia (every alternate corner has a bead instead of a sharp ariss).
44 Naxian's treasury at Delphi.

The flutes are probably a perfectly natural development from the square pillar—a form not unknown in Egean art—and, moreover, the anta in Greek work is square in section to the last. At first the corners would be cut, giving an octagon, as at Trozen, then these would again be cut, giving sixteen sides. This would be done, doubtless partly for utilitarian reasons, so as to admit more light and give easy ingress and egress. But that the main reason was aesthetic is shown, in the first place, by the fact that the columns never became plain circles, and, in the second place, by the fluting or hollowing out of the sides of the polygon. These greatly accentuate the effect, and thereby give aesthetic emphasis to the verticality of the column, emphasizing the outline of the column, and making it tell, whether against a very dark or a very light background. The suggestion that it was derived from Egypt may be dismissed as fanciful, as the supposed prototypes at Beni Hassan belong to an age too remote to have had any influence. The primitive artist is not an eclectic archaeologist. In the second place, the Beni Hassan columns are not fluted, but flat-sided. The flute, on the whole, points to a stone rather than a wooden origin, as it seems pretty clearly to be derived from a square, and not from the
round posts of a primitive wooden style. Other Egyptian polygonal types are even less likely.

The capital typically at three parts. The abacus is a square flat block that takes the bearing of the architrave. Below this is the echinus or capital itself—a bold molded member prominently suggestive of powerful support. Below this are three fillets to emphasize the neck. This gently curves into the shaft by means of the apophyses, and at the top of the shaft, immediately below the apophyses, are three sinkings which prepare the eye, as it ascends, for the change from the vertical lines of the shaft to the horizontal lines of the capital.

The entablature is divided into three portions—the architrave or lintel proper, the frieze and the cornice. The architrave is quite plain—a single solid block. In very large examples it may be necessary to use more than one block, but they are placed on their edges so as to present a single face to the front. The frieze is divided into spaces by upright blocks of stone (triglyphs) which support the real weight—a fact esthetically emphasized by the upright channelling that gives them their name. These three glyphs, or channels, are arranged with two complete in the middle and one half on either side. The early form of the glyph seems to have been nearly round-headed (fig. 3).

The spaces between are filled with slabs which do not support anything. These are termed metopes. The metope (i.e. the thing behind, or after, or at the back of the ope; cf. μετάφρασις) is the slab that goes behind the ope, hole or opening, in the frieze (fig. 3). This does perhaps imply that the interval was originally open. In a cella wall this would give light to the building (as in later writers means a window). In a peristyle it would become useless; and the introduction of the peristyle may have done away with the custom.

It does not throw much light on the beam-end theory, as the opening would be there in any case; but the method of fitting invariably used—which is to put the slab at the back of the hole—and the name—which does not mean 'between the triglyphs' but 'behind the opening'—if they point any way at all, suggest that the metope was always fitted as we find it, at the back of or behind the opening (fig. 3), which would not be possible if there were beam-ends. In rich examples the metopes are sculptured, particularly at the end of the building.

The cornice moldings need not be enumerated, but it might be observed that the uppermost member, the cymatium, is generally very similar to the ovolo molding of the echinos of the capital. This molding is carried up over the pediment at the sides of the building, and the cornices or flat member beneath it is recessed, occurring in member, the triglyph frieze, and once, with slight modifications, under the cymatium of the pediment.

The Doric order is the most severe and refined of the Greek orders. This characteristic made it the better to act as the frame of the glorious sculpture with which it was adorned. The tympanum, or triangular space in the pediment or gable, was generally filled with free sculpture, and some or all of the metopes were also occupied by sculpture in very high relief. In rich examples, as, for instance, in the Parthenon, it would seem to have been permissible to introduce sculpture elsewhere.

In that example the famous Panathenian frieze runs round the upper part of the cella, within the outer range of columns.

It is generally said that sculpture is a speciality of the Doric order, and is not found in Ionic, but for absolutely no reason. The Erechtheum, the temple of Athena Nike Aptera, the temple of Theseus, the great temples of Artemis at Ephesus, the temple of Aphaeira at Phigalia, were all richly decorated with sculpture. The so-called Attic base is not a widespread form, occurring only in a single instance in the north porch of the Erechtheum, not elsewhere even in that building (fig. 2). The Corinthian example of the monument of Lycurgus is, however, but slightly different. The influence of this base upon the architecture of the world was extraordinary, but not more than its extreme simplicity and great beauty justify (p. 713, fig. 47, and context). The original form of Ionic has been a torus molding above a sort of plinth with several astragals. The scotia below the torus was first introduced, and then the second torus below. The flutings are generally much deeper than the Doric. They are separated by a fillet in place of the sharp arris, which gives a very different effect to the column (fig. 2). In early examples the flutings were more numerous—40 at Naukratis, 44 at Ephesus, 44 on a votive column at Delphi. The sharp arris is also found in these early instances. The capital is lighter and the most distinctive feature of the order. It may be described as resembling a scroll upon two rollers, which form the well-known Ionic volutes. There is a very small circular abacus which has ornamental carving. The head of the capital, the echinos, immediately below and between the volutes, is abscissed, and sometimes in the Erechtheum, the neck also is richly decorated.

There seem to have been two early forms of the Ionic capital, that which may perhaps be termed Eolie and the Ionic form proper (Neoclia and Heraeum, fig. 4). It may also be noted that the echinus of the Ionic capital tend to diminish and become pushed up into the volute part of the capital. It is quite possible that this part is really the descendant of free overhanging leaves in an earlier form (fig. 4, Delphi). The architrave is not simple but divided into three faces, each slightly projecting over the one below (fig. 1). The frieze is a continuous band unbroken by triglyphs.
and frequently sculptured. The cornice is more elaborate than the Doric, and the lowermost member, as found in Asiatic examples, and afterwards borrowed in the Corinthian order, is very distinctive. This is the dentil band, which may be described as a series of small blocks set below the cornice, giving the appearance of a square serration. The uppermost member of the cornice is almost invariably the molding known as the cyma recta (fig. 9). On the whole it may be said that the Ionic style is less robust than the Doric, and depends more upon architectural ornament.

3. The Corinthian order is practically only the Ionic with a different capital. We are told by Vitruvius that Callimachus saw an ancient plant at Bassae near Phigalia, which had twined itself about a basket of sepulchral offerings, and that this suggested the idea of the Corinthian capital. A single capital of this type occurred at the S. end of the main chamber of the temple of Apollo at Phigalia, all the other capitals being of a peculiar Ionic type. This temple was built as a thank-offering for immunity during a great plague in either B.C. 430 or 431. It might even be hazarded as a suggestion that Callimachus was associated with the architect Ictinus in this case, just as Phidias was in the case of the Parthenon. The ultra-refinement of the design of the frieze, and an almost over- elaborate treatment of the drapery, carried out though it may have been by Peloponnesian workmen, would point to the influence of an extreme Attic tendency, such as we would associate with Callimachus rather than with Phidias and his school. That Ictinus, the most famous Athenian architect who built the temple, and Phidias himself made the temple image, suggests some famous Athenian designing the sculptural decorations.

It is fairly clear that the Corinthian capital was an individual invention, as it suddenly appears completed intact in the history of Greek architecture. What more likely than that in this single central capital, among a set of another kind, we have the original itself? This is strengthened by the fact that at Phigalia we also get the first examples of the true Ionic capital. Olympian Zeus and the Corinthian Stoa, all in Athens, are other instances. A beautiful and somewhat peculiar example exists from the lesser Propylæa at Eleusis. The temple of Apollo Didymæus at Mileæus shows fine examples, and there is an archaic Corinthian capital of uncertain date also found at Branchida near Mileæus. But the love of all Corinthian capitals are those of the Tholos at Epidaurus, obviously fairly early in date, and, with all their richness, marked by the chasteness and refinement of Greek work. The Corinthian order became the favourite of the Romans, and these subtle restrained delicacies were lost. It may be noted that in Greek work the acanthus leaf is worked with a crisp sharp edge, which becomes blunt and rounded in Roman hands (fig. 6).

This slight survey of the general characteristics of the orders prepares the way for the consideration of the commonly accepted theory of the wooden origin of Greek architecture. It is generally said that the Doric order is of unmistakably wooden origin, although it may be more doubtful in the case of the Ionic. The grounds for suggesting this are the tendency in which the column appears to represent the beam ends, and the upward slope of the mutules, which represent the ends of the rafters. These features do not occur in the Ionic order.

In the Parthenon, the only great temple in the main essentials of the two orders is far too marked for the principal source of origin and inspiration not to be the same. At the same time there are probably different contributory influences.

The style of these columns do not claim as anything but a stone feature, even though the upper part were timber. In Doric architecture, as contrasted with Ionic, the columns have no base, and the base is one of the supposed signs of wooden origin, either as a wooden shoe to prevent splitting—a feature hardly consonant with a primi-
tive style—or a flat stone laid on the ground to distribute the weight. However, it might be remarked that the distribution of weight is aesthetically demanded in any case by the slender Ionic column. The massive Doric column requires no base, and if it ever had one, it was early seen to be unnecessary. Its proportions are obviously those of stone, not of the narrow interests of marble. The more slender Ionic with its considerably longer lintel has a closer resemblance to wooden proportions. It should further be noticed that the oldest Doric columns are the most massive, and most obviously the outcome of their stone material. The tendency of development from a wooden origin would naturally be in the reverse direction. Pausanias says that one of the columns of the Heraea at Olympia was of oak. It has been suggested that this was the last of the original wooden set, which were gradually replaced. There are, however, difficulties with regard to the entablature, which would not fit equally well upon a set of stone Doric columns of more or less normal proportions and upon wooden ones. Nevertheless it is conceivable, and the intercolumniations are certainly wider than usual.

The heavy Doric abaci projecting on all four sides is also obviously of wooden origin and would split off. To some extent the same might be said of the echinos, but its whole shape is essentially non-wooden.

In the Ionic capital, however, we find proportions that are not so easily be adapted to wood. The grain of the wood would run parallel with the line of the architrave. The spreading support is obtained, and at the same time the capital does not overhang at the front or the back, so there would be no danger of splitting off. Again, the spirals are a natural primitive incised ornament, equally applicable to stone and wood, although their final form is more suited to stone. Early incised and painted capitals have been found on the Acropolis of Athens. The Doric echinos, however, though subtle in its curvature, is a natural primitive stone form, claiming kinship with such a form as the rude primitive cushion capital of the Normans (fig. 57, p. 710).

But the different fluting points the same way. A polygon when fluted can give only a sharp arris. It is a natural and simple expedient, in borrowing the idea of fluting from the stone Doric form and applying it to the circular form, to leave the plain fillet which we find in Ionic work. The surfaces of the fillets are on the circumference of a circle and are not flat. The circular form is the natural shape of the tree-trunk; the polygonal form is the natural development from the square block of quarried stone.

But it is in the Doric entablature that the wooden origin is supposed to be most conspicuous. The general proportions, which may be contrasted with the light entablature of the Ionic are certainly true stone proportions as we find them. The massive architrave in a single block certainly does not suggest anything but the stone block which it is, whatever may be said for the three faces of Ionic work.

The triglyph frieze is generally said to represent the ends of the beams, and it is suggested that the gutta represent the heads of the pins. What the regule are, from which the gutta depend, is gracefully omitted from the theory. Now, in the first place, the actual position of the gutta suggesting a vertical pin is quite impossible as at $\delta$ (fig. 6); but even if we try a diagonal position such as at $\gamma$ (fig. 6), the gutta is absolutely useless, as it would draw, and this is really equally impossible. A pin might be placed at $a$ or a huge pin directly underneath at $\delta$, but in neither place are the gutter found. A true artist may have had the gutta suggested to his mind by pin-heads, and then created a genuine stone feature, but that has nothing to do with a wooden origin for architecture, any more than the acanthus leaf implies a haystack as an architectural prototype. The raindrops may equally well have suggested the idea and have spontaneously suggested raindrops to children, who did not know the meaning of the word gutta.

But the most serious objection to the pin theory is that guttas are not found in early work. They do not occur in the Bouleuterion at Olympia or the Schliemann treasury, or in the newer, but still early, porch of the Gelsons. They are not found at Assos or in the early Athenian fragments, or in the temple of Demeter at Pesticum.

With regard to the triglyphs, they are in the first place needlessly enormous for any ceiling joint. They might be the right scale for tie beams, but they are then placed at impossibly close intervals. The dentils of the Ionic order would in many examples, although most of them late, be much more nearly to a reasonable scantling. But the most pertinent question to ask is how one could have beam ends all round the building at the same level—which is a hopeless impossibility. Now, in the case of the Lycian tombs at Xanthos (fig. 7), where we have actual copies of timber work in stone, we see, of course, where ends and sides of the building are visible, that the ends of the beams show only at the sides of the building. We also get a feature resembling pitkin ends under that gable roof. It should be noticed that where we find timber construction reproduced in stone, as at

Xanthos, Beni Hassan (Egypt), or Naksh-i-Rustam (Persia), it is in no case a building, but simply a representation carved out of the solid, and is entirely non-structural. It is, in short, merely a pictorial representation. Every material demands
its own methods of construction, and this is perhaps particularly necessary in days of early development. Further, if they were beam ends, they would not occur at the corners, but a metope or portion of the wall would finish the series. This again is, of course, the case in the Lycian tombs.

The difficulty of the metopes has already been noted. But what are the vertical channels themselves? They seem to serve the same purpose as the vertical flutes of the column. But to emphasize the verticality of a horizontal beam is somewhat of a solecism. The suggestion has been made that they are timber markings—which is not merely untrue but foolish, for they could not resemble timber markings, which radiate from a centre.

The very early treasury of the Geloans at Olympia is so early that it is not even Dorie in character, but it is undoubtedly stone; and if its influence may be considered at all, it points in this direction. Although probably of the 7th or 6th cent., it may be set against the supposed original wooden Heraean. In several features, particularly its stylobate, its columns,* and its characteristic waterspouts, it anticipates Greek work of a later date. It might further be noted that the dentil band in Ionic work, which may possibly represent beam ends, is above the frieze, whereas the beams of the coffered ceilings in Doric work are above the frieze, making triglyphs as beam ends impossible.

The construction of the triglyph frieze, with rebated uprights and slabs behind, is found in the dado or frieze discovered at Knossos (fig. 15, p. 682). There it was obviously a stone construction from the outset, and was applied to the face of the wall. This is quite a conceivable origin for the triglyphs. In early examples the triglyph and metope are frequently worked in one piece, as in several of the treasuries at Olympia. This is also found in many of the stones of Libon's temple of Zeus (also at Olympia), and was the case on the sides of the Athenian Hekatompedon. This of itself is enough to constitute a fatal objection to the whole theory. If all would not coincide with the slope of rafters, and (like that of the under slope of the cornice itself) is sufficiently explained as a slope to throw off the rain and pre-

* There is some doubt about the assignment to this building of a column found at Olympia.

**Fig. 5.**

A remarkable quality of Greek ornament is the adaptation of the surface decoration to the molding which it enriches. The outline of the ornament tends to be the same as the section of the molding; thus the egg ornament is found on the ovolo, the honeysuckle ornament on the cyma recta, the water leaf on the cyma reversa, and the guilloche on the torus (fig. 10).

In the third place, the Greek architects made use of colour, as for instance on the echnicos molding of the Doric capital, and traces of it are not infrequent in many places. It is possible that more
was used than would be pleasing to a modern eye, particularly in cases where marble stucco was applied to some inferior quality of stone such as poros. But we are not to imagine that the Greeks were not keenly alive to the beauty of their exquisite Parian, Pentelic, and other marbles, and that it was placed in position. The rest of the building was completed before the final dressing of the stone, which was done from the top downwards as the scaffolding was removed. The line dressings on the faces of the stones were worked only for a short distance from the joint, and the short flutings of an inch or two at the top and bottom of columns, otherwise plain, are instances that may be cited of unfinished work, both of which have been ignorantly copied in Roman and modern times as though complete. Even in the finest work there is always a difference between the top joint of the column, which shows distinctly, and the others; as the flutings on the top block, which included the capital, were worked before it was placed in position. The rest of the fluting was worked when the joints had been made absolutely true by turning the blocks round and round after being placed in position. This seems to be the explanation both of their finer joints and of the wooden plugs and pins that have been found in the centre of the Parthenon drums (fig. 2, p. 679). The pin would be just strong enough to stand the turning of the drum but could not add any real strength to the building. The ankones, or projecting pieces found on unfinished drums and on other blocks, must have been used for this turning process. Doubtless they would also have been convenient for hoisting, but a quite unnecessary luxury, whereas the turning of a round drum would have been impossible without some such thing. The uppermost block could not be turned for fear of chipping the finished edge, hence the difference between that and the joints that were finished afterwards, which is always noticeable. The joints in the walls were probably made accurate by a similar process of pushing the blocks backwards and forwards, so as to grind the contiguous surfaces absolutely true, with the result that the finest knife blade could not be inserted anywhere between these mortarless joints. For this again the ankones would be useful. Every piece of carving, as for instance in the moldings of the Erechtheum, is executed with a minuteness of finish that one would naturally associate with ivory carving rather than with work in stone.

It is, however, the subtle curvatures in Greek architecture that are its most remarkable refinement, and the whole problem connected with them offers in itself a wide field for study. The following points may, however, be noted here. In the first place, it may be broadly stated that there are no straight lines in a Greek building of the finest class—a rather startling discovery to those who are accustomed to think of a Greek building as composed of nothing else.

Taking the principal lines of a building, the stylobate and the architrave, we find in each case a slight curve amounting to a rise of about 2 in. in the case of the long sides of the Parthenon, 225 ft. in length, and about 2 in. in the short sides, 101 ft. in breadth. These curves occur in the temple of Hephaestus and the Propylæa, but apparently not in the colonnies or at Bassæ or Ægina. The next most important curve is the entasis of the columns, which is a convex departure from the straight amounting in the Parthenon to 4 in. of an inch at a point about 8 of the height from the ground, the columns being 34 ft. in height. The entasis of the Erechtheum shafts is even more subtle, 8 fraction of the length of the shaft and 8 of the lower diameter, against 8 and 8 of the Parthenon. It should be noticed that these curves are not segments of circles but parabolic, or in some cases hyperbolic; but whether they were laid out mathematically or by eye seems to be uncertain. We may assume that the eye which would be sufficiently accurate to appreciate such a subtle distinction of curvature would probably be equal to the task of drawing the curve with a sufficient degree of precision. In the case of the
course all the intermediate columns incline proportionately. It is also preserved in the faces of the entablature and the pavements and the steps of the stylobate. But here, a counter-convexity is introduced, and the faces of the higher moldings are slightly inclined the reverse way, so as to counteract undue foreshortening, occasioned by the other process and by the natural height above the ground. It might also be observed that the angle columns are in an inch or so wider than the others. The intercolumniations are slightly smaller as to bring the angle column under the triglyph. There is a similar treatment in the temple of Demeter at Peistum, where the last metope is made larger so as to attain the same result.

The extraordinary skill and refinement required may perhaps best be realized, as Professor E. Gardner suggests, by considering the case of the bottom corner drum. Here then what do we find? In the first place, the base of the drum has to be cut so as to allow for the curve of 3½ in. in 238 ft. But there is also to consider the curve, running at right angles to this, of 2 in. in 101 ft. This would be sufficiently puzzling if the axis of the column were vertical; but it is not. It has to be considered that it shall meet the axis of the corresponding column at the other end of the front, at a point 1½ miles above the earth, and a similar inclination has to be made in the other direction along the side. Added to this, the edge of the step from which it works is not vertical; and, further, he has to allow for the beginning of the entasis a curve of ½ in. in 24 ft. Those who are familiar with the extreme difficulty of cutting a vousoir for an arch in a curved wall—a comparatively simple task—will appreciate the work of the Greek mason. For not only did he conform to these requirements, but he executed it all with a nicety that would not admit of a sheet of paper being put into the joint. The vousoirs of the arches in such a building as the circular nave of the Temple Church, London, are well cut, but it is mere child's play in comparison.

It may well be asked for what purpose all these things were done, and in any case the answer seems to throw light upon the character of the Greek mind, confirming what might have been otherwise deduced.

It has generally been said that these are optical corrections, that the entasis of the column counteracts the tendency of two straight lines to appear hollow in the middle, that a straight architrave would appear to sag and a straight stylobate would appear to curve up at the ends, that the slope inward is to correct a tendency of the columns to appear out of the vertical and overhang at the top. It may be so. But there are certain objections to the optical illusion theory.

In the first place, what does this theory mean? It means that the result of all the curves is to give lines that are optically straight and optically vertical as the case may be. If this is not the result, the optical illusion theory is ridiculous, as its only object is to avoid the appearance of curves and deviations from the vertical, which on this theory are ex hypothesi ugly. Now, it is quite true that in very early buildings, e.g., Corinth, there is no entasis. But when it first appears what do we find? An exaggerated entasis and a visible slope for miles, that no optical illusion could ever make look straight. The curve will be there for no conceivable object but that it should be seen. But, further, the parabolic curve with its maximum deviation at 2½ from the base would not be correct for the correction of an optical illusion, whatever the amount of the curvature. In the case of the echino there is no possible suggestion of such a theory, but we find a similar curve; and what is most important is that, in the case of the echino, it is not the base but just in the neck of the entasis, a stage that ultimately becomes refined. These curves, then, were obviously designed for their own sake, and, as the eye became more trained, it must not only be demanded that they should become more subtle. There remain, then, the curves of the entablature and the complementary curve of the side of the entablature being viewed from some little distance, the optical illusion caused by these lines would be the same as that caused by the lines of the column; in other words, the architrave would drop in the middle and the stylobate rise, in which case the correction for the stylobate should be the reverse of what it is. If you are standing upon the stylobate or very near it and above it, this correction might be valuable, but in that case the architrave would be wrong in its architrave. It is, of course, of the utmost importance to get it right at all in the case of straight-sided columns. If there were concave curves (or lines at an angle near them, as in the pediment and architrave) this might be the case. The line of the architrave is a logarithmic curve, and the line of the column, but the line of the stylobate is not, and would appear to curve down at the ends even though there is no curve or angle below (see diagram used and test with ruler).

As to the inclination inwards of the columns, the upholders of this theory urge in the same breath that it is a correction of an illusion of the column not looking vertical, and that it gives a beautiful pyramidal appearance. If it does one, it cannot do the other.

That optical illusions were also considered, seems, however, certainly to be the case; the thickness of the angle columns and several other such subtleties appear to show it. Moreover, at Priene is an interesting diagram on the faces of the ante of a temple, showing the correction of proportions as they appear to the eye in perspective.

Although, then, the optical illusion may have some influence, it seems more rational to fall back upon principles of aesthetic for the main reasons. It is clear in the case of the entasis and the echinos curve that it is pure delight in the curve. Doubtless this is associated with what we might term a mechanico-aesthetic reason. These curves are undoubtedly suggestive of strength and of organic growth, and may be paralleled by the exceedingly subtle curves in a human arm. The shape, indeed, would actually be stronger, although of course there is no practical need for it, as the margin of material to work done, allowed by the Greek, was very large, something like 3 to 2. In the case of the architrave and the stylobate there is the possibility of actual sagging in the centre upon soft ground, and therefore an appearance of greater strength is certainly given by the upward curve in the centre. In the case of the architrave the optical illusion would exaggerate the suggestion of weakness, and may have been taken into account. Earthquakes and weather, and the great powder explosion in the Parthenon, have made it more difficult to determine the original nature of the architrave curve than of the stylobate.

But all these things are an interesting illustration of one of the most elementary of art principles carried out with exceptional subtlety. A thing must not only be right, but must look right. In this case, therefore, it must not only be strong, but look strong. A plate-glass shop front, however excellently built, could never be aesthetically beautiful, unless the eye were in some way satisfied as to the support of the walls above. In the echinos we have not only this principle exemplified, but also the still more fundamental principle of organic unity of design; and the vertical lines of the columns and horizontal lines of the architrave become one whole by the intervention of the
echinos. It is curious that the eye does not demand a base to the Doric column for the same reason. Indeed, too many people felt the want. But the side lines are diverging at the base, whereas they are converging at the top; the foot of the column, moreover, is so large as in some measure to dispense with such a necessity; it sits firmly on the pedestal. Moreover, at certain times, it is a bold experiment, and is a feature that occupies aesthetically a somewhat peculiar position among great works of art. It seems unreasonable to suppose that the 5th century Greeks saw all these things and delighted in them, just as his ancestors had delighted in their ruder curves, their less subtly proportioned columns, and their exaggerated projection of columns. They had not, of course, the same principles, but carried out with less refinement. The result must have given to his keenly sensitive eye an organic artistic unity that has never been surpassed.

Whatever be the interpretation of these subleties, one inference at least is certain, namely, the accuracy and refinement of the Greek eye, coupled with an aesthetic demand for a completeness and thoroughness in even the minutest particulars that go to make up perfection in a work of art. The manner in which the ancient Greeks understood art is this, to make him expend such extreme care upon them, can be paralleled in modern times only outside the field of art, as in the making of a manuscript of great antiquity. Even optical illusions we are practically content to leave alone. But alongside this minuteness is a breadth and majesty equally astonishing. The composition as a whole is simple in the extreme, and the dignity of its proportions is unsurpassable.

In these things we find the key to the interpretation of Greek art, and there are certain distinct advantages in approaching that art through its architecture. Much can here be demonstrated by rule and line, and only the highly-trained eye can see in the sculpture. The whole artistic feeling, too, which inspired every detail of Greek architecture and art, has its corresponding parallels in the Greek conception of religion and in Greek intellectual investigations. Naturally it is necessary to beware of the error of the superficial inquirer, who would make one the mere result of the other, rather than go deep enough to find their common origin in the religious feeling. One had no influence upon the others, but that each, as it were, remained master in its own house with its own fundamental principles. In the case, however, of the plan and general arrangement of the Greek temple the aesthetic and religious factors are somewhat closely connected. The general design of the building is naturally largely determined by religious requirements. It is hardly necessary to point out that the Greek temple was not a place of worship: the act of worship took place in the open air, generally in the temenos, or enclosure surrounding the temple; and here the altar was placed. The image within the temple was not the object of worship; the altar architecturally is therefore entirely unrelated to it. The temenos itself and the altar in it are supposed by some to represent the forcourt with its altar in the Mycenaean house. So-called subordinate altars there seem to have been within the building; and doublet there were always two tendencies at work—that which is essentially Greek, and culminates in the highest flights of Greek art, and the more superstitious side which was shared with others.

It is not always easy to disentangle these elements, but the essential Greek characteristic, that which distinguishes them, rather than that which they share with all mankind, is, of course, the main question. Doubtless it is easier to discern it in the time of its full growth, but the tendency is there from the beginning. And it is this tendency that made the Greeks what they were and what was their contribution to the world of humanity. Whatever may have been the origin of the temple image, which it would be out of place to discuss here, it may briefly be said that in the same city as Athens it was certainly not a fetish or an idol, but the sign of a spirit or spiritual quality embodied in a material object. Nor can it even be regarded as a symbol; it is rather the rational self-explanatory expression of a conception. The idea is, true, from the aesthetic side, in which we may say Greek art preceded Greek philosophy. It was not an idol, for it was not regarded as possessing any power, but was a symbol, for it rationally explained itself without interpretation. Least of all was it a portrait or likeness; it represented no traditional appearance, and pretended to no inspired vision on the part of the artist. But it did express the outward beauty of certain inward qualities mentally conceived, and these qualities were the qualities of deity. It would perhaps seem a little strained to describe the temple image as the formulated creed of the Greek religion aesthetically expressed, but that it is the latter is evident from the way in which we look upon the later images of Phidias and Scopas in any other light. The natural superstition and conservatism of humanity among the masses were counteracting tendencies, but at the same time the declining ones, and the essential Greek characteristic tends away from these. The intellectual expression in art of a religious and ethical position is an instance of the complete balance of the aesthetic, intellectual, and moral nature, tersely embodied in their motto, γρατη σωφρινος, and its concomitant μονεμβατος, implying a complete knowledge and development of all that makes man man, and yet excess in nothing: it is this that makes the Greeks unique among the peoples of the world.

The temple may be considered as the casket containing the image, and it is on this account that it is the outside, rather than the inside, which on the whole receives the first consideration. At the same time it is aesthetically the embodiment of the same general principles as are contained in the image itself. The idealism of Greek religion in its highest aspect had not to wait for Plato for its exposition, in the case of those who could understand. It is already aesthetically complete at the time of Phidias, and beginning to advance to what perhaps may best be termed a transcendentalism, culminating, as the highest term of art can be taken as evidence, in Scopas. Probably it was closely approached by Praxiteles, whom we are apt to misjudge from the weakness of the copies of his work, real in conjunction with certain minor traits in the Hermes. It would be hard to say whether Greek philosophy ever reached the parallel to this second position; and even architecture shows only the beginnings of it in buildings such as the Propylaea and the Erechtheum: although in sculpture it is already making its appearance in the work on the Parthenon, particularly in the frieze.

It is therefore natural that the plan of the temple should be simple and remarkable for its perfection rather than its size—an appropriate casket for its treasure. This is all in marked contrast to the Egyptian temple, which is extensive and of many courts and chambers. The decoration of the Egyptian temple is almost entirely within, and outside it is very limited and modest. The Greek temple is comparatively small, and the open-air worship in the temenos surrounding the temple is characteristic of the Greek nature, frank, free, and outspoken. Fearless in inquiry and anxious to bring the light to bear upon all things. The
priestly caste and the artificial mystery of the Egyptian were entirely alien to the Greek mind. There was no priestly caste, and hardly anything that could be called a priestly order; and we find this reflected in the popular character of their ceremonies and the open simplicity of their religious architecture. To say that the extraordinary progress of thought in the 5th and 4th centuries, the most rapid and far-reaching that the world has seen, was either the result of these things or their cause, would perhaps be an error, but the interrelation is unmistakable, and they are alike the product of the Greek mind. It should be said that one important religious building which survives, at least in plan, is to some extent an exception to the general rule—the Telesterion (so-called temple of Demeter) at Eleusis (fig. 14).

To the simple primitive rectangular cella a second rectangular chamber is apparently an early addition; but throughout Greek history there is hardly a departure from the general rectangular plan, although circular religious buildings do occur, such as the Thyme at Epidaurus.

The simplest form is a three-walled building with an open end divided by two columns 'distyle in antis' (fig. 13). The trabs or architrave, resting upon a column, required a support at the other end that would satisfy the eye as well as merely subserve its utilitarian end. It was not sufficient, therefore, that it should rest upon the wall, but a special feature was built for its support, a flat column of rectangular section attached to the wall, called an anta. Hence, wherever we have an architrave passing from a column to a wall, there is invariably an anta to receive it with its own capital and base. This capital and base mark the double character of the member, and are not the same as those of the column, but are in some respects more closely related to the flat wall (fig. 15). The anta with its clearly defined function degenerates into the Roman pilaster of later date. It has been suggested that the origin of the anta is an end-facings to a rubble wall. This does not explain the capital and base, or its frequent position not at the end of a wall. On the other hand, the anta is never found where it does not support an architrave.

The 'distyle in antis' arrangement may be at one or both ends, as at Ithamnus or Eleusis (figs. 13, 14). There is, however, no entrance to the temple at the back, the temple image being placed at that end of the temple with its back to the wall—an arrangement occasionally modified in the larger examples. The next development that may be noticed is a portico in front, 'prostyle'; or one in front and one behind, which is by far the more common arrangement, 'amphiprostyle', as in the charming little temple of Athene Nike Apterots at Athens and the one by the Ilissus, both destroyed in comparatively modern times, although the former has been re-built. In the largest examples a range of columns is carried right round the building, 'péristyile'; and sometimes there is a double row of columns, 'dipteral', as in the temple of Olympic Zeus in Athens. A single line of columns at a considerable distance from the central building, or maos, is termed 'pseudo-dipteral', as at Selinus (fig. 15). A temple is also sometimes described according to the number of columns at the ends—hexastyile, octostyle, and so on.

In the smaller temples the roof was apparently of a single span, leaving the floor space perfectly free. But in larger temples we find columns inside. They may be down the centre, as in the Doric temple at Paestum (fig. 15), or the Ionic temple at Locri. The temple of Apollo at Thermum in Ætolia
in the temple of Poseidon at Paestum or the Parthenon. These were apparently in two tiers, one above the other, as those remaining in situ attest (fig. 16). The roof, presumably, was of timber, and was covered with tiles, frequently of marble.

The columns down the centre seem obviously to support the ridge piece of the roof; but the arrangement must have been very unsatisfactory, blocking the central view of the building, and the temple image if placed in the middle line. The three-sided arrangement would also lend support to the roof; but clearly that cannot have been the only function, for in the case of the two largest Doric temples known, that at Selinus and the temple of Olympic Zeus at Athens, a considerable part of the roof, which was the same breadth throughout, was apparently without these supports.

In the temple of Zeus at Olympia the lower tier supported a gallery, which was approached by stairs at the east end. There seem also to have been stairs in other instances, as in the great Ionic temple of Artemis at Ephesus, which may have served the same purpose (fig. 14). But they also occur where there were no interior columns, as in the great temple of Apollo Didymaean at Miletus, in which case they presumably only led to the space above the ceiling. That ceilings existed below the roof proper, we know from the record of the finding of a corpse between the ceiling and the roof at Olympia. The columns seem partly to have served a quasi-rudimentary purpose, for we find that a low screen often existed between them, as in the Parthenon or the Zeus-temple at Olympia. In the case of the Parthenon and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus the columns are returned at the west end (fig. 14). Only the priests would be allowed within the screens, and possibly only favoured persons would be admitted to walk round the gallery or aisles, and so obtain varying views of the statue.

It is also possible that the two-sided arrangement may have had something to do with the lighting of the cela, which has always been a difficult problem. There are several possibilities.

1. It is suggested that all the light was admitted through the great temple doors, and when the great brilliancy of the light in Greece is considered, it does become just conceivable. But let any one who holds this theory carefully examine such plans as those of the great temple at Selinus, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, or the temple of Olympic Zeus at Athens. A distance of 116 ft. through two doors and five sets of columns will bedim almost any light. After all, it is hard enough to see the part of the Parthenon frieze in situ; and this is outside. The interior frieze at Philippi would be absolutely invisible.

2. A second suggestion is that of artificial light, which doubtless would produce a certain richness of effect with a statue made of such materials as gold and ivory. Of course one cannot disprove such a theory, but it is a strange and unsatisfactory arrangement.

3. It is suggested that the light was largely given by what filtered through the marble tiles. This almost precludes the possi-

FIG. 16.

in Greek tradition, thin slabs of marble, deeply carved, so as to become still more translucent, were actually used as windows.

(1) Some sort of opening in the roof is suggested, which may be of two kinds. There might be one or more comparatively small openings in the tiles, or one single great hypostyle opening. The former receives some support from tiles found by Professor Dohrenville at Bassae (fig. 17), and the latter from sarcophagi found in the form of little model temples (fig. 17). We are told that the temple at Miletus was open, and had shrubs growing inside—the temple image being in a small shrine within the temple. Strabo, however, mentions it as peculiar and not intentional, but due to the fact that it was found to be too big to roof. Vitruvius says that the temple of Olympic Zeus at Athens was hypostyle, but the temple was not completed until long after Vitruvius' death, so that this statement is valueless. We may therefore assume, first, that these temples were exceptional, and secondly, that they were merely unfinished buildings. A hypostyle opening would certainly sadly mar the line of the roof, and would admit rain and moisture that would have been very destructive. However, it is generally
conceivable in the other. There seems, in some cases at least, to have been a peristyle or, instead of it, a considerable arc with a screen of columns before it. It has to be admitted that this theory, although in some ways the least pleasing, has certain advantages of reality. In removing the peristyle from its support, we are enabled to perceive that at many a point in the Erechtheum, the columns are movable, and marked with letters, some used as evidence that light was obtained by reflection from the pavement below, and then presumably reflected a second time from the roof. The amount of light thus obtained would be increased, and could be used under any circumstances by putting the covers on would seem to be quite unnecessary. The markings were probably simply for the convenience of the builders, just as a medieval or modern mason has a stone cut for a special position.

(6) The fact that the columns are used to support the roof of the the peristyle of the Thersamon is movable, and marked with letters, has been used as evidence that light was obtained by reflection from the pavement below, and then presumably reflected a second time from the roof. The amount of light thus obtained would be increased, and could be used under any circumstances by putting the covers on would seem to be quite unnecessary. The markings were probably simply for the convenience of the builders, just as a medieval or modern mason has a stone cut for a special position.

(7) The fact that the columns of the internal columns, as pointed out above, suggest the most ingenious and beautiful theory of all, if not the most probable. It is the theory of Fergusson, who suggested a kind of clerestory somewhat after the Egyptian manner. It is a tempting theory, but there is nothing to support it. The only fact that Fergusson anticipated so many of the so-called discoveries of other people, more particularly upon Gothic architecture, and has shown the keen insight of the writers that have ever written upon the subject. It may be noted that the system is possible without interior columns, although the windows can be made much larger when they are present. The theory receives some measure of support from the fact that the columns certainly were not solely to decrease the span, as shown above, nor were there generally galleries (fig. 15).

Unless new evidence be found the problem is likely to remain unsolved.

In size the Greek temples corresponded to our parish churches rather than to our cathedrals, making up, however, for the lack of size in the extreme refinement of workmanship. Moreover, the mass of material was considerable, and the actual size of blocks enormous, many of them weighing as much as 20 or 30 tons. The largest stone at Baalbec, very likely of Greek workmanship, weighs approximately 1100 tons. The cells almost invariably faced the east in the case of temples of the gods, although there were slight variations, probably in order that the image might catch the rays of the morning sun on the day sacred to the god. This may even be trusted to give us the dates of their erection, calculated astronomically. In the case of heroes, the general rule seems to be the reverse, and the temple to have faced west. In the matter of orientation the Greek usage may be contrasted with the Roman, which paid no attention to such things.

Within the temple, the temple statue held the place of honour, facing the entrance, and from the 5th cent. B.c. at any rate, this statue was of colossal dimensions. That of Zeus at Olympia, we are told, was so large that he would have been unable to stand upright had he risen from his throne. It is interesting to consider if this effect if the temple were too large; and what size it had was clearly not for the accommodation of worshippers, but simply what was necessary for the display of the statue. Indeed, one must clearly grasp that the temple and its image were a unity, and cannot be considered apart.

Within the temple there would be a minor altar to the deity, upon which offerings of cakes, or things of vegetable nature, would be made; and there seem in some other cases to have been altars to other than the principal deity of the place, as, for instance, to the hero Boutes in the Erechtheum. In addition to the altars, there would be numberless votive offerings dedicated to the deity by the State, as in the case of spoils of war, and the dead of individuals. These would have a tendency to accumulate, and yet, from their nature, it would doubtless have been sacrilege to throw them away. There would be small portable objects which would not be suitable for public display, particularly when of great value. Moreover, the deity, especially in the case of Athene Polias, represented the city herself, and the wealth of the city and the wealth of the goddess were, in a sense, one. These circumstances combined to make it necessary that, attached to the temple, there should be some place for the storing of treasure. Hence, in the larger temples we frequently find at the back of the cela (sac, or temple proper) another chamber prolonging the rectangular plan, and used for the above purposes. Indeed, the treasure chambers of the temples may in some senses be regarded as the State banks. The porticoes themselves were not infrequently closed in by railings between the columns.

In considering the plans of the larger Greek temples, we must not suppose that they were built upon any one pattern. Quite the contrary is the case, and it would be truer to say that there are almost as many different arrangements as temples. Perhaps the two most irregular plans are those of the Erechtheum (fig. 19) and the temple of Apollo at Bassae. [The building at Eleusis is not a temple.] The irregularity of the first of these

![The Erechtheum](image)

is well known, occasioned partly by the irregularity of the site, partly by its having to house the image of more than one deity, and possibly in order that it might include certain sacred objects, such as the marks of Poseidon’s trident and the salt spring.

The temple at Phigalia is interesting partly because of the curious arrangement of attached Ionic columns running round the interior of the building with the beautiful frieze above, which form a series of small recesses that whole way round; even more as showing the importance attached to the correct orientation of the statue. It was more convenient to build the temple with its longer axis from north to south; the cela, therefore, had a door in the east side of the temple through which the statue looked eastward (fig. 20). The effect of lighting, to one entering the temple from the north during the morning light, must have been most impressive, and the esthetic value of such an arrangement would doubtless influence the architect. It is possible that the actual cela occupied the site of a smaller sanctuary of normal orientation. The temple in some respects bears a curious resemblance to the Herceum at Olympia.

![Phigalia](image)

It is a hexastyle building, and its long proportions with 15 columns down the sides are those of an
early temple, the tendency being for the later temples to be wider. The Ionic half columns attached to the short side walls also recall the

In his restoration, all but the end column of the central row are omitted; but although this would provide a wider open space and better lighting, and account for the curious disposition of the columns, six on the sides and seven on the end, nevertheless it is not necessary. If most of Philon's interior columns were Doric, as those of his portico undoubtedly were, there might have been a single range of the more slender Ionic columns down the centre instead of the two-storey arrangement, a device used where columns of two heights were required. Those in the so-called Parthenon-chamber of the Parthenon were possibly Ionic columns of the height of the two tiers of Doric columns in the cella. Unfortunately, little exists but the ground plan, and there are practically no architectural remains from which to deduce the character of the building. The existing remains are mainly of Roman date, with Ionic columns.

In the island of Delos are the remains of the so-called 'sanctuary of the bulls,' the building containing the horned altar of Apollo, reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. In this building is said to have taken place the celebrated dance of the Delian maidens. It was extraordinarily long and very narrow, 210 ft. by 19 ft. (fig. 22). It was built upon a granite base with marble steps. The building was divided into three parts, a long central hall, with a sunken area, in which presumably the dances took place, and at the southern end a Doric portico, possibly tetrastyle, possibly 'dolystyle in antis.' At the north end of this hall was the chamber containing the altar. It was entered between two composite piers, formed by a half Doric column on the one side, and an anta with two recumbent bulls as a capital on the other side. Above was a frieze with bulls' heads upon the triglyphs. It is these bulls that give the name to the building.

The Thymele (i.e., 'place of sacrifice'), the so-called Tholos, at Epidaurus (fig. 24) is one of the few round buildings, used for religious purposes, that have come down to us. Others were the Arsinocion at Samothrace sacred to the Great Gods, the very small building, if so it may be called, whose circular foundations may be found in the Agklepieion at Athens, and the quasi-religious Philippion at Olympia, which may be regarded as a sort of Heroon of Philip. It seems to have been one of the loveliest buildings of antiquity. The foundations are probably of older date, but the principal remains date from the end of the 4th cent. B.C., when it was built by the architect Polyclitus (possibly a grandson of the famous sculptor). It was 107 ft.
ARCHITECTURE AND ART (Hindu).—The adherents of all the Indian sects and religions used for their several purposes the art of each age and country, which was applied, as the occasion arose, to the special requirements of each form of worship. No fundamental distinction, from the point of view of the historian of art, can be drawn between the buildings of the various religions, and often it is impossible to determine merely of style whether a given building or sculpture is Buddhist, Jain, or Brahmanical. As Le Bon observes, 'Architecture est beaupce plus fille de la race que des croyances.' But from the point of view of the student of comparative religion, it is legitimate and necessary to examine the modes in which the general canons of art were applied to the service of particular creeds; and it is possible, subject always to the understanding that the history of Indian art as such is a history of variation in creed, to treat the Buddhist and Jain works separately, and to concentrate attention on the artistic forms especially, although not exclusively, affected by Brahmanical Hiers.

Relie—whether not being an orthodox Hindu practice, the construction of śāyaps with their attendant railings seems to have been confined to the Buddhists and Jains. This fact alone eliminates a multitude of important works of Hindu architecture from the restricted sense. The chaitya halls, likewise, not being serviceable for Hindu ritual, all the known examples of this kind of building, whether rock-cut or structural, are Buddhist. Although it is true that Brahmanical Hinduism in one shape or other is older than either Buddhism or Jainism, and that the worship of Siva, Kṛṣṇa, and the other deities now favored by the masses of the people, may be traced back to a distant antiquity, the material remains of ancient Hinduism are extremely rare, and nearly all the really old monuments are either Buddhist or Jain. Whatever may be the correct explanation of this, the fact is certain, and affords a further practical justification for the separate treatment, for certain purposes, of specifically Hindu works as distinguished from those of Buddhist or Jain origin.

Architecture is the dominant art of India, and almost all other modes of art have been developed as necessary to it. No Hindu artist seems to have felt the necessity to produce a statue or picture for its own sake, as a thing of beauty by itself, without reference to an architectural composition. The few detached images which exist were usually intended to be worshipped, and are designed primarily for religious not artistic purposes. It is hardly necessary to observe that Indian life in all its aspects—art included—is governed by religious motives, and the consequence necessarily follows that all notable works of art in India are associated with buildings dedicated to the service of religion.

The examples of architectural skill applied to purely secular purposes are rare and comparatively unimportant, while the minor decorative arts, as applied to the floors of ordinary houses, are largely dependent upon mythological motives. Practically, therefore, a discussion of Hindu architecture and art must deal almost exclusively with the architecture and decoration of temples associated with deities and with buildings dedicated to the service of religious ideas. For a full expression of Hindu architecture generally, the reader is referred to Fergusson's standard work. Here it will suffice to observe that the essential part of every temple is the shrine, containing the image or symbol of the deity. That shrine very often is not the principal element in

columns, the outer Doric circle containing 26, and the inner Corinthian, 14. The inner rings are divided by openings and connected by cross walls in a rather curious way. The Doric entablature had large richly sculptural rosettes upon the metopes. The ceiling of the ambulatory was executed with beautiful marble coffers. The capital of the Corinthian, as has already been noted, are in their way the acme of Greek art. The use of the building has been much discussed, but its name, and its correspondence to its miniature prototype or copy in the temenos of the same god at Athens, point to the whole to the building covering a sacrificial pit. That sacred serpents may have been kept in the spaces between the ring walls is also conceivable, without interfering with the first theory.
ARCHITECTURE (Hindu)

the composition, being overshadowed by the subsidiary parts added for the purpose of giving the architectural plan of dignity and grace—not for congregational uses, which Hindu ritual excluded.

The leading styles of Brahmanical temple architecture are six in number, namely, four northern and two southern. The northern styles are (1) the ‘Indo-Aryan’ style of Asoka; (2) the Gupta; (3) the Kāśmirī; and (4) the Nāpālī. The southern styles are (5) the Dravīdian, and (6) the ‘Chālukya’ of Fergusson, better designated as that of the Deccan. We need to indicate briefly the geographical distribution, chronological characteristics, and principal examples of each of these six styles.

The reader who desires to pursue the subject will find a great mass of information recorded in the selected works at the end of this article, and in the unnamed multitude of other books dealing with Indian archaeology.

1. The ‘Indo-Aryan’ style is characterized by the bulging steeple with curvilinear outlines which surmounts the shrine or sanctum sanctorum of the temple, and is frequently repeated in other parts of the design. In Orissa an early temple sometimes consists of nothing more than the steepled shrine with a low-roofed porch, devoid, or almost devoid, of sculptured ornamentation. But later examples have additional pillared chambers. The great temples at Khajurāho, in Bundelkhand, dating from the time of the Chandel dynasty, are built on a cruciform plan, with towers, which resemble in build princ-

ings of imposing dignity. The style in one variety or another is found all over northern India, between the Himalayan and the Vindhyā mountains. The most elegant examples may be assigned to the period 700-1100, but some of the Orissan temples are supposed by Fergusson to date from A.D. 600. As a rule the material is stone, but a few brick temples in this style are known.

The best preserved specimen built of brick is that at Konār kullān, in the north-western part of Gāzā, which is assigned to the 8th cent. A.D. (Cunningham, Archael. Soc. Rep. vol. xvi. p. 58).

Certain brick temples in the Cawnpore district, rather earlier in date, probably had steeples of the standard form, but are too much ruined to admit of certainty. The most ancient known Brahmanical temple is one built of decorated moulded bricks, discovered by Dr. Führer in 1891-92 at the period of the Satavahana age, for which reason to the first century B.C. (Archael. Soc. for N.W.P. and Oudh, Progress Report, 1891-92.) Unfortunately no description of the building has been published. It is probable that the style was developed originally in brick, but it is not known how it originated. Nor is the genesis of the curvilinear steeple easy to explain. The most plausible suggestion is that the design was modelled on the form of a frame of bamboo fastened together at the top. In modern buildings the tendency is to diminish greatly or dispense with the curvature of the outline, and many temples of recent date have slender straight-line spires, closely resembling European church forms.

2. The Gupta style, with which Fergusson was not acquainted, is so named because it was favoured by architects in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., when the imperial Gupta dynasty ruled northern India. It is said (Archael. Soc. 2, 3.) The recorded examples, about thirteen in number, including a good one at Sānchī, are found in the southern parts of the United Provinces and the neighbouring provinces of Oudh and Bihar. Cunningham, who first distinguished the style, enumerates its seven characteristic features as follows:

(1) Flat roofs, without spires of any kind, as in the cave temples; (2) prolongation of the head of the doorway beyond the jambs, as in Egyptian temples; (3) statues of the rivers Gauges and Jumna guarding the entrance door; (4) pillars with massive square capitals ornamented with two lions back to back, with a tree between them; (5) bases on three or four projecting horns; (6) decoration of a very peculiar form, like Buddhist stūpas, or beehives, with projecting horns; (7) the continuation of the architrave pericost all round the building; (8) deviation of the mass from the carved points (Cunningham, Archael. Soc. Rep. vol. ix. p. 42, and ib. vols. i. x. xvi. xix. xx.),

which is a moulding all round the building; (9) deviation of the mass from the carved points (Cunningham, Archael. Soc. Rep. vol. ix. p. 42, and ib. vols. i. x. xvi. xix. xx.),

and the curvature of the roof is much less marked than in China. The southern valley of Nepal proper, measuring about 20 miles square, is occupied by the city of Kathmandū, on the bank of the Bagmatī. The town of Patān, and Bhatgirī, are situated, probably contains more temples than any other equal area in the world. The total number is believed to exceed 2000, of which the great majority are in the towns above named. In modern Nepal the practices of Brahmanical Hindus and Buddhism are so intricately mingled that the symbols of both religions are found indifferently in the shrines. Le Bon has rightly laid stress upon the proposition that the existing state of things in Nepal goes a long way towards explaining the process by which, in India, Buddhism gradually melted away into Hinduism. The eldest monuments in Nepal are Buddhist stūpas, which may be as early as 1200 B.C. The Nāpālī temples built entirely of stone vary much in form, and do not admit of summary classification as regards style. Examples of some of the most notable varieties are given in Le Bon’s plates.

5. The Dravidian style is so named because it is that prevalent in the countries occupied by peoples speaking Dravidian languages. These countries correspond closely with peninsular India to the south of the Kriṣṇa (Kistna) river; and are nearly equivalent to the Madras Presidency. The Brah-
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mancial temples in this style may be devoted to the worship of either Siva or Vishnu. Which-
ever god is specially honoured, the style is the same. Mr. Ferguson defined its characteristics as follows (p. 225):

The temples consist almost invariably of the four following parts, arranged in various manners, as afterwards to be explained, but differing in themselves only according to the age in which they were executed:

1. The principal part, the actual temple itself, which is called the vimana. It is surmounted by a pyramidal roof of one or more stories; it contains the cell in which the image of the god or his emblem is placed. Among the earliest, and the first dynasty which embraced, was the Pallava, extending from the 5th to the 8th century.

2. The temples contain, in some cases, an open space paved with stones, and always surrounded by a large, often colonnaded, court.

3. Pillar halls, or choultrys, which are used for various purposes, and are the invariable accompaniment of these temples. Besides these, a temple always contains tanks in which water is kept, either for sacred purposes or the convenience of the priests; dwellings for the various grades of the priesthood attached to it; and numerous other buildings designed for state or convenience.

Except in the earliest rock-cut examples, the roofs and almost all parts are bounded by right lines, the whole temple forming a single rectangular mass. The "Indo-Aryan" style is well known in the south. The celebrated Seven Pagodas of Mamallapuram (Mahabalipur) near Madras, executed under the orders of Pallava kings in the 6th and 7th centuries. A.D., consist of a rectangular temple in the North Arcot and Trichinopoly districts, mark the earliest known stages in the development of the style, which then showed distinct traces of specially Buddhist forms. At Ellora, in the Nasiruddin's dominion, we find a magnificent rock-cut Kailas a perfect Dravidian temple, as complete in all its parts as any later example of the style. This edifice is made to simulate a structural temple by the combination of the superfluous rock, both externally and internally, so that the temple stands out freely. It was excavated in the reign of Króna 1. Rāstrakūta, about 700 A.D.

The great structural temples of Southern India are much later in date. They are extremely numerous, and remarkable for their vast size. Ferguson was personally acquainted with 'upwards of thirty great Dravidian temples, or groups of temples, any one of which must have cost as much as any cathedral, some of them were a great deal more.' One of the most notable is the temple erected at Tanjore by the victorious Chola king, Rājarāja, between A.D. 985 and 1011, which has been described as the best temple ever built on a well-defined and stately plan, which was persevered in till its completion. The numerous inscriptions on this temple have been edited by Dr. Hultzsch (South Indian Insers, vol. ii.). Other huge structural temples, less famous, are, to be seen at Srirangam, Chidambaram, Rāmeswaram, Madura, and many other places. The adequate description of any one of these would fill a large volume. The central corridor of the choultry at Rāmeswaram has an uninterrupted length of 700 feet, that is to say 100 feet longer than the nave of St. Peter's; and these figures may suffice to give some notion of the large size on which the southern temples are designed. Ferguson expressed the opinion that the Dravidian temples "certainly do form as extensive, and in some respects as remarkable, a group of buildings as is to be found in provinces of similar extent in any part of the world; and that even the Egyptian in extent" (op. cit. p. 379).

6. The so-called Chālukyan style, which may be described as the type of architecture actually manufactured in the confines of the original territory which, as that of the Deccan, is, as Le Bon correctly observes, a transitional one connecting the forms characteristic respectively of the North and South.

If we exclude the purely local and isolated styles of Kasāmir and Nepal, the two extremes of Indian architecture are formed by the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian styles. The Gupta and Chālukya (p. 347) both possess intermediate styles, and are to some extent related to each other. The latter has two well-marked varieties, that of Mysore, described by Ferguson, and that of Bellary, described by Raa.

The Chālukyan style, which comprised at its greatest extent most of Mysore, parts of the Narmada's territories, and some districts near the Deccan, was founded about A.D. 950, and lasted until about 1200. Its first dynasty, the combined Dravidian and Aryan in feeling, was established in A.D. 973, and came to an end, as a power of importance, about A.D. 1190. Early in the 12th cent. the Chālukya kings lost the Narmada country, which passed under the government of a Hoysala dynasty, and the splendid temples at Hōlbī, Hoysam, and Eōhī, which excited the enthusiastic admiration of Ferguson, who gave the inapposite name Chālukyan to their style, really were built under the orders of the Hoysala kings. The Eōhī temple was erected by King Visnū when he was converted from Jainism in A.D. 1117, and the Hōlbī temple belongs to the same reign, a few years later (Epigr. Carnatic, vol. v. p. 30).

The Mysore style, as described by Ferguson, is characterized by a richly carved base on which the temple is raised, an inclined platform, or an elevated base, a plan, with a stepped conical roof, not rising high enough to become a steeple, and a peculiar vase-like ornament crowning the summit. The Bellary variety, to which Raa has devoted a monograph, of the buildings would be classed more properly as Dravidian than as a subdivision of the Deccan style. Raa, while using the name Chālukyan, admits that the temples discussed by him are Chālukyan in form, but contain more embodiment of Chālukyan details engraved on a Dravidian building." These works seem to belong wholly to the 12th century. The decorative sculpture is remarkable for its marvellous intricacy and artistic finish. The temple sculptures are not ornament generally being completely undercut, and sometimes attached to the solid masonry by the most slender of stalks. The effect is described as being that of the inarticulately carved foliage placed upon the wall. The beautiful style of Western India, sometimes described as the Jain style, may be regarded as a variety of the Chālukyan.

Space will not permit of lengthy discussions of the manner in which the art of sculpture has been applied in countless temples to the service of Brahmanical religion. The flat bas-reliefs, so much esteemed by the early Jains and Buddhists, have been rarely, if ever, used by the more orthodox Hindus, but bas-reliefs, in the modern sense, have been due to modifications of taste rather than to religious motives. Regarded from the artistic point of view, no sound distinction can be drawn between the sculpture of the Brahman and Jains, and that of the rival religions. As a matter of fact, however, the early bas-reliefs are all Buddhist or Jain, while the later figure sculpture in high relief is predominantly Hindu. Each figure, individually, is barely of much account as a work of art, but the mass of sculpture exhibited on a temple of the best age, when regarded, in the manner intended by the artist, as an essential part of the architectural design, produces an impression of splendour and magnificence, and extorts from the most unwilting critic expressions of fervid admiration. The exuberance of fancy, and the patience in execution displayed by the Hindu sculptor, are almost immeasurably greater than can be appreciated from even the most study of either the original works or large-scale photographs.

Hindu mythology supplies the subjects for the decoration of a multitude of minor artifices of art manufacturing, metal, ivory, and stone, made in many parts of the empire. Numerous examples exist which display rich fancy in design, and unsurpassed delicacy in execution. The
ARCHITECTURE (Jewish)

magnificent manuscript of the Razia Nisah—a Persian abstract of the Mahabharata—preserved in the British Museum. The subject of the myths of Rama, Krishna, and other Hindu deities as represented in colour by artists of Akbar's time (A.D. 1588), trained in the Persian style. The illustrations cost four lakhs of rupees, or more than the cost of the original narrative.

The existence of extant fragmentary and corrupt copies proves that a considerable body of Sanskrit treatises dealing with the rules of Indian architecture is at our disposal. The dates of the composition of these treatises have not been ascertained, and is to be found almost exclusively in the essay by Ram Riz, who collected the remains of the architectural literature procurable in southern India, and published the results of his inquiry in 1834. The works examined by him are certainly ancient, because they lay down rules for the provision of sites for Jain and Buddhist temples, as well as for those of orthodox sects; but the materials for a more exact determination of their dates do not seem to exist.

The following abstract of the contents of the oldest treatises is intended to give a notion of the nature of these scriptures, known as the Silpakastras.

The work ' opens with the mystical rites performed in honour of the Pashupati, or the presiding over the goddess, on which buildings are erected, and proceeds to give rules for the examination of the soil, the preparation of it for buildings in general, the construction of a common roof, the dimensions to be allotted to the cardinal points, the division of the ground-plan into several parts, as domestic purposes. The performance of sacrifices previous to the commencement of the work; after which it describes the several sorts of villages, cities, and fortresses, upanayas or pedestals, the adhitthanas or bases, the 'padas' or pillars, the prastaras or entablatures, the adhitthanas or bases, the shringaras, the structural features, the sanctuaries for the raised for the reception of idols, the bhavas or the domes (sic, 'towers') of temples, the ceremonies observed in laying the first and the last stone of an edifice, the several sorts of temples, the courts by which they are surrounded, the pyramidal gateway, the mandalas (sandagopas) of shrines, the halls to be raised in the front of temples; and concludes with instructions for the carving of images, etc. (Ram Riz, p. 6).

If an editor, skilled alike in Sanskrit and the technique of architecture, could be found, it is clear that an adequate edition of one of these treatises would throw much light upon the ideas of the Dravidian architect.

LITERATURE.—The only book dealing with Indian art generally is E. F. Waterhouse, An Art Galley, Paris, 1879, a small, popular work. But for the architecture the standard authority is Fergusson, Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1876, reprinted with an additional account of Nepalese architecture. Special monographs are, Rea, Chitakuliyah. Architecture, Arch. Surv. of India, New Series, vol. xxii, Madras, 1890; and Fergusson and Meadows Taylor, Architecture, London, 1896. Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, 21 vols., contain information in other publications of a more general character. Burgess and various writers give copious unsystematic information on architecture and sculpture. For the minor arts generally the best authority is Birdwood, The Industrial Arts of India, London, 1890. The most magnificent publication on the subject is Hendley, Memorial of the Juggs Exhibition, 1883, in four large quarto volumes. The Journal of Indian Art and Industry, 10 vols., may also be consulted with advantage. Ram Riz, Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, London, 1834, is the sole authority for the ancient Indian literary tradition of architectural laws, as practised in the south. Burgess explains the nature of the ancient architectural edas in his Art and Architecture, ii. of vol. i, Archæol. Survey of Western India. An important work on Elephant Trains, Sculpture and Paint, (Murray) is announced as in the press.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

ARCHITECTURE (Jewish).—Materials for a history of ancient Hebrew architecture are accumulating to an extent that must upset some conventional theories. The new Elephantine papyri reveal the existence in Egypt, at the end of the 5th century B.C., of a temple which opened into portals of sculptured stone, copper-hinged doors, cedar-wood roofing, and gold and silver chalices. Flinders Petrie, again, has been able to identify the Onias Temple, which was also built in Egypt more than two centuries later. Here we have a tower-like structure, with massive walls of drafted stone, a substantial brick retaining wall, and Corinthian columns supporting the roof—ornamentation. Half a century later Jewish architecture is represented by such buildings as the palace of Simon the Maccabee unearthed by R. A. S. Macalister at Gezer. The remains of Herodian buildings in Jerusalem, and the ruins of synagogues in Galilee, dating from the first century A.D., can be seen in the story. These stone synagogues seem to have had on the façade three doors,—one in the centre, large, the others at the sides, smaller. The Galilean synagogue was elongated, and was built at a truce in the south. The interior (as at Tell Hum, Meiron, and Kefr Birim) was divided into three by two rows of pillars. The central space of the Tell Hum synagogue was surrounded by a gallery on three sides, and traces of similar galleries have been found elsewhere (Schürer, ii. p. 521). If these structures were meant for women, then the women's gallery, which became a distinctive feature of synagogues only after the Middle Ages, is traceable to an older date.

Though there was no legal prescription on the subject, the favourite shape for synagogues was the basilica, and square or oblong buildings are still the prevalent form, until the prevalence of rectangular, and the famous synagogue of Alexandria (destroyed in the time of Trajan) was a basilica. In modern times a number of octagonal synagogues have been erected, but the basilica form remained constant despite the changes due to local style and taste. In Italy the Renaissance, in Spain the Moorish, influence, modified the decorations and columns; but there were certain essential requirements which kept the synagogue to one general plan. There was first the ark to contain the scrolls of the Law, secondly the Reading Desk or Almenar, thirdly the Entrance. The ark was by preference placed in the east, though this rule was frequently neglected. The Almenar (properly al-minbar, Arabic for 'pulpit') was mostly a rectangular structure occupying the centre of the building. It was used primarily for reading the Scriptures, but in Spanish synagogues it was also the place whence the prayers were read. In many parts, especially in the East, the prayers are still recited from a depressed part of the floor near the ark, to comply with the text, 'Out of the depths have I cried unto thee.' (Ps. 130). The greatest changes in synagogue architecture in modern times is due to the alteration in the position of the Almenar. This is now placed on the east side in Eastern synagogues, forming with the ark one ornate structure, conceptable for the scrolls and the platform for preacher and preacher. Many of the older synagogues made no provision for a pulpit; for sermons were not regularly delivered in the synagogue until the 19th century. The place for the sermon was the school, or Beth Hammidrash. This modification of the position of the Almenar has also affected the seating arrangements. In former times (and also at present in the majority of cases) the benches for men ran lengthwise on two sides of the building, the centre being empty with the exception of the Almenar. Nowadays the seats extend rather to the right or left of the ark, so that the worshippers are always turned to the east, the posture required during certain parts of the service. In the older medieval synagogues there were no galleries for women. Women had a separate prayer-room, which was literally a hut with a glazed window. When the synagogue proper became used by large numbers of women (as began to be habitual from the 14th cent.), the gallery became a prominent feature of synagogue structure. The gallery ran round three sides of the building, and...
ARCHITECTURE (Mithraic).—According to Porphyr...
three parts—in the middle a passage of an average width of 23 metres, and on the two sides massive ledges covered the side-walls of the temple. The average height of these was about 80 centimetres, and the width about 14 metres.

Modern archaeologists have applied to the passage the name cela, and to the ledges that of polis, both of which are derived from the Latin names previously cited. Attempts have been made to compare this arrangement of the 'mithreaus' with the division of churches into three sises, but the likeness is purely superficial. The thick layer of plaster that covers the ledges and whose width is not great, were occupied by the worshippers, who knelt there, while the cela was reserved for the officiating priests. Here it was that the victims were sacrificed, and that the ceremonies of initiation took place. In a 'mithreaus' of Ostia (ib. 814), 7 semi-circles marked in the pavement undoubtedly indicated the places where the priest paused to invoke the planets represented on the sides of the lateral ledges. In other parts certain receptacles appear to have held the water employed in purifications.

At the end of the sanctuary facing the entrance there always rose a great piece of sculpture, the remains of which are certainly those of the temple of Mithras. On the other hand, two walls sloping inwards formed a niche where the sculpture was placed. Occasionally the bas-relief, revolving on itself in this niche or apse, could, during the services, present successively its two sculptures to the side-walls. There were also cases when the architect dispensed with these additions. The wall at the back was plain and the sculpture was made to fit in a recess in its thickness, or to rest upon a base. The part of the temple, generally raised above the rest, where this sacred image was displayed, formed a kind of inner shrine accessible apparently only to the priests, and sometimes screened off by wooden railings.

It is difficult to settle the arrangement of the 'mithreaus' which we find in vogue under the Empire. We have no exact information regarding the sanctuaries of Mithra in the East, and we do not know if the plan adopted in Europe was already followed there. We are, however, in a position to state that the portico and the pediment were imitated from the Greek temples, which transmitted their Greek name, pronaos, to this fore-part of the building. We may suppose that the apse, which, moreover, is often wanting, is borrowed from the Roman basilicas, but the interior arrangement of the crypt remains as yet inexplicable. The division of this hall into three parts of unequal height does not offer, so far as the present writer knows, any likeness to any other kind of ancient architecture, and its resemblance to the early Christian basilicas is purely superficial. We must not conceive of the temple as an imitation of ancient structures or proportions. Covered as they were by a single roof, they could not easily be enlarged. The most considerable of them are 20 metres in length by 8 to 10 metres in breadth, and the few that are known to us could find room on the stone ledges. Thus there are often several temples collected in the same place, even in very small towns (five at Ostia, four at Aquincum and Apulum, three at Hodderheim and Friedberg, etc.).

These small buildings were brilliantly ornamented. In the richest sanctuaries, marbles and mosaics covered the floor, the walls, and even the roof; in the poorest, stucco-work and the coatings decorated with brilliant colours sufficed. When the lamps were lit, this gorgeous ornamentation was intended to harmonize with the various colours and form the statues in order to produce a more vivid effect.

Often, instead of building a temple for a body of worshippers, wealthy Romans used to place a cella at their disposal. The traditional plan of the 'mithreaus' was often modified to accord with local peculiarities. The division of the crypt into three parts was always preserved, but the accessory constructions, the pronaos and the apse, disappeared. The approach was removed to a contiguous hall, which was used as a sacrarium. It is thus often difficult, in examining ruins, to ascertain where the owner's oratory ended and where his kitchen commenced.

LITERATURE.—Wolff, 'Ueber die architektonische Beschaffenheit der Mithrasbildstätte' in Das Mithrasbildstätten von Gross Krotzenburg, Cassel, 1882, pp. 85, 101; Camet, 'Fragments et monuments figurés relatif à la religion de Mithra' in Journal des Savans, 1894, p. 56; of which we have given a résumé here. Nothing of importance has been found since the publication of this book. The most important discovery is the 'cella Mithraea' discovered at Boscoreale (Borromini) on the Roman Wall (Bosanquet, Archæologia Atlantica, 1904, xxv. 286.), and of Saalburg (near Frankfurt), which has been re-opened by the architect J. Jacobi, and can be visited.

FRANZ CUMONT.
ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan)

Egypt, Persia, India, Greece, Etruria, Rome, and Byzantium. Thus the first Muhammadan temples, the first mosques during the early centuries of the Hijra, were no other than those derived from imitation of monuments already existing where the new religion was established by right of conquest. The first architects and artificers of Islam, therefore, had no other means of expression than those derived from the pre-existing art of the Byzantines, Copts, Sassanians, or Indians. But these pre-existing elements were applied to new purposes: the new religion had neither mysteries, nor sacraments, nor priesthood properly so called. No temple was to enshrine the wonder-working image of a Deity, or of a saint, or the Divinity itself contained in consecrated elements. The mosque was only a place of prayer, of preaching, and, up to a certain point, of instruction. It was, properly speaking, a place of meeting in the general sense of that word (the āmi, āmā, āma).

The first mosque at Medina, where the Prophet collected his earliest disciples, was an enclosure open to the sky, having one part sheltered by a flat roof supported by wooden pillars covered with plaster, and the Prophet ascended some steps in order to preach.

But there are in their simplest form the elements of the mosque—a court, porches to shelter the worshippers, the pulpit for the preacher to stand in, and the recess, or mihrāb, the situation of which indicates the qibla, or the direction in which one ought to turn in order to have one’s face directed towards the central shrine, the Ka’ba of Mecca.

This Ka’ba, the real sanctuary of Islam, and the only one which has a supernatural significance, is not a mosque. It is the ‘House of God’ built by Abraham, and there is an absolute bond of miraculous and Divine stone. It is the Egyptian ‘naos,’ or rather the Jewish ‘ark,’ where the invisible and indivisible God is present. But it is not the prototype of the mosque. The form specially typical of the mosque is the pillared hall, like the ‘Amr mosque at Cairo, the mosque of Sidi Okba at Kairwan, the primitive al-Aqṣa mosque at Jerusalem, the mosque of Cordova, the great mosque of Samarra, etc. The plan is easily explained when we remember that in order to recite their prayers the Musalmans are arranged in ranks parallel to the wall at the end of the mosque where the mihrāb is, which indicates the direction of Mecca. Thus the Ka’ba of Arabia is a primitive and specially Islamic plan of a place for worship.

The Muhammadans, whose energetic advance had, so to speak, extended the limits of the ancient world, had continued their progress from the Pillars of Hercules to Java; and from the early centuries of the Hijra the empire of Islam united under one faith the most widely differing nations. The very diversity of the races conquered by Islam was destined to give rise to variety in Muhammadan architecture, for whatever the new religion was planted, it found itself face to face with fully formed civilizations possessing a well-defined architecture of very skilful workmen. The result was that the architecture of the early Muhammadan buildings was the native architecture, more or less strongly affected by new ideas, and without the representations of living creatures. We ought then to divide the study of Muhammadan architecture into as many sections as these distinct nationalities. But it is possible to bring them under more simple divisions. All Muhammadan buildings are divisible into all the schools of Muhammadan architecture, for any school may be divided in five great subdivisions. (By this term ‘school’ is meant the division or distinction of styles in the same way that, with regard to painting, we use the expressions ‘school of Bologna,’ ‘school of Florence,’ ‘school of Venice,’ etc.) Under these headings, we may enter all hitherto existing monuments without consideration of the periods in which they occur. This method of subdivision is sufficiently specified, firstly by geographical, secondly by historical considerations. These great subdivisions will then take the following titles:—

(1) The Syro-Egyptian school (comprising monuments of Egypt, Syria, Persia, and Arabo-Sassanian architecture, and monuments of Maghreb (monuments of Morocco, Tunis, Spain, and Sicily).

(2) The Persian school (monuments of Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Cretaceous, Turkestan, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan).

(3) The Turkish or Ottoman school (monuments of the Ottoman, the Transtionate, Anatolia, and Turkey in Europe).

(4) The Indian school (monuments of Hindustan).

We shall not here speak of the mosques of China, which have nothing of special interest for us, since they are built in the pure Chinese style, and are not distinguished by any characteristic from the architecture used in the public or religious buildings of China (see Architecture (Chinese)).

General characteristics of Muhammadan architecture.— Muhammadan architecture, as stated above, is derived, generally speaking, from local architectures modified by Muhammadan ideas.

What are these ideas, and what did they differ from former ones? This is the principal question to settle; for architecture may be considered in a general way as the art of carrying out given ideas by methods which allow the materials at one’s disposal to be employed to the best practical and aesthetic advantage.

These ideas in the department with which we are now more particularly engaged, that is to say, religious architecture, are, as we already said when creating those entirely different from those governing Christian churches or ancient temples. Other Muhammadan buildings are also inspired by a religious purpose; these are the schools, the madrasas—colleges or academies—the mosques of the places of meeting, and the mosques to which are attached religious endowments, such as schools, fountains, and almshouses.

Another condition to be fulfilled was the exclusion of representations of living creatures from the ornamentation used. Although it may be proved that this restriction hardly applied except to religious buildings, and that the texts, as well as the monuments, show us that representations of living creatures were entirely excluded from the ornamentation of private or public buildings, palaces, houses, etc., it is none the less true that, in general, the architectural decoration of Muhammadan buildings has conformed to this principle. Consequently all the subjects of decoration in Muhammadan art have been found in ornamentation borrowed from the vegetable kingdom and from geometry.

The first architects, whether Muhammadans or Christians, who raised the mosques of Islam drew from sources which differed according to their country. But these influences, whether Byzantine, Coptic, Sassanian, Indian, African or Arabic, have been in a fashion mingled, and as it were interpenetrated, often because of circumstances quite peculiar to Islam. These will be indicated presently. Finally, this nomadic art, if we may use such an expression, had a profound influence on the art of Islam. The art of nomads, which includes the ornamentation of tents, the decoration of saddlery, of carpets, of hangings—an art which may still be studied in the people of the desert of western Morocco to the centre of Turkestan—which is based upon tradition, and sometimes reaches a high pitch of refinement, has not existed without exercising a remarkable and important influence on the internal
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and external ornamentation of buildings. Of this we shall find numerous examples throughout the course of this article.

The Arab, a nomad in a special degree, developed, among all the nations where he planted his new religion, a taste for distant journeys, and the prescribed ritual of the Meccan pilgrimage has been the most prominent token of this artistic literature, so rich in stories of travel, also witnesses to it. This pilgrimage, binding on every Musalmán, has brought into contact the most widely differing races, so that, by a kind of reciprocal interfusion that the most heterogeneous civilizations have seen certain of their elements mix with foreign ones to form Muhammadan civilization.

From the point of view of the arts these reciprocal influences were not less remarkable. The artificers who made the pilgrimage to Mecca, having arrived in the Holy City, and being impelled thereto by an instinct of affinity, certainly did not fail to enter into relations with their fellow-tradesmen who were also there on pilgrimage. From this there undoubtedly arose an interchange of ideas and of skill; and all the more because, this journey being expensive it had to be made by less wealthy of these workmen, either in going or in returning, were obliged to halt on their way in order to work at their trade to provide the means necessary for accomplishing the next stage of the journey. It is, on a much larger scale, the resume of Damascus, or rather the different places of the travelling workmen in France in the Middle Ages.

Finally, the enormous extent of Islam from China to Morocco facilitated commercial interchange in a very remarkable way. Ships by sea and caravans by land brought the silks, perfumes, and precious things of the East to the West in a very short time. It is therefore quite natural that Chinese art should have in many cases influenced that of Turkestan and Persia, and that Indian art should have been able to exercise on the artistic products of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Persia, and even of Spain, an influence which certain passages of the historians explain to us, and of which we obtain a good idea from the observations to be made on many of the decorative details.

In bringing this preliminary survey to a close, we must dwell on one very remarkable aspect of Muhammadan art. It is a common, indeed hackneyed, opinion that Oriental luxury is the standard example of a degree of wealth and extravagance which has rarely been reached in other civilizations. This is, in fact, a special characteristic of Islam, and is explained partly by the peculiarity of the Muhammadan mind and partly by the events of history.

The chief characteristic of the Muhammadan mind, although not the absolute fatalism so often charged against it, is entire submission to the will of God. This submission accordingly implies the possibility of reverses of fortune which can in a short time destroy the greatest prosperity. The natural result of the mutability of fortune is to incite men to enjoy as rapidly and as intensely as possible the transitory possessions which fortune places at their disposal. The preciosity of absolute power and the enormous resources which despotism placed in the hands of the Khalifs both had this effect. Despite the extreme, like common folk, were obliged to enjoy rapidly the means of luxury which they had within their reach. To this may be traced the extremely luxurious character of Muhammadan architecture. The desire, however, of a unity, the want of solidity in most of the private dwellings, palaces, mansions, or country-seats. The buildings dedicated to worship, or built upon plans inspired by religious ideas, were, as a rule, more durably constructed.

1. The Syro-Egyptian school.—This division is treated in a separate article—ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt)—and will not be discussed here.

2. The Moorish or Magrib school.—The term 'Magrib' indicates the whole of Northern Africa lying, of course, west of Egypt. Two elements have contributed to the Moorish architecture, one from the Magrib: on the one side the local traditions, Roman, Romano-Berber, and Byzantine in Africa, Roman, Romano-Iberian, and Visigothic in Spain; and, on the other, the introduction of Oriental architecture which appears to have been in the first place the Byzantine architecture of Syria, for certain Syrian forms seem to have been introduced directly into Africa. To be convinced of this, one has only to compare the Aghlabid gates of the great mosque of Tunies and the eastern façade of the great mosque of Sfax with the lateral façades of the great church of Qal'at Sim'an (de Vogüé, Architecture civile et religieuse dans la Syrie centrale et le Hautmar du v au vste siécle). Another source of inspiration borrowed from the East, but this time from the Muhammadan East, is the plan of the mosques. The present writer has shown in his manual of Muhammadan architecture in Morocco and in Maroc et Maroc, Paris, 1907, i. (History of Architecture) the likeness existing between the plan of the Zituna mosque at Tunis and that of the great mosque of Cordova. This likeness was, however, so faint that the present writer could not say anything on this point with any substantial degree of certainty; but the plan of the great church of St. Simon at Qal'at Sim'an (de Vogüé, op. cit. ii. p. 129), two of the great aisles of which were joined at the ends by a transept running at right angles to them. This writer has never been made so far as the present writer knows; it is, however, very remarkable. G. Marius has mentioned in the Revue Africaine the numerous ideas borrowed, according to the Arab historians of Spain, from the Arab monuments of Syria, by the architects of the Khalifs of Cordova. This process of borrowing was quite natural because of the Syrian origin of the Umayyads of Spain. But the prototype of the grand mosque of Cordova cannot be looked for at Damascus; its plan presents no resemblance to that of the great mosque of that city. We must find it at Jerusalem in the plan of the chief mosque al-Aqsa. Guy le Strange, in his work, Palestine under the Moslems (London, 1890), has restored the plan of it according to the description of Muqaddasi, which shows its arrangement in A.D. 985. The ancient mosque of Jerusalem was 15 aisles in breadth and 21 in length; that of Cordova 11 aisles in breadth and 21 in length (at least originally); both have side-gates on the eastern façade. Ilirisi, quoted by le Strange (op. cit. p. 108), seems to have noticed this likeness, which le Strange has perfectly understood (p. 108). As to the decoration of the mosque at Cordova, it is borrowed partly from Byzantine art, and partly from Arab or Syrian or Mesopotamian ornamentation. This is certainly no longer doubtful, so that we can ascertain the origin of the serrated arches used systematically in the great mosque at Cordova, and recurred in the palace of Harun al-Rashid at Raca (Saladin, op. cit. p. 323, fig. 291), the al-Ashik palace at Samarrá (th. p. 81), the tombs of the sultans of the Ormœus, and especially of Oriental origin—Mesopotamian or Sasanian (exemplified in the secondary gate of the Palace of General de Beylié). *

† Cfr. also the work of Herzfeld published since that of General de Beylié.
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Ctesiphon; see Herzfeld, Saamara), for it is found in Persia at Firuzabad and at Taq-1-Girra. This mosque-plan of which we have just been speaking is, to a certain extent (except in the proportion between the breadth and the length of the building), that of the mosques with aisles, like the Amur mosque at Cairo, and those of Samarra which Mr. Herzfeld and Mr. Loud have described, and that of Aba-Dilif which de Breylié was the first to portray, but these are later than the mosque of Cordova. They are mentioned here as giving the characteristics of the typical plan of the mosque-complex in its simplest forms, inasmuch as we know at present regarding the most ancient Muhammadian monuments of Mesopotamia; for the monuments of Samarra and of Aba-Dilif owe absolutely nothing to Syrian architectural traditions, which are based upon the use of dressed stone. These, on the other hand, are constructions of brick, and consequently connected with the pure Mesopotamian tradition, though strongly influenced by Sasanian art.

Thus, then, Spain appears to have been more directly influenced by Syria and Mesopotamia than was the case with Northern Africa. The great mosque of Kairwan in Tunis, for example, borrows and combines the Byzantine material from all that is ancient and Byzantine fragments which have been employed for its construction in columns, bases, and capitals. Arab historians, however, attribute to a Syrian architect the dome covered with green enameled tiles which at Alhambra and at Al-Qal'a was to be constructed above the porch of the celebrated mosque.

On the other hand, it is indisputable that the horse-shoe arch, the employment of which may be considered one of the characteristic principles of Moorish art, is borrowed from Sasanian architecture, for it is found in Persia in the Taq-I-Girra, the palace of Sarvistan, and in Mesopotamia in the celebrated palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon—in the gates on the ground floor. It appears to have been employed there in a systematic fashion, while in the Christian monuments of central Syria and in certain buildings of Andalusia it appears to have been used only in the intermittent way. The most ancient examples of the use of this arch may be seen in Tunis in the inner window of the magdira of the mosque of Sfax, in Kairwan in the central motive of the interior façade of the Zituna mosque at Tunis, and in the eastern side façade of the great mosque at Sfax. This arch, which has been justly compared in shape to a horse-shoe, has been systematically used in the celebrated mosque of Cordova. It is found in the windows, the gates, and the interior arches, whether they are many-lobed or not.

Finally, local Christian art, whether African or Spanish, also had much influence on the architecture of the Maghrib. Byzantine art did not operate in the same way. Although some very important buildings were erected by the Byzantines in Carthage, it is not possible to assert, from what we are present know of them, the Byzantine character of the gates built or of the binding stones used at Tunis or at Sfax. At both Tunis and Sfax, they are connected with the forms of Byzantine art belonging to central Syria. Such are the drums which support the domes of the Zituna mosque at Tunis, the Aghlabid gates of this mosque, and the gates of the eastern façade of the mosque of Bougie. In Moorish Spain, on the contrary, received, by means of artists summoned from Constantinople to Cordova, a genuine influx of decorative Byzantine art, recognizable in the first instance in certain parts of the sculpture of the mihrab, but above all in the admirable enameled mosaics executed on the spot by the Byzantine artists who came for the purpose from Constantimople.

We may now exculpate the chronology of these early monuments of the Maghrib:

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As early as the 9th cent., the new style in Spain assumed quite a distinct character; for the great mosque of Cordova is obviously a building of a style absolutely and clearly defined. On the contrary, we do not find in Northern Africa, whether in Tunis, or Algeria, or Morocco, such a homogeneity of style in the first Arab buildings. The successive restorations of the mosque of Sidi Okba at Kairwan, the traces of which are still sufficiently visible on the building itself, the Aghlabid period of the Zituna mosque at Tunis, of the great mosque of Beja, and of that of Sfax in Tunis, no longer give us the impression of a well-defined style. The reason for this must very probably be found in the fact that the conquest by the Almoravids and Kharidate of Cordova constituted a political and social regime on a sufficiently firm basis to give to the country such prosperity that the magnificence of the buildings far surpassed those of Africa, and that of a much poorer country. On the other hand, the continual relations of Cordova with Syria, and the arrival in Spain of a great number of followers of the Umayyads, made Arabized Andalusian, so to speak, a second Arabized Syria. The proofs of this are abundant in the Arab historians and even in the buildings.

In the 11th cent., the influence of Middle Asia, that is to say, of Mesopotamia and perhaps even of Persia, was making itself felt in Africa in the style of the buildings of Qa'a of the Beni Hammad, and probably in those of Bougie, which are unfortunately thus far not known to us except from descriptions, appears to have been felt also in Sicily, which had passed from the yoke of the Aghlabids under that of the Fatimids, and in which we recognize the Arab style only by the traces which remain of the building of the 12th cent., erected there by the Norman kings.

At the end of the 11th cent., from the time when Yusuf ibn Tashfin united Spain and the Maghrib under his authority, a modification seems to have been introduced into the Arab architecture of Spain; and it appears that this modification is due to Moroccan artists; this cannot, however, be positively established by examples of an authentic date. The magnificence of the Fez and of Marrakesh under the Almoravids completely explains how the architects who contributed to the adornment of these two towns were consequently able to exercise influence, either directly or by means of their pupils, on the tendencies of the school of Andalusia. This change of style is apparent at Toledo in the Puerta del Sol, and later under the Almoravids in the great mosque of Tiemsen, and in certain portions of the mosque of Tinnel, which has recently been discovered and described by Doutté.

It was not till the 12th cent. of our era that the new style really spread in a wonderful manner, by this time freed from antique or Byzantine imitations, and clearly marked by qualities of taste, of sobriety, of elegance and restrained luxuriance, which render the monuments bequeathed to us true masterpieces.
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A short enumeration will give the chronological sequence of these specimens to copy, for the present writer once sketched a fragment of white marble mosaic with coloured marbles and St. Luzius (Morocco) by H. de la Martinière. This fragment dates from the 5th cent. of our era, and evidently belongs to that series of works in marble mosaic which served as models to the Arab workmen. This work in mosaic, which appears after all in the same manner in the Arab work in marble mosaic, was afterwards succeeded by square tiles, on which pieces of enameled in slight relief showed the usual ornamentation. Later they contented themselves with tracing in black lines on the white enamel, a polygonal and florid tracery worked in different colours. At a still later date the purely geometrical ornamentation was replaced by a floral decoration or one of the conventional palms. In Persia and in Turkestan we shall be able to trace a similar development in ceramic decoration. There is no doubt that this art was of Asiatic origin. The similarity between the Spanish enameled decorations and those in the famous frieze of archers in the apadana of Susa is obvious. On the other hand, the likeness of the enameled of the most ancient enameled vases found at Raca (Mesopotamia) to the enamel-work of the Maghrib at present leads to one to the last centuries of the Hammad period, is assigned to supply us with the date of the Abbasid period, where we may probably assign the most ancient enameled-work of Raca to the period of the Abbasids. In this period we may date the monastery of the church of the Aghlabids which is still existing and which is the only example of Moorish art in the Moorish East. We may have not known is what sort of architectural Moorish art, as we would have to conclude from the passage through which the most characteristic components of the architectural decoration of the monuments and palaces of Babylonia and Persia. This marchioness, though somewhat long, on the use and origin of enameled-work in Moslem architecture, is, however, indispensable in order to show by how slight a link Moorish art is connected with that of the Egyptian Copts.

The tomb of Sidi Bā Madīna at Tetouan gives an idea of this new development. In 1230 the Alhambra of Granada was commenced, in 1231 the mosque of the Qasba at Tunis was founded by Abū Zakariya, a work of Andalusian architecture, in which nothing any longer recalls the first Arab monuments of Tunis. For a large number of emigrants from Andalusia had a hand in it, not only because of the fall of the Almoravids, but especially because, owing to the want of native artists, the Hafizas, as Ibn Sa'd tells us, imported their architects, their workers in enamel, and even their gardeners from Andalusia. Enamelled earthenware, in fact, had been used in the Maghrib from a considerably remote period; we cannot precisely fix the introduction of it to the buildings of Qa'a of the Beni Hammad which date from the commencement of the 11th cent. of our era, and in the ruins of which Paul Blanchet did discover a considerable quantity of fragments of enamelled facings, bricks, pieces of binding masonry and mosaic, etc. From that period this manufacture, which must have been introduced by Asiatic workmen, spread in the Maghrib. Their origin is Asiatic, since the only architectural enamelled earthenware work we know in the Maghrib, previous to that period, consists of the famous squares with metallic reflections with which Ibrahim Ibn al-Aghlab adorned the minbar of the mosque of Sidi Okba at Kairwan, and which he caused to be brought from Bagdad. By successive improvements this art rapidly attained to that degree of perfection which we admire in the monuments of Tetouan, Seville, Granada, and Morocco. Enamelled earthenware is at first used in mosaic, consisting of pieces cut out by hand and placed together, either in hollows cut in slabs of marble or of hard stone, as in the Qa'a buildings of the Beni Hammad, or on a coating of mortar as at Tetouan and at Chella; in those cases its use is combined with that of enamelled brick, and in a partly enameled manner. That the mosaics was used in this way in order to imitate the mosaics of marble which the Arab artists, following the example of the Romans and the Byzantines, had constructed in Syria, in Egypt, and in Sicily. They had even found in Africa some
however, which the Moors have left in Spain—

the palaces of Tunis, of Algiers, of Morocco, of

Fez, and of Mequinez, cannot be passed over.

The architecture of the Maghrib contains at the same time suggestions from Roman and Byzantine houses, and very probably also from houses of Mesopotamia and Persia. We do not

know any very ancient Arab building, for in the Near East it is quite unaccountable which of these plans is reproduced, with very few variations, leads us to believe that the prototype has never lacked the features with which we are familiar from the other court, the division of the house into the salamlik, or open portion, used for recep-
tions, and the harim, or private part, entered by visitors, and reserved exclusively for women and domestic life. It is accordingly a variation of the Roman house. This is understood more easily when we remember that the early Arab conquerors of Northern Africa took up their abode first at the Roman or Byzantine houses, which still existed in great numbers, but at the French

began to take their up-abode, at the commencement of their occupation of the country, in the Arab houses of Tunis and Algeria.

From the earliest period the palaces have been builtings of great magnificence, and the descriptions of the Arab historians give us full information regarding the luxurious in style in which they were decorated and furnished. Of these we may mention, by way of example, the familiar palace of Medina-al-Sharif near Cordova, the palace of Mustansir in Tunis (described by Ibn Ikdikan, History of the Berbers), which possessed elevated pavilions, cupolas, kiosks, aqueducts, fountains, and large basins, forming a kind of mirror. These were also to be found in the Sasanian palace of Qasr-i Shirin, and have remained from that time a traditional ornament in Persia. Mustansir's palace also contained pavilions with marble columns and wainscotings of marble and faience mosaics. The palace of the Sultan Hamadis of Bougie, and those of Fez, Morocco, and Mequinez, were not less magnificent. We can have, so to speak, an ocular demonstration of the splendour to which Muslim architecture had attained in the Alhambra of Granada, of which the greater part is still standing, although by an unaccountable whim Charles V. caused the south wing to be destroyed in order to build in its place a palace of lamen-
to meedlsor.

Part of the plan of the Alhambra is an exten-
sion of the plan of the Arab house. There are always numerous structures surrounding courts bordered by porches, with fountains or large uncovered basins. There is no need to enlarge, in addition, on the lavishness and taste with which a great wealth of constantly varied decoration has been expended on every portion of this delightful palace, which is the glory of Granada and of Arabized Spain (see Art. [Muh.]).

After the final expulsion of the Arabs from Spain, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis received the exiles, and built their artistic and religious institutions. These underwent profound changes in Algeria and Tunis; but in Morocco they were preserved, not entirely in their pristine purity, yet in a way so nearly complete as to give to the Moorish buildings, down to the latest times, an artistic character very superior to that of the buildings of Algeria and Tunis.

Chronology of the Buildings of the Maghrib.

Hijra. Christian

114 712 Uthub Allah ibn al-Mu'abb founds the Zituna mosque at Tunis.

152 770 The house of the great mosque of Cordova.

232 857 Ziyadet Allah restores the great mosque of Kairwan.

249 859 Founding of the Kairuin mosque at Fez.

325 936 'Abd al-Rahman III. founds the palace-mosque at Cordova.

363 977 Hammed ibn Bulukkiu iho Zayri found the Qa'a mosque of Beni Hammud.

498 1048 An-Nasir founds the mosque of Bougie.

575 1069 The Almoravids found the mosques of Morocco (Marrakesh).

590 1104 Buildings of Yaqib al-Mansur at Rabat, Chelia, Morocco, Seville.

596 1109 Tomb of Siddi ibn Madina at Tunisia.

600 1121 Building of the Alcazar of Seville.

609 1125 Mosque of Qasba at Tunis.

693 1259 Abur-yaqub an-Nasir builds in three years the town of Mansura near Tunis.

718 1318 Mosque of Sidi Bishani at Tunis.

735 1331 Restoration of the Andalusian mosque at Fez.

754 1353 Mosque of Sidi al-Halisi at Tunis.

753 1354 Completion of the Alhambra of Granada, founded in 259 a.h. (1259).

565 1460 Zayiwa of Sidi Ibn Aruz at Tunis.

692 1577 'Abd al-Salami, the magnificent palace al-Bodi' at Morocco, and a kiosk in the Kairuin mosque at Fez.

1041 1661 Mosque Hamida Pasha at Fez.

1152 1700 Completion of the mosque of Siddi Mahmoud at Tunis.

3. The Persian School (Persia, Mesopotamia, Turkestan, etc.).—We have already spoken of the mosques of Mesopotamia, Samarra, and Abu-Difil. In Persia the style is quite different. Yet the most ancient Persian mosques whose plans are known to us are built with aisles like the primitive mosques. The arrangement of these is still recognizable in the plan of the Juna mosque at Isfahan built in 142-153 a.h. under the Kahlilat of the Abbasid al-Mansir; but in this plan there is a peculiar arrangement: in the court there is an isolated structure on a square plan. Dieulafay describes a similar square pavilion in the centre of the old mosque of Shiraz built in A.D. 875 by Amir ibn Laith. This pavilion is evidently a reminiscence of the Ka'ba of Mecca, for it is known at Shiraz by the name of Khuda Khan, or 'House of God.' We should mention also the Juna mosque of Shiraz, re-built by the Pasha in A.D. 790 on the plan of the ancient mosque erected in the early years of the Hijra by Muhammad ibn al-Hajjaj.

At a period which it is as yet impossible to define, a remarkable development affects the arrangement of the Persian mosques: on the four sides of the court of the mosque there open enormous porches of great height, and in the form of an immense arcade. These luteins, as they are called, are certainly a reminiscence of the luteins of Chosroes, the Taji-Kisra of Ctesiphon, the magnificence of which had astonished the first Arab conquerors, and the recollection of which was always present in the minds of Oriental monarchs when they were erect-
ing great buildings. Muhammadian historians, in fact, when they wish to emphasize the splendour of a building raised by one of their monarchs, always compare it to the luteins of Chosroes, to the buildings of Mada'in, etc. In the plan of all the Persian mosques this detail (the luteins) always r-e-appears, and we find the same architectural feature in certain mosques of Turkestan and Egypt of Suchan—mosques which also serve the purpose of madrasas, i.e. schools or academies, or rather universities. When we closely examine the plan of the Juna mosque of Isfahan, we easily see how Malik Shah, Shah Taimasp, and Shah Abbas, in their successive enlargements of the
building, changed its original appearance in order finally to give that definite character which has been, so to speak, the type to which the Persian mosques have conformed, and which is so admirably condensed in the plan of the imperial mosque of Isfahan, most elegantly adornned under Shah Abbas. This latter may be considered as the chef d'œuvre of religious architecture in Persia, where we find no other mosques with aisles, but only the four great iwans, one of which serves as a porch of entry, and the other three as Dispersed places for prayer, each possessing its own mihrab.

We see, accordingly, that just as the Persians sharply divided themselves from the majority of the Muhammadans (who are Sunnites, forming a sort of hieratical sect by themselves), since they are Shiites and therefore abandon the purely Muhammadan tradition,* gave they to their religious architecture quite a different character from that of the buildings to be seen in Syria, Egypt, and in the Maghrib. When the mosques are deprived of a central court, as was the case with the blue mosque of Tabris; the praying place is always square-shaped, and is led up to by a large square hall, usually three-storied. Then we have nothing left to recall the primitive mosque, which is really derived from the shelter built along the wall of the mihrab, which allows the crowd of the faithful to line out along this wall and in front of the element common to all, the mihrab, in the same direction. The tendency in Persia would rather appear to be that of uniting the worshippers in a closed sanctuary in order to secure for them the interior, which favours collectedness of thought and prayer.

We see, therefore, that by a kind of natural development the changes through which the Persian mosque passed, while tending more and more towards a closed sanctuary, would produce successive forms approaching gradually those of certain Christian churches—those of Armenia, for instance.

The earliest Muhammadan architecture in Persia has also quite a special character. The leading elements in Persian architecture are, in fact, almost entirely borrowed from local traditions, that is to say, from the architecture of the ancient Persians and from that of the Sasanian period:

(1) The cupola or hall is supported by flat ceilings and terraces, which seems to be derived principally from Assyrian and Median art.

(2) The arch carried on drums or on columns standing in sets of four. (This arrangement was seen at the Moors, but the structure enlarged by four joined columns.) Since the arch and the pillar are constructed of rubble-stone or more frequently of bricks, we cannot doubt that the origin of this system of architecture must be sought in Chaldæa, whence it passed into Persia. As to the arch of dressed and cut stone and structures with binding masonry, they seem to be of Armenian origin, and to have passed from Armenia into the north-west provinces of Persia, where alone they are found.

The arch constructed of bricks was a matter of choice for the Persians; and this system seems to have been chosen because of the scarcity of timber in the greater part of the country. In this kind of structure they attained to a degree of artistic skill, ingenuity, and cleverness which has never been excelled anywhere. The use of unbaked and baked brick and of enameled brick came to them both from Chaldæa and from Susiana. It is probably from the early Persian buildings adorned with enameled bricks or faience mosaic that this process, so fertile in graceful applications, reached the West by way of Tunis and Algiers as far as Morocco and Spain, where the Moorish artists were able to develop this decoration as far as high as that reached in Persia by the Persians.

It was very probably from the use of bricks, whether by corrugations or by projecting stones, that stalactites came into use, which have always been one of the most interesting features of Persian and Syro-Egyptian brick architecture; but it is possible that stone and wood stalactites have not the same origin although very often similar in appearance.

Finally, just as Roman architectural traditions have influenced the development of decoration in the Maghrib alongside of geometrical ornamentation, the origin of which is not yet clearly established, so that in Persia its style of ornamentation has been influenced by Sasanian, Hindu, and, later, by Chinese traditions. Parallel with this also has proceeded a development of geometrical decoration which appears to be derived from the element common to all, the mihrab, and the origin of which, perhaps because of its Muhammadan character, should be sought in Arabia, not in the buildings of Yemen before Muhammad's time, but possibly in the ornamentation employed by the nomad Arabs in their embroideries, carpets, etc.

The origin of the lancet-arch, which was used in the ancient buildings of Egypt along with the crenary arch, and which has been found also in Assyria, appears thus to be settled, but its use seems to be reserved for the hidden parts of buildings, and those where solidity and economy in construction were both required. The palace of the kings Thoerots at Ctesiphon, in its visible portions has only semicircular arches, whether of horse-shoe shape or not, except its great arch, which is crenary; but the groovings disposed at the top that it formed, were not seen because they were in the interior of the building and above the arches, had pointed groinings. This pointed arch was a feature as frequently employed by the Persians as the horse-shoe arch was by the Moors. It has been supposed that the pointed arch formed by two skew arches involved a complication in construction easy to avoid by closing the curve by two straight lines; it is for this reason that their arches are of such an original and distinct character. We find in the West this predilection for closing brick arches by rectilinear portions in France, in the Roman architecture of Toulouse and its neighbouring, and in England the numerous brick buildings from which it passed into buildings of stone under the name of the Tudor arch.

The other religious buildings of the Persians are the madrasas, or religious schools, and the tombs. These madrasas assumed in Persia a still more important development than they did in Egypt or in the Maghrib. One of the most ancient, which have been described is the madrasa of Mustansir, built at Baghdad in A.D. 820 (A.H. 122), of which a summary plan is given by General de Beylié (Prome et Samarne, fig. 18). It consists of a suite of buildings arranged round a rectangular court, with a locuta in the centre of each of its four sides. These buildings, pierced by numerous arcades, contained the cells of the students. The likeness of the plan on which they
ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan)

are built to that of the caravanserais with which Persia is covered will not escape any one, any more than the similarity to the plans of the great Persian mosques. If we could ascertain the most ancient types of these buildings, for example the Persian or Sasanian caravanserais, we should perhaps have the origin of the type of plan which the modern architects have been able to turn to such excellent account.

One of the most remarkable madrasas which have been built in Persia is the Madrasa-i-Shah Sultan Husain at Isfahan (1536). At the head of the entrance of this building we built close beside it at the same time, by merely examining the two plans in juxtaposition we understand what a striking likeness exists between them.

This arrangement has been reproduced in the great mosque-madrasa of Samarqand and Bokhara, and indeed in those of all the large towns of Turkestan, whence it is certain that the first architects of these buildings were Persians. In the case of some of them the proof is ready to hand. The madrasa Shir-Dar near Samarqand is the reduction to a comparatively small scale of the Persian madrasa; the mosque, madrasa, and tomb of Bibi Hanum (who was an Moslem) at Tunus, and those of Beja, Tunis, are of the same mould. The tomb of the Sufi Sheikh Kairwan, still existing, which was built by the Malök Khan in Tunis, was engaged in an enormous mosque or madrasa. The tombs of the Sufi Sheikh Kairwan, still existing, were also covered with them, and the flashing of these thousands of mirrors, the brilliance of the paintings, and the facings of faience, made these lofty halls, with glittering ceilings, marvels of taste and luxuriance, more remarkable even than we have seen in the Moorish palaces of Andalusia.

In the royal palaces of Isfahan these columns were covered with little squares of looking-glass not only on the front of their shafts, but on their octagonal and square bases, which, as these structures of the Sufi Sheikh Kairwan, near Tunis, were also covered with them, and the flashing of these thousands of mirrors, the brilliance of the paintings, and the facings of faience, made these lofty halls, with glittering ceilings, marvels of taste and luxuriance, more remarkable even than we have seen in the Moorish palaces of Andalusia.

The Persian house, like all Muhammadan houses, is divided into an andarun, or part reserved for the women and the family, and a birun, or part reserved for the reception of guests. But its arrangement no longer presents any likeness to that of the ancient house. The building is no longer arranged round the front court. This court in Persia is replaced by a garden, called a parterre, classical example, the andarun is on the first floor; if it belongs to a richer class, the birun opens on the garden and on the street, and at the bottom of the garden is the andarun. The Persians also built enormous bazaars, streets roofed in and lined with shops; and all their large towns still possess them, the finest certainly being those of Isfahan. These bazaars contain not only roofed streets and shops, but baths, or hammas, mosques, schools, tombs, and city caravanserais, in which merchants with their wares put up. Other caravanserais are disposed at different stages along the roads; these are resting-places for the bazaars, and caravans. Herodotus mentions that Cyrus had had them placed all along the roads of his empire. Here we have again in Persia a tradition dating from before the time of Islam.

The Sasanian age in Persia was the greatest period of remarkable bridges. The Muhammadan sovereigns of Persia followed their example. Without counting the numerous bridges constructed in Persia since the Muhammadan conquest, we ought not to overlook the two very striking bridges of Isfahan, that of Allâh-Verdi.
Khan and that of Baba Rukn-ad-din, which are real masterpieces.

In a country as barren as Persia, the discovery, securing, and conveyance of water were naturally of vital importance, and these long gutters ornamented with eight-rayed half-stars which we see so frequently in buildings of the 13th cent. in Syria, and especially at Damascus. However (what we do not find in Syria, while the buildings of Konia and its neighbours show us unpretentious villages and vaulted cisterns, placed along the roads near the caravanserais. At other times the river-water was held back by dams to be conducted into irrigation canals.) M. Dieulafey has described two of them, the dam of Suveli and the Band-amir.

We shall not enter in this section, any more than in the preceding one, on the examination of military architecture. That of the Magrib is known to us by a large number of drawn or photographed buildings; that of Persia, on the contrary, is as yet almost unknown to us.

The Persian school of architecture spread its influence as far as Timur and the Ottomans; and exercised an indisputable effect on the Seljuk architecture of Asia Minor and on the Ottoman architecture derived from it. It has directly influenced the architecture of Turkestan, and we shall see how much effort is made to ascertain when certain that the finest buildings of the Mughal period were immediately inspired by the finest architectural and decorative traditions of Muhammedan Persia.

But, since among Muhammedan arts architecture is absolutely supreme and all the other arts are based more or less on the principles which govern architectural construction, we ought not to be surprised at the importance attached to the influence of Persian decorative art on all the arts of other Muhammedan countries.

Chronology of the Buildings of Persia and of Turkestan.

Hijra. Christian

137 755 Tomb at Raat.
142 764 Founding of the Juma Mosque at Isfahan.
174 806 Juma Mosque at Kavir.
261 875 Juma Mosque at Shiraz.
305 917 Founding of the great mosque of Ardabil.
502 1017 Tomb of Sultan Sanjar at Merv.
516 1029 Mausoleum of Mumin-i-Hatum in Nakhshivan.
630 1252 Mausoleum of the Sultans at Ann.
659 1253 Tomb of the daughter of Hulagu in Maragha.
700 1295 Hospital and Guest House of Ullabi-Khodabandah at Sultan-Ya.
722 1293 Mosque of Isfahan.
731 1297 Mosque of Mir Juzung Kavarn-ad-din.
731 1298 Mosque of Bibi Hanum at Samarqand.
780 1343 Great or blue mosque at Tabris.
904 1426 Darwaza-i-Kiosk at Isfahan.
912 1435 The town of Isfahan embellished with magnificence.
1021 1523 Masjid-i-Shah at Isfahan.
1108 1531 Mosque and caravanserai Madrasa-i-Shah Sultan Husain at Isfahan.
1306 1701 Buildings of Tereran.
1323 1808 Embellishment of Isfahan by Fath-Ali Shah.

4. The Ottoman School (Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor).—The first real entrance of the Osmanli Turks on the stage of history is at the time when the last Seljuk ruler of Konia, Ala-ud-din II., conquered by the Mongols, yielded his empire to Othman, that is to say, in the 15th cent. of our era.

The Seljuk kingdom was therefore the germ of the future Ottoman empire. We also find that the buildings erected by the Seljuk of Rük (i.e., the kingdom of Konia) are the first which exhibit the union of Persian and Syro-Egyptian influences and yet are not distinct, and even widely differing in style. The mosques of Konia and villages are the union of which with the constructive traditions of Byzantine architecture produced the striking art of the Turkish buildings of Brusa, Adrianople, and Constantinople. For this reason we should study them first. We find, in fact, in the buildings of Konia, Syrian features, for the small columns joined together, the niches, the stalactites, and those long gutters ornamented with eight-rayed half-stars which we see so frequently in buildings of the 13th cent. in Syria, and especially at Damascus. However (what we do not find in Syria, while the buildings of Konia and its neighborhood show us unpretentious villages and vaulted cisterns, placed along the roads near the caravanserais. At other times the river-water was held back by dams to be conducted into irrigation canals.) M. Dieulafey has described two of them, the dam of Suveli and the Band-amir.

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Armenia, ii. 181 f.). It is certain that Armenia also exercised a very strong influence on Seljuk architecture. The chief reasons for this will be found in the present writer's Ararat. We might therefore, sum up the character of Seljuk art by describing it as a mixture of Persian, Syrian, and Armenian art. The fact is completely explained by the geographical position of Karin. (Handley, i. 754). We may remark, moreover, that as we travel northwards the Seljuk buildings assume an uncouth and heavy style of decoration which seems to be strictly due to the predominance of Armenian influence; on the other hand, the more we approach the south, the more Syrian influence reveals itself by its refinement, distinction, and exactitude. The harmonious collocation of forms of stone architecture and of enamelled decoration did not at once reach complete perfection. It is easy to understand that brick architecture and stone architecture, which proceed from entirely different starting points, and consequently have quite distinct characters, could be harmonised only after many bungling attempts and trials. One of the most interesting of these is that made by the architects of the Ottoman sultans at Brusa. The Yesil Jami', or 'Green Mosque,' presents, in the best sense of the word, a composite and harmonious unity. The building is a great porch opened on a façade pierced with windows and grooved with niches; the porch is still the Seljuk porch, but simplified, corrected, and admirably crowned by a kind of half-dome of marble; the latter is encircled by very fine arabesques, which are themselves set, as is the entire porch, in a majestic door-frame decorated with sculptures and inscriptions in magnificent characters. The interior is completely decorated with faience mosaics of the greatest beauty. The mihrab, entirely of enamelled ware, is very lofty, and the general impression made by it recalls a little that of a great Seljuk doorway; the walls are decorated with a ceramic panelling surmounted by a magnificent frieze, and the inner wall of the mosque opposite the mihrab, which is generally bare of decoration, here assumes a singular importance by reason of two great hujûn on the second floor, an invariable feature in the Seljuk mosque, all entirely executed in very beautiful enamelled work. The plan of this mosque at Brusa, although rendered totally different from those we have already studied by a very skilful use of large cupoles, is such, although in an imperfect manner, the cruciform plans of the madrassas, because of these two lateral hujûn which flank the chief cupola. This enamelled decoration is still Persian in its workmanship and suggestion, and even the first secular buildings of Constantinople, such as the Chini Kiosk, built at the Seraglio in 1466, in their plan and appearance are still altogether Persian.

At the time of the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks, however, the influence of the Byzantine buildings immediately made itself felt on the productions of the Sultans' architects who built for them their first mosques. Thus the mosque of Sultan Bayazid, commenced in 1497, reproduces on a small scale the plan of St. Sophia at Constantinople, i.e. its main characteristic is a great cupola resting on pendentives, supported in front and behind by two large semi-cupoles of equal radius. But this mosque is already distinguished from the mosques of Brusa by a correction in the plan, and in the general arrangement of the outer arcades, a correction, as it were, shows us already completely master of its methods. This art, now that it has been able to borrow from Byzantine art the chief element of structural arrangement, may be regarded as complete, for till the conquest of Byzantium the mosques did not possess that character of boldness, exactness, and definiteness which an architectural work must possess in order to rank among works of art. As long as the plan is undetermined, the work of architecture cannot be considered as complete.

The Turkish mosque consists, then, of a praying place properly so called—a large rectangular hall covered with a dome of stone. Usually it has two large semi-cupoles which support the dome; the mihrâb of marble or of enamelled work faces the entrance. Coloured panels set in plaster traceries light the mosque. The Turkish mosques are much the best lit of all, even when we consider that the windows are proportioned which is not often. In front of the mosque is a court surrounded by porticoes; in the centre a fountain, the 8άδδις of the Byzantine churches, and commanding the four corners of the court, gigantic minarets like monolithic pillars crowned by a pointed roof. Such is the type of the Ottoman mosque from Bosna-Serai to Cairo.

From this time Ottoman art made giant strides, and the buildings of most mosques, the outlines of which still in our day adorn the capital of Turkey, are erected one after another. Such are the mosque of Muhammad II.; that of Sultan Selim; the Selaimaniyya, or mosque of Selaiman the Magnificent, which was commenced in 1550, and whose four minarets, its colossal dome supported by four enormous pillars, its great antique columns of porphyry and syenite seized from the Imperial palaces, its coloured panels and its enamelled work, the most perfect of all, the most extreme simplicity of its plan, the harmony of its proportions, and the perfection of its outline. Unfortunately the decadence of this fine art was rapid; contact with Western art was fatal to it. Already in the mosque Nur-i-Osmâniya (1748-55) we see the introduction of Western architecture. That internichature, which perhaps in skilful hands might have been able to bring about a happy modification of Turkish art, was mingled with the ideas of modern architects. These, by their unskilfulness, rapidly brought about the decay of that art which had produced such great masterpieces.

A few words remain to be said on other architectural works. The Ottomans built numerous schools, madrasas, and monasteries, or takiyyas. These are generally occupied by dervishes of the Mevlevi order, who played such an important part at the commencement of the history of the Ottoman empire, and do so still in a quiet way, since it is their Grand Master who at the consecration of each Sultan gives the new sovereign with the Prophet's sabre in the old mosque of Ayyûb. Frequently the architecture of these buildings is affected by local traditions, and their case differs from that of the mosques which from the commencement of Selaiman's reign were all erected on plans derived more or less directly from the types invented by Selaiman's cupoles of equal radius.

The tombs of sovereigns and of great personages are influenced more or less, as regards their plan, by the use of the cupola. To give a list of them here would be tedious, shows an example of the methods. This art, now that it has been able to borrow from Byzantine art the chief element of structural arrangement, may be regarded as complete, for till the conquest of Byzantium the mosques did not possess that character of boldness, exactness, and definiteness which an architectural work must possess in order to rank among works of art. As long as the plan is undetermined, the work of architecture cannot be considered as complete.
also happens that these stelae, passing through stages of increasing richness of decoration, are evolved into monuments luxuriantly gilded and carved, which are sheltered under kiosks or cupola- crowned pavilions.

From their ancient nomad life the Turks have preserved a love of nature and of gardens; they regard the house or palace as the exact only or transitory dwellings. Except the palaces of the sultans, it is rare to see in Turkey houses other than those of wood, or with wooden frameworks; such is, at any rate, generally characteristic of the Turkish house, which rich or luxurious, it is only a transient decoration; and this feeling seems to be essentially Muhammadan, for we find it in all the countries of Islam, where men build only for themselves, not for their children. At the zenith of their splendour the Ottomans were great constructors of buildings for public use—fountains, caravanserais, bridges, aqueducts, reservoirs, roads, tombs, or kitchens for the poor, and hospitals and shelters for the sick or for pilgrims. The sultans, their ministers, and persons of position vied in strenuous rivalry in erecting during their lifetime such buildings as might perpetuate their memory. The study of Ottoman art has been, so far, superficial; one cannot fail to afford great interest from the parallel suggested between the magnificence and wide scope of the conceptions of the Ottoman architects and the splendour and length of the history of the Ottoman sultans. We might say that the characteristic of Persia is elegance, that of Syria and Egypt wealth, that of Moorish art abundance, and even redundancy, and that of Turkey force—characteristics which are found both in the history and in the art of these nations.

The study of the Turkish buildings would be incomplete if unaccompanied by a chronology, which is accordingly appended (including the Soljak buildings from which, without a doubt, Ottoman art is derived).

5. The Indian School. —Islam, as it spread westward, has transformed everything in its passage. We have seen that in converting Persia it had not been able to effect a thorough conversion to the new doctrine, since the Muhammadans of Persia did not suffer from those of the Persian, Arab, and the Maghrib, that the former and the latter form, so to speak, two distinct sects, Shi'ites and Sunnites, each of which considers itself the only orthodox party. Similarly the Muhammadan art of Persia differs fundamentally from the arts of other Muslim countries than the latter differ among themselves. We shall see that in India Islam had difficulty in taking artistic shape, and in creating devices and forms wholly of its own character might differentiate them from those consecrated to other religions. We shall also see subsequently that in the far East, in China, Muhammadan art tends to disappear entirely under the effect of the strong originality of the Chinese character. In that country there is an 'influence of the mass,' as chemists would say. In India and in China the Muhammadan is only a minority; he has to compete in the crowd, and despite his stubbornness of principle he submits to circumstances without being able to defend himself against them or to escape them.

The first Muhammadan conquest of India dates from A.D. 712. The first Indo-Muhammadan kingdom was in the 10th cent. A.D., that of Ghazni, which united under one sway the Panjab, Multan, Gujrat, and Kasur up to the Ganges. Delhi became the capital of the Afghan House of Ghor after the destruction of Ghazni (A.D. 1122). It was sacked in 1398 by Timur. Bâbar (1494–1539), his great-grandson, founded a stable empire on the ruins of the ancient Muhammadan kingdoms of India. It was then that, under the dynasty of the Great Mughals, was set up one of the strongest and most remarkable régimes and civilizations of Muhammadan history. Up to the time of the Great Mughals the reaction of the native element against Islam had been so powerful that the architecture of Muhammadan buildings had, in spite of all, preserved a marked local character. Bâbar and his successors, by admirable general organization, unity of policy, and remarkable administrative ability, bestowed on their Empire a transient homogeneity, which forms its most striking characteristic, and which is reflected even in the buildings that they have left.

Accordingly, previous to the time of the Great Mughals, the Muhammadan buildings of India exhibit, in proportion as we approach the early times of the Hîrân, features of increasing importance, borrowed from local traditions and from native art. From these the Muhammadans eliminated all representations of men and animals. Among them we find traditions of the Jain style of construction, the piling up of materials, corbelings, methods borrowed from timber-work, ceilings with simple or superimposed panels.

With the Great Mughals, on the contrary, we see the distinct impress of Persian influence which, commencing under Bâbar, continued under Akbar, to become dominant under his successors.

Fergusson, the best historian of the Muhammadan architecture of India, proposes the following classification of the Muhammadan styles of that country:

(1) Style of the Ghznavids.
(2) Pathan style (Northern India, 1193–1554).
(3) Style of Jaunpur (1394–1476).
(4) Style of Gujrat (1366–1578), derived almost exclusively from the architecture of the Jain buildings.
(5) Style of the buildings of Malwa (from 1401 to the Mughal conquest), allied to that of Delhi.
(6) Style of Bengal (1293–1576).
(7) Style of Kashmîr (1347–1525).
(8) Style of Bijapur (1489–1660), which exhibits an almost exclusively Persian character.
(9) Style of Golconda (1512–1762), in which decadence already appears.
(10) Mughal buildings on which nearly all these different schools are based, especially those which have undergone the influence of Persian art. The chief monuments are at Fathpur, Agra, and Delhi.
(11) Buildings in Sind, of a Persian character.
(13) Buildings of Mysore (1760–1799).

In all these different countries, as elsewhere, the Muhammadans have left mosques, mosques, and mosques. It is naturally in these buildings that we ought to look for Muhammadan characteristics, and yet in the early Indian mosques like that of Ajmir (A.D. 1200) and the Mosque of Kutub at Delhi, though the whole court is furnished with pointed window-bays, more or less recalling Western Muhammadan art, the interior of the building possesses an exclusively Hindu character. As Fergusson says with so much accuracy, it is a screen in the pointed style before a Jain temple. Historians agree in saying that these two mosques and many others were built of fragments which were taken from pagan temples. Cunningham discovered in the mosque of Kutub at Delhi an inscription stating that twenty-seven pagan temples were despoiled in order to provide materials for them. Thus, to quote Fergusson again (on the plan of the mosque of Ajmir, Indian and Eastern Architecture, 1859, p. 129), 'If we refer to the plan of Vimala-Sah at Mount Abu, and remove in our thought the principal cell and its porch in the centre of the court and the constructions in front of it from the side of the entrance, leaving only the porches by which surmounts the court and that at the back with the cupolas, we have the type of the plan of the mosque, provided the back-wall be turned towards Mecca.' Later on the mosque becomes gradually free from Hindu forms, and under the Mughals all its features are Persian, a little softened, however, by the tendency of the Hindu genius to curve the lines. The public buildings, caravanserais, and bungalows, domes, bridges, and reservoirs also reveal the magnificence of the Muhammadan rulers of India. Historians have depicted for us the splendour of their State ceremonial, with a lavish expenditure of details which makes an indelible impression.

We have already spoken of the early mosques of India, that of Ajmir and that of Delhi. We speak of the buildings of Ghuzni only by way of making the record complete, for they have an almost complete Persian character, and the side of the mosque of Kutub at Delhi rises the tomb of the Sultan Altanash (1235), the pointed arches of which are still dressed with horizontal joinings, with the corner of the sides and the corners of roofs, with crenellations, and, generally, by the fashion the architect of this imposing building has been able, while preserving Persian devices and details invented, arranged, and reduced to rules for the architecture of the new Persian style, in the courts, the buildings, the reservoirs also, and while transferring these forms to marble architecture, to deduce from these effects so novel and so striking that the Taj Mahal rightly passes for one of the most wonderful buildings in the world. On a large platform measuring 32 metres each way rises the Taj, the pointed and slightly bulbous dome of which is about 210 ft. in exterior height. This cupola crowns the hall containing the tomb, supported by four accessory halls and four great pointed porches on the four sides. The whole building is of marble, inlaid with the rarest kinds of hard stones, black or coloured marbles, with parts gilded. In the interior the hall of the tomb, which forms an imitation of the saracenic plan, is decorated even more luxuriously than the exterior of the building. The Taj forms the centre of a plan in which gardens, terraces rising one above another, pavilions, basins, and long colonnades combine into a whole of wonderful beauty and harmony.

The decorations of the palace of the early Mughal emperors, as at Bijapur, are such as to magnify their power and splendour, and the remains of their palace at Delhi still exhibit portions admirable from an architectural point of view. Unfortunately, this wonderful efflorescence of art was only temporary;
ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt)

757

The mausoleum at Golconda already seem heavy, hardly put together, incoherent. After the power of the Mughals was shattered in consequence of the death of Aurangzeb, several kingdoms rose on its ruins, and this confusion was immediately reflected in the most thorough disorder of architectural tendencies. Decadence had set in, beyond hope of cure.

It is not necessary to mention any Chinese mosques here. Nothing in their decorations presents anything of verity, which differs in character from the purely Chinese style. We shall conclude this account with a short chronological list of the buildings of India.

Hijra. Christian

16th cent., Buildings of Ghazni.

11th cent., Mosque of Kutab at Delhi.

606 1299 Mausoleum of Alam at Delhi.

723 1323 Mausoleum of Taghlaq at Delhi.

747 1347 Mosque of Kalaburgah.

760 1358 Mosque of Khedim ar-Rasul at Ghr.

829 1429 Great mosque of Ahmadabad.

932 1533 Tomb of shir-Shah at Shabadabad.

952 1543 Bilbar summons pupils of the celebrated architect Sinan to India.

962 1554 Tomb of Humayun at Delhi.

964 1556 Akbar makes Agra one of the most beautiful cities of India.

988 1550 Akbar founds Fatehpur-Sikri and its mosque.

1035 1600 Tomb of Mahmud at Birjapur.

1040 1600 Result of a conference, the architect Isma Muhammad is commissioned to build the Taj Mahal at Agra.

1138 1725 Buildings of Jaipur.


H. SALADIN.

ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt).—1. Mosques.—The mosques date from the beginnings of Islam. The simplicity of Muslim worship demanded a simple plan, which was settled as early as the first centuries of the Hijra. It consisted of a large square court (qibla), surrounded with porticoes, which were covered with a flat roof (soug) supported by arches (tjaj), with stone (pavaj) columns (damiid) or brick (islam) pillars (rakan). The elements of this plan seem to be derived, on the one hand, from the Persian palaces of the Achemenian type, perhaps, but indirectly, from the Egyptian palaces, and, on the other hand, from the Christian churches of Egypt and Syria.

Like the church, the mosque is oriented, but in the direction of Mecca (qibla), towards which, in accordance with a rule in the Qur’ân (Sor. li. 139), Muslims turn for prayer. The real orientation therefore depends on the position of Mecca in the Universe. It is to be noted in the State in Cairo to the E. or rather E.S.E. In order to accommodate the crowd of worshippers, the por- tico on the qibla side is extended, and admits of a larger number of aisles than the other three. It is called the prayer-hall (dhaba). This is the chief axis, and as such bears the name of masjid in its dedicatory inscription. But two centuries later the Mosque of the Nilonbey, built in Cairo in 485 (1092), is called jami’ in its three foundation inscriptions.

2. Madrasas.—When diffusing the Shi‘ite heresy in Egypt and Syria, the Fâtimid khâlsâ did not modify the general mosque-plan; we meet with it again especially in those which they built in Cairo. After their destruction, the pulpits were removed, and the mosque was turned into a madrassa. This religious (Asharîte) and political (Sunnite) reaction caused a series of reforms in all domains.
ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt)

of civilization. One of the most important was the extension of the madrasa. Originating in Khorasan about the beginning of the 4th cent. A.H., the madrasa was at first simply a private school of religious sciences, i.e. of tradition, exegesis, and law, according to the Sunni rites. But in the 5th cent. A.H. the Seljuk sultans of Baghdad, having become powerful vassals of the Abbasid khilafate, and the official protectors of Sunnism and Ash'arism, transformed the madrasa into a State institution, intended to produce a select body of officials for the administration of religious and civil law. From that time the madrasa became a powerful centre of religious and political propaganda, the school of official Sunnism, and almost a government institution. It was in this form that it was introduced into Syria in the 6th cent. A.H. by the Sunnite Atlâbes, particularly Nûr-ad-dîn; then into Egypt by Saladin.

If the madrasas differ from the mosque in its character and purpose, its origin and history, it is also distinguished from the Ottoman religious foundations, which Saladin introduced it into Egypt, this plan was already settled; a small square court with open top (byûn or qû'a), enclosed by four high walls, with four halls (kutub, or Greek, kupas or kap-messages) opening to the court by a high arch (byûqaf), and, in the outer corners of the building, offices for the attendants and the work of the establishment. This symmetrical plan with four large vaulted madrasa, i.e. the school devoted to the four chief Sunnite sects (Hanafite, Shâfi'ite, Malikite, and Hanbalite). Each sect was installed in one of the four lavqins, as is testified by the inscriptions in the larger madrasas of the Sultan Hasan, built in Cairo in 764 (1363). This plan seems to have originated in Syria. It is found in a curious Syrian monument, of a far earlier date than the Syro-Egyptian madrasas, the Qârâ of Amnûn. Like the plan of the mosque, it combines elements of various origin: the lavqins are arched in the Persian style (Sasanian palaces), but their arrangement in a cross around a central court recalls the symmetrical plan with two axes of certain Byzantine and Syrian churches, which the Qârâ resembles in many other architectural details.

Like the mosque, the madrasa became in time modified in its style and methods of construction. Khorasan about the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D. and its lavqins were covered with barrel-vaults (qabûn or qâqaf) of brick (byûm), following the Persian and Byzantine methods (without centring). The last large vaulted madrasa is that of the Sultan Barqûq, built in 788 (1386). Then the vaults were replaced by a flat wooden (hashâl) roof (byûqaf) and ceilings, whose rich polychrome decoration merely disguises a serious decadence in the art of building. The only vault that remained was that of the front arch of the lavqins opening on the court, built with arch-stones. But, in spite of these modifications, the plan and general arrangement of the madrasa subsisted until the Ottoman conquest.

The Sunnite reaction gave rise to some institutions analogous to the madrasa, particularly the dâr al-hadîth, the 'school of tradition' (Sunnite). But these establishments, not having the same purpose, remained in the background and created no type of architecture; or rather, being simply varieties of the madrasa, they adopted its general plan.

3. Monasteries. The Sunnite reaction, which brought the madrasa from Persia to Egypt, mingled during its course with tributaries of ancient origin, quite foreign to primitive Islam. One of the most important was Şûfism, i.e. Eastern mysticism of Persian origin. The public building of Şûfism is the Şûfi monastery, the hâmâjâh, a Persian word which penetrated with the building first into Syria and then into Egypt, through Saladin's first Egyptian hâmâjâh. About that time it became along with Shi'ite doctrines, were taught the sciences inherited from Persia and ancient Greece. But Sunnism did not encounter the Shi'ite only. The Crusades had stirred up another opponent, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Saladin and his successors, impeded by feudal administration and political decentralization, had weakened but not destroyed these feudal tendencies before Baibars. On the ruins of Ayyûbid feudalism he founded the kingdom of the Manlûks, a centralised State, defended by a regular army, and governed, like the old caliphate, by a council of officials. With this powerful lever he overturned at once the Latin kingdom and the fortresses of the Assassins, the last bulwark of Shi'ite heresy in Syria. He afterwards established his prestige in the eyes of the Muslim masses by welcoming to Cairo the wreck of the khilafate of Baghdad, which had been overturned by Hûlûq (1238). In re-establishing, for his own benefit, the duality of the spiritual and temporal powers, he re-tied the thread broken by the Ömeyyids. Shortly after his death, in 1238, this new form of monasticism, the madrasa, became softened and turned towards pious works and contemplative study. The madrasa, having carried out its fighting role, had to lose for ever its original character and assume that of the mosque. All the large madrasas were then closed up for the Friday service. The liwán qibli, which was larger than the other three, served as prayer-hall and sheltered the pulpit and the mihrâb. Last of all the minaret came to give to the mosque the complete appearance of a mosque. But it had acquired such prestige that, instead of merging in the mosque, it threatened rather to supplant it. While the number of the great Mosques of classical plan continued to diminish, that of the madrasas of cruciform plan increased until the Ottoman conquest.

This evolution is reflected in linguistic usage also. The madrasas set apart for religious worship took the name of madrasa lîj-jâmî'a; then they were called simply jâmî like the great Mosques. Maqrîzî, who drew up his Topography of Cairo in the first quarter of the 15th cent. A.D., gives this name to the majority of the large madrasas of the Manlûks, and hence to the 15th cent. A.D. All the lavqins were covered with barrel-vaults (qabûn or qâqaf) of brick (byûm), following the Persian and Byzantine methods (without centring). The last large vaulted madrasa is that of the Sultan Barqûq, built in 788 (1386). Then the vaults were replaced by a flat wooden (hashâl) roof (byûqaf) and ceilings, whose rich polychrome decoration merely disguises a serious decadence in the art of building. The only vault that remained was that of the front arch of the lavqins opening on the court, built with arch-stones. But, in spite of these modifications, the plan and general arrangement of the madrasa subsisted until the Ottoman conquest.

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confused with the ribāṭ, an Arabic word denoting an ancient military settlement, which had also become, by a profound change of the original idea, a Sīfi monastery.

The ribāṭ and the lānnāqīh flourished under the Ayyubids and under the Mamlāks, but without creating any real type of architecture. These monasteries sometimes assume the plan of the great Mosque (monastery of the Emir Shalih in Cairo, 756 [1355]), and sometimes that of the mausoleum of the Sultan Twalners (846) in Cairo, 709 [1815]). Like these two types, they possessed all the visible appliances for worship; minaret, prayer-hall, pulpit, and mihrāb. But their decorativeness, fitted up for ecclesiastical life, are arranged in long lines of cells, give a peculiar appearance to their plan. Several curious traces of them still survive, especially in Cairo, where the monastery of the Sultan Ināl (838 [1441]) affords the most isolated specimen. At the Ottoman conquest the ribāṭ and the lānnāqīh gave way to the takīyā, the monastery of Turkish dervishes, the plan of which also came under the influence of the Constantinople school (takīyā allāh). In the way of All (God), lastly, the sāwīya, a word which means, in the Muslim West, a cell, a hermitage, and then a real monastery, but which in Egypt is applied only to a very small monastery, has also, lastly, a form, arranged in long lines of cells, give a peculiar appearance to their plan. Several curious traces of them still survive, especially in Cairo, where the monastery of the Sultan Ināl (838 [1441]) affords the most isolated specimen.

4. Fountains and Schools. — Connected with these three great types—the mosque, the madrasa, and the monastery—are two secondary types, the sabil and the kutṭāb. Sabil means 'road'; fi sabil al-μuḥād, 'in the way of All', is said of every pious work, of the Holy War as well as of almsgiving, and especially of foundations for the free use of the public. Now, in the East water is a treasure; according to a saying attributed to Muhammad it gives a drink of water, and is one of the most meritorious charities. Every free foundation is a sabil, but the sabil par excellence is the pubic fountain. In Syro- Egyptian architecture, the sabil is rarely placed at the corner of a mosque, a madrasa, or a monastery, on the ground-floor, and can be recognized by its two large square windows at right angles, closed with beautiful brocatel curtains. Above the sabil is situated the primary school (kutṭāb or makṭāb), which is rendered conspicuous at a distance by its elegant loggia, open on both sides, in rows of arches on small pillars. They are sometimes connected with the tombs of saints, or the tombs of several Sultans, until the Ottoman invasion. At that time the sabil became separated, first along with the kutṭāb, and then quite alone. Its style has degenerated down to our time, when the fountain displays all the false taste of the modern Turkish school.

5. Mausoleums.—For the obscure dead a grave is sufficient. The illustrious dead, not content with a tomb, require a mausoleum. As far back as it is possible to go, the Syro-Egyptian mausoleum possessed its own peculiar architectural form: a cubical hall, square in plan, covered with a dome. Is this type a distant recollection of the ancient Egyptian mastaba? It seems to be more directly connected with the Christian type, the katoikie (κατοικία), some traces of which still survive in Syria. The problem of building the dome on a square plan, outlined in these old Syrian katoikies, and then the semi-circular one covered with a system of hanging arches in semicupolas, or of beautiful stone pendants like stalactites. The materials, proportions, outline of the square, of the drum, and of the dome, the decoration—all, in a word, that constitutes the style—changed from age to age, but the general plan remained the same until the Ottoman conquest.

The classical name of the mausoleum is turba. But as the dome was its most conspicuous feature, the name of the latter (qubba) was extended to the whole building. In literature and the Syro-Egyptian inscriptions these two words are indifferently applied to the mausoleum as a whole, i.e. the architectural envelope of the tomb, which itself is called qabar or madrasa or marqad or darīk, the last an Arabic word of Aramaic origin.

The mausoleum is often built by itself isolated in a cemetery. Sometimes there are several together in a single enclosure (hōš), but not forming an organic whole. Frequently the mausoleum of a great person is placed in the corner of a religious building which he has founded. Like the great Italian condottieri of the Renaissance, the Sultans and Emirs, former slaves who had risen to fortune, and who were always uncertain of the future, took care to provide for their own tombs beforehand. We may mention the tombs of the Sultans Barqūq, sometimes an arrested type, e.g. the monastery-madrasa-mausoleum. We may cite those of the Sultans Barqūq (786 [1386]) and Ināl (838 [1441]). All these combined types contain the sabil-kutṭāb motif, and unite one or several minarets to one or several domes. They do not have special names. The inscriptions of these huge buildings, agreeing with the literary texts, refer to them sometimes under one name and sometimes under another, according to the part of the whole that they wish to emphasize.

Let us examine the various types of the Syro-Egyptian architecture, the turba disappeared after the Ottoman conquest. The name continued in use, but it refers to tombs of any kind. The problem of the tomb in Syria has not had any mausoleums worthy of its past.

6. Holy places and pilgrimages.—In spite of the express intention of its founder, Islam at an early date adopted the principle of the worship of relics. The early Syriac church, inspired by the text of the Gospels, and the primitive belief in miracles accomplished by their intervention. This cult was too deeply rooted in the Oriental religions for Muhammad to make it disappear. In Syria, especially, the old pagan cults connected with local gods, which had resisted Christianity, lay hidden under Islam, which had to tolerate while apparently assimilating them.

The tenacity of these local traditions explains the manifold origin of Muslim saints. Some of them are pagan gods, transformed by an association of ideas, beliefs, or mere words into Muslim saints; others are the great personages in the Prophet's life, prophets; others again are heroes of history, conquerors, or famous sovereigns; and others, ascetics, monks, or scholars, celebrated during their life and canonized by the common people with their inestimable influence; and the whole is the sum of these. All these saints have their sanctuaries (masjūd). The belief in miracles wrought by their intervention makes these sanctuaries places of pilgrimage (masar).

The masjūd has not created any special type of architecture. As it is almost invariably erected at the grave of the saint, it takes the plan of the
ARCHITECTURE (Persian)

From the architectonic point of view it is simply a variety of the turba, perhaps the oldest type. It is found in all sizes from a small chapel with a little dome, whitened with lime (manavist, shabi, wadi, nahi, magan), to the large classical mausoleum; all have the dome on the sphere. The old method that departs from the traditional plan is the famous Dome of the Rock, the Qubbat as-Sahra in Jerusalem, built by the Khalif 'Abd al-Malik, in 72 (691), and many times restored since then. It is on a circular plan surrounded by a double octagonal enclosure, harbours, along with the famous rock, a whole cycle of Jewish and Christian legends. This circular-octagonal plan, which undoubtedly proceeded from that of the Christian building prior to the Qubba, is found again in a group of pre-Muslim Syrian churches (Bosra, Ezra, Qal'at Sim'an, etc.). But apart from the Dome of the Rock and a few secondary buildings derived from it (Dome of the Chain in Jerusalem, mausoleum of the Sultan Qalawun in Cairo, etc.), it has not been adopted in Syro-Egyptian architecture.

Apart from the turba and the masjid, the dome is used in only one instance in Syro-Egyptian architecture: a small dome, also called qubba, is erected in large mosques, at the back of the prayer-hall, in front of the mihrab. This ancient feature may probably again be a relic of the church, namely, the dome which in certain basilicas, erected at the crossing of the transept in front of the choir. This was the only place used for the dome in the great Mosques until the Ottoman conquest, which first doctrinally intruded the porticoes and the prayer-halls of the great Mosques, after the style of the Constantinople school.

MAX VAN BERCHEM.

ARCHITECTURE (Persian).—The account of the development of the architecture of Persia is almost synonymous with the land's own history. From the crude beginnings in early Median or pre-Median times, before the 7th cent. B.C., we may trace the evolution of the builder's art down to the Achaemenian period (B.C. 550-330), the Seljuk and Parthian eras (B.C. 330-A.D. 224) and the following centuries of the Sassanian empire (A.D. 224-651). At the close of that period, in the 7th cent. A.D., various conditions had already been experienced: the Arab conquest and subsequent Muslim sway, from which epoch to the present time the history of Persian architecture forms a special branch of the study of the development of Muslim art.

1. Early Iranian and Median period (before B.C. 650).—Our knowledge of the architectural conditions during the early Iranian and Median periods is limited in extent, both because of the absence of historic remains surviving from that remote date, and because of the lack of definite descriptions in ancient texts that might serve to elucidate the subject. Nevertheless, from incidental allusions in the Avesta, from references in the Greek historians, and from chance statements in later writings from which deductions may be drawn, we are able to form some sort of a picture of the architectural status in ancient Media, or Western Iran, and in early Bactria, or Eastern Iran. Herodotus (i. 96-97) affirms that, down to the time of Darius, the founder of the Median empire, the Medes used to live in villages, and that they were first gathered into cities by Darius, who made Ecbatana his capital, and fortified it as his royal residence. From the conditions thus portrayed in the Avesta, so far as that work may be regarded as reflecting the age in question, and from the right-to-day of village after village of that kind, we gather that great halls or the like, with their sacred fires, and such shrines are presumed
by the Pahlavi writers of a later date to have existed in those times (cf. Pahlavi Bahnam Yast, iii. 30, 37, 40; Zöft-sparam, vi. 22, xi. 8-10; Bündakshihn, xii. 18, 34, xvii. 7, etc.), so that it is possible that the temple at Ecbatana, as described by Polycleitus, may have preserved architectural features from ancient days. In the mortuary customs enjoined by their religion, moreover, the early Iranians, whether Medians or Baetrians, made use of temporary structures, called dakhmas (which see), square and Zat-sparam, as did, for example, the Achaemenians, made use of them for the sepulchres of their chief representatives, the Parsis (see) and Gabars (see) still follow the custom in their 'Towers of Silence'; but what the shape of these receptacles may have been in ancient times is only a matter of inference.

2. Achaemenian period (B.C. 550-330).—With the victory of Cyrus over the Median king Astyages, in the plain of the modern Murbah, between Isfahān and Shiraz. As we approach it from the north, we first pass the remains of a ruined platform on the crest of a range of low hills overlooking the plain. It was apparently designed to support an audience-hall of Cyrus, but was never completed. Spread over the surface of the plain itself traces of the royal city are to be seen. Near to the ridge is a single shattered wall of a massive foundation, some 40 ft. high by 10 ft. square, and which may have served as a shrine for the sacred fire, although some authorities (on less good grounds, it seems) believe that it was a princely tomb. A second group of ruins lies not far distant to the south, and comprises a high round column (not fluted), some angle-piers of an edifice that once surrounded a royal court, and a stone shaft consisting of three blocks, the uppermost of which is inscribed in cuneiform characters, 'Cyrus, the King, the Achaemenian.' A huge slab stands somewhat to the east of this group, and on its face is carved in low relief a winged representation of the Great King, above whose head was similarly inscribed the device of Cyrus just quoted, although the part of the stone containing it has been sawn off and lost within the last century. Still another collection of ruins lies somewhat to the south-east, and shows a vast pile of fallen stone, grouped around a paved court that belonged to some edifice of Cyrus.

Most important of all the ruins is the tomb of Cyrus, which has been also described in the Classics. The structure resembles a small house, with a slightly pointed roof, and is made of a handsome white sandstone resembling marble. It stands high upon a sub basement, built of the same material and consisting of a large foundation plinth, nearly 50 ft. long, 40 ft. wide, and 2 ft. high, surmounted by a series of six stone layers, which are surmounted by a series of high steps approaching the mausoleum from every side. The mammoth blocks that make up the tomb itself were originally fastened together by iron spikes, but without the use of mortar; and so perfectly were they set that the structure still forms a compact whole, even though falling more and more into ruin. The sepulchre, measured from the outside, is about 20 ft. long, by 17 broad, and 18 high. A very low doorway in the western side serves as an entrance. The mortuary chamber measures 10½ ft. long, by 7¾ ft. wide, and 8 ft. high (the exact measurements in metres may be found in Jackson, Persis, p. 288). It is needless to add that the chamber is now empty.

In architectural style the tomb of Cyrus is thought to show Lycian influence, since somewhat similar burial edifices have been found in Asia Minor, the land first conquered by Cyrus after his Persian victories. But it may also be possible that the idea of such a vault for the dead may have owed something to the Avestan kato, 'house,' a temporary structure for the body before it was carried to the dakhma. Around the tomb the remains of the foundations of a decorative colonnade, as is clear from the fragments of columns still upright, and a few hundred yards beyond it are the vestiges of a platform on which was once erected a habitation for the Magian priests who were custodians of the tomb, as we know from Arrian (Anabasis, vi. 29. 7).

A single other vestige of Achaemenian architecture, religious in its character, is found at some distance to the N.W. in the same plain; it is in the form of a basement of two altars, used by the Magi in celebrating their sacrificial rites, as they did, in the open air.

Illustrations and descriptions of all the architectural monuments in the Murbah Plain are to be found in the works of Texier, Flandin and Coste, Ker Porter, Stolze and Andreas, Desclaux, Perrot and Chipiez, Curzon, and Jackson; and they convey a good idea of the architecture of Cyrus's capital.

Far grander than the ruined monuments of Pasargadā, the capital of Cyrus, is Persepolis, the capital of Darius, and Xerxes, and their successors. The tokens of a vanished empire are spread over a considerable area in the Plain of Murbah, some forty miles to the south of Cyrus's capital. The first vestiges of this magnificent group of the lost city of Stakhrīs, indicated by some broken columns, remains of portals, and scattered fragments of buildings, lie at a point where the Sīrān rises. The southernmost point of this city is now marked by a small granite stadal, some 40 ft. square and 7 ft. high, which the natives call Takhlt-i Tū‘ās, 'Peacock Throne,' or Takhlt-i Rustam, 'Throne of the (hero) Rustam.' A mile or so farther south rises the Platform of Persepolis itself, with its magnificent stairways and palace-crowned terraces, which the Persians call Takhlt-i Jamshid, 'Throne of Jamshid,' after the legendary king of that name, or Chūlī Minār, 'Forty Pillars,' from the columns that remain standing. Although the site as a royal residence may date back to legendary times (cf. possibly Bündakshihn, xxix. 14), we know from an inscription on the northerly wall that it owed its origin as a stronghold to Darius, possibly about B.C. 516-513, and it is generally believed that Greek designers were employed in its construction (see Justi, 'Gesch. Iranis' in Geiger and Kuhn's Grundriss, which is considered apart from the edifices that stood upon it, the platform is a remarkable piece of constructive
art. It measures over 1500 ft. from north to south, varying from 20 to 50 ft. in height, according to the elevation of the three main terraces, and it has an expansive facing back outward for nearly 1000 ft. until it merges into a low range of hills, called Kuh-i Rahmat, 'Mountain of Mercy,' the spurs of which have been partly cut and furnished with mural inscriptions and bas-reliefs. By the aid of inscriptions, and judging from the position of the different ruins, the columns that remain standing, and the arrangement of the bases of those that have fallen, as well as from the outlying edifices, particularly the necropolis and sculptured pediments, we are able to identify each of the buildings that once occupied this site. Opposite the Grand Staircase of approach at the northern end, is the Porch of Xerxes; 50 yards to the south stand the relics of the Audience Hall of Xerxes; still farther southwest, and near a mound, are the better preserved remains of the Palace of Darius; while a short distance southward again, across a ruined court, red, are the traces of a Palace of Artaxerxes III, Ochus, identified by an inscription on the stylobate. Directly behind this is the Palace of Xerxes himself, with a minor edifice still farther back, while, over seven miles is the great Hall of a Hundred Columns, erected by Darius, with a portico near its south-western corner, showing in stone the king seated on his throne of state. The destruction of these gorgeous buildings is attributed to the frankness of Alexander the Great, when he burnt the citadel after his victory over the last Darius; but though the hand of the conqueror destroyed the beauty of the edifices and left them a ruin for all time, it could not obliterate their traces, which still in after ages bear witness to their ancient glory.

Some further remains of royal architecture are to be seen at Persepolis and in its vicinity; they are the rock-hewn tombs of the Achemenian kings. Three of these sepulchres are cut in the hills, behind the great platform already described. They are believed to be the mortuary chambers of Artaxerxes II, Memnon, of Artaxerxes III, Ochus, and of Darius III. Colomanus (n.c. 385-330), if we are justified in regarding the unfinished grave as that of the last of the Achemenians, More imposing in the situation and older in point of time are the four small tombs carved in the necropolis cliff of Nakhsh-i Rustam, on the other side of the plain, about 6 miles north-west of the platform. These sepulchres, which were the model for the three later ones, are each hewn in the shape of an immense Greek cross, and sunk deep in the face of the rock. They are elaborately carved in architectural style to represent a façade decorated with bull-capped pillars, two on either side of the doorway, and surmounted in each case by an entablature richly sculptured with a bas-relief of the king, his subjects, and Ormazd. An inscription shows that one of these tombs was the sepulchre of Darius the Great; it is believed, belonged to Xerxes, Artaxerxes II., and Darius II. A few yards distant from the tomb last named there is a square stone edifice which closely resembles the rectangular structure at Pasargad, already mentioned, but well preserved, and, like the latter, probably a fire-shrine rather than a tomb. Near the base of the necropolis hill, but hidden from the shrine by a screen, are the remains of two altars, hewn out of the living rock, and serving as fine examples of the stonemason’s work for religious purposes in Achemenian times. To the same age may likewise belong some rude cuttings in the rocks on the crest of the cliff, apparently designed as repositories for exposing the bodies of the dead in accordance with the ancient Zoroastrian custom, but the date is not certain. To a later age, however, we may assign the seven sculptured groups in the rock beneath the tombs themselves, since their subjects prove them to be of Sassanian origin. The list of Achemenian tombs is to be supplemented by several others, upon the plain of the necropolis, near those of Nakhsh-i Rustam, but probably dating from an earlier period than that of the Parthian, tomb, and without inscriptions or ornamentation, excepting one which has a crude bas-relief of Darius, not far from the village of Sahnah, between Hamadan and Kermanshah, at Holvan in Western Persia, and Takhirkan in Azerbaijan, as well as elsewhere (see de Morgan, Mission scientifique en Perse, iv. 292-302, and Justi, op. cit. II. 455, 456).

The fourth and last of the great Achemenian capitals was Susa, whose remains were first made known by Loftus in 1832, and were excavated with great accuracy by results by Dieulafoy in 1884, 1885, 1886, followed by de Morgan in 1897, 1898, 1899. The site which they occupy was the winter residence of the Achemenian kings and the old seat of government of Elam. The ruins extend for many miles, from Chaur, or Jaur, and the Kerkhah, in the vicinity of the modern Dizful and Shuster. Four principal groups of remains are distinguishable, according to the results of the explorations that have been made. First, the tell, called the Citadel; second, the Royal City, where stood the palaces of the successors of Darius; third, the traces of the city itself; and, fourth, the remains of the inhabited town along the river’s edge. If we may judge from the elaborate finds made by Dieulafoy, the Citadel and the Royal City must have made an imposing spectacle in the days of their pristine glory (see the plates in Dieulafoy, L’Acropole de Susa); and the same investigator’s researches have revealed, among other ruins, the remains of the apadana, or throne-room, of Artaxerxes II. Memnon, which was erected on a site earlier occupied by a palace belonging to Artaxerxes I. Ochus (see 335-330 B.C.). It was here that the archaeological expedition, led by Dieulafoy and his wife, discovered the frieze of archers and a lion-frieze, together with the remains of an enameled staterase. Other objects of interest, revealing the knowledge of early Persian architecture and art. In point of style the Susian remains are quite like those of Persepolis, even as regards the character of the so-called Persepolitan column, and, like the latter, they are thought to show traces of Greek influence combined with Assyro-Babylonian elements and other features already mentioned, although they are so thoroughly Persianized as to possess an individuality of their own.

The ruins of one other edifice in Persia may be referred to here because belonging possibly to the latter part of the Achemenian period; it is the remains of the great temple of Anahita (see also Anahita) at Kangavar, between Hamadan and Kermanshah. A portion of the N.W. wall of the stately temple on which the temple stood is still intact, and is crowned with the remains of a colonnade of pillars, while on the south-eastern side of the temple precinct there is a disordered mass of large granite blocks and columns, whose size conveys an idea of the vanished magnificence of the temple which was a mass of large columns, serving as the supports of the temple, and combining certain characteristics in the columns, which seem to show later Greek or Syro-Roman affinities. Dieulafoy and some others propose to assign this temple to the Parthian period; but, to the present writer, the evidence seems
stronger in favour of attributing its construction to Artaxerxes Meneoe or some other of the later Achemenians. For the sake of completeness it should be added that Dienefsoy, on the contrary, assigns to the Achemenian period some of the ruins at Firuzabad and Sarvistan in S.W. Persia; but both of these authorities, like Perrot and Chipiez, rely on Morgan, and Gayet, are better justified in assigning them to the Sasanian epoch.

3. Seljuk and Parthian periods (B.C. 290-579 B.C.).-The Seljuk rule exercised no appreciable effect on Persian architecture, unless it was to extend the sphere of possibility for Greek influence. The Parthian period was the effect of times, as is shown by their employing the Greek language and Greek devices on their coins; but they were not great architects, as is clear from the Parthian ruins—practically the only ones surviving—at Hatra and at Warka, although these are built with crude solidity, if not with beauty of design. The structure at Hatra, the modern al-Hadhr, in Mesopotamia, was either a palace or a temple, or possibly both combined in a single precinct, for which reason its plan is singularly munificent as an artificial hill or temple mound. The ruins show a brownish-grey limestone edifice, 386 ft. long, 210 ft. broad, and with thick walls proportionately high. The building consists of a square central part, on a side, with several smaller rooms leading into them, and a large square hall—apparently a throne-room—added in the rear near the left-hand corner of the edifice. The front of the building was, for the most part, open, so that the light from the square hall was good, and it was probably shaded by awnings. The walls of the greater apartments were strengthened by pilasters, and decorated by bas-relief sculptures and ornamental friezes, which added to the munificence of the building. The square hall, which was circular, and the semi-circular room, which was square, were ornamented with columns, capitals, cornices, friezes, and bits of painted plaster, shows that the Parthians in later times were not averse to decoration and artistic touchings in their buildings, even if they had affected a rude simplicity in earlier times. This fact is further borne out by the account of the palace at Ctesiphon, as given in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius (ed. Olearius, l. 55). According to de Morgan and Chipiez, this structure, with its bases of columns, capitals, cornices, friezes, and bits of painted plaster, shows that the Parthians in later times were not averse to decoration and artistic touchings in their buildings. As to originality in architectural art, it may be added that the Parthians are credited with the development of the arch- and tunnel-shaped roof, in contrast to the flat ceiling and square lintel of the Achemenian period.

4. Sasanian period (A.D. 224-661).—The Sasanian monarchs, unlike their Parthian forerunners, were great builders, and distant architects of the Achemenians. An enumeration of the places where monuments that date from their reign are found would take in a large part of Persia, as is clear from such a list as that given by Justi (Top. cit. ii. 540-549). Thirteen remainings of the mosques, in constructive art over the Parthian period, more especially in the development of the dome, an outgrowth of the arch and vault, and in the elaboration and perfection of the minaret, that at Ctesiphon, whose high recessed entrance, with galleryed panels on either side, anticipates the sweeping curve of the grand portal and the panelled front which is typical of the mosque and madrasa architecture in Mesopotamia. The standard of royal magnificence under the Sasanians is shown in the ruins of Qasr-i Shirin, the castle built by Khusru II. Parviz (A.D. 600), for his favourite, on the road between Baghdad and Kermanshah, and is evident in the sculptured grotto at Taq-i Bustan, near the latter city. To about the same epoch belong the ruins at Mashito and at Amman (the 'Rabbah of the children of Ammon' of Art 39), as well as the palace called Alvan-i Khusra not far from Susa. The architecture of this period is represented by the remains of numerous fire-temples, like the akht-Kahah, near Isfahan, and that at Abarghur or at Jaur, in the district south of Esfahan; or, a combination of the crumbling sanctuary of brick at Taq-i Sualimian, south-east of Lake Urmiah.

The style of construction of a Sasanian caravanerai may be judged by the stone ruins, said to be the work of Khusru I. 'Abshinvarthe the Just' (A.D. 531-579), at Aghgam, between Teheran and Meshed. Sasanian architectural engineering is illustrated by several bridges and dams, as at Dizful and Shuster, or the stone aqueducts, descriptions of which may be seen in了许多 standard works mentioned at the end of this article.

5. Muhammadan period (from A.D. 661).—As already stated, the history of the Muhammadan period is, of Persian architecture, forms a special branch of art, and the best examples of its development are found in the mosques, the religious edifices which supplanted the old fire-temples after Persia adopted Islam as its national faith, and which are characterized by towering minarets (some times bulbous in shape), high façades with immense recessed arches, graceful minarets that give balance on either side, and ornamental exteriors decorated with glazed tiles and scroll-like arabesques. The architectural remains of the first period of the Khalifate, the Umayyads and Abbisids (A.D. 661-847), have mostly been destroyed by the long series of wars that have devastated Persia from time to time; but the foundation of the mosque of Harun al-Rashid at Káshan (A.D. 750) belongs to that epoch, and a mosque at Shiraz, built in the latter part of the 9th cent. by the Sabirin Amur ibn Laith, is numbered among the older remains. Of the early Ghaznavid age (10th cent. A.D.) may possibly belong the tower-like tombs at Rai and Hamadan, but it is more probable that they come from the later Seljuk era (roughly, 1200-1300) or from the Mongol age (1160-1260). The same is true of a crumbling mausoleum at Tns, near Meshed, as it is said to be the tomb of the poet Ferdausi, who died in the year A.D. 1020; but although the poet's grave is actually near by, its more likely that its architectural structure is of Seljuk origin, since the closely resembles the mausoleum built by Sultan Sanjar at Merv about 1150. Good examples of the earlier Mongol period may be seen in the madrasa of Daghiz Khan's grandson Hulagá (d. 1255) and his queen at Maragha, the royal seat of the
ARCHITECTURE (Phoenician)

Mongols in north-western Persia; while the mausoleum of Uljaitu Khodabandah (d. 1316) is of this period. The best illustration of the architecture which flourished during the rule of the Tartars, after Timur's invasion, is the beautiful Masjid-i Kabud, or 'Blue Mosque,' erected in 1405 by Shah Tahmasp, and Tabriz. The architecture in Persia reached its height in the reign of Shah Abbas the Great (1585-1628), and is well illustrated by the Masjid-i Shah, or 'Royal Mosque,' erected in 1612 at Isfahan, and by the other buildings of the same ruler. The architectural activity of Shah Abbas was not confined to his capital, however, or to palaces and places of worship, but was exercised in the construction of caravanserais, bridges, and other useful structures in many parts of Persia, so that his name is widely known throughout the land as the patron of the builder's art.

The cities which best show the different styles of Muhammadan architecture are those which had the honour at one time or another to be the royal capital, like Isfahan, Kazvin, Tabriz, Sultaniyah, and Shiraz; but hardly of lesser fame are Kirm, Kuh, Bist, and Tabal. Modern architectural tendencies are best observed in the present capital, Tehran, where it is possible to see even European elements combined with the most conservative features of the past. When viewed as a whole, it may be said that Persia's contribution to the history of architecture, if not distinctly original, is, nevertheless, considerable, and deserves the attention of the student of religious art as well as the architectural specialist.


ARCHITECTURE (Phoenician).—Worshippers of the powers of nature, it is not surprising that the Phoenicians, in the earlier stages of their national existence, should have discarded the work of the architect and builder, and taken to worshiping in the 'high places' so often referred to in the Old Testament. That these were natural eminences, and not artificial erections, like those of the Babylonians and Assyrians, is quite clear from the statements concerning them. They were within easy access from the cities, and thither the people resorted when assembling for worship. How common they may be gathered from the fact that they were the customary places for worshiping the gods of the 7th century B.C.* The oracle on Carmel, which, according to Tacitus and Suetonius,† Vespasian consulted, was possibly a sacred place of this kind. The god concerned was either Jeljah, or, as has been suggested, an altar which was much revered. This altar was probably of unhewn stones, like the one dedicated to Jehovah upon that same mount Carmel which Elijah re-built and consecrated anew on

* See Hastings' Dict. of the Bible, s.v.
† Tac. Hist. ii. 43.
supplied by the spring, and it is possible that this was also the case in ancient times. Backed by verdure, it must have been a secluded and sufficiently picturesque spot, and the difficulty of access to the shrines would naturally prevent their desecration.

It is improbable, however, that these remains show the common religious architecture of their time, and the fames of Astarte at Sidon and Melqart at Tyre were undoubtedly much more important and imposing structures, though Hillebrandt has been astonished at the surprising number of stones that do not enable any idea of its form to be gathered; to all appearance it was more struck by its two pillars (στάμαν), ‘one of pure gold and the other of an emerald tó of both shone by night.’

Another important shrine was that of Eshmun on the left bank of the Nahr Auli, about an hour N. of Sidon. This was a rectangular erection built apparently on the side of the slope, remains of the walls and masonry of the terraces being still in existence. The slope looks towards the N., and it is possible that the sanctuary to Eshmun was a shrine like that at Amrit, which has the same orientation. Large numbers of votive statuettes were found at the temple.

The stones of the shrine, however, seem to have been long ago carried away by the inhabitants of the country to build their houses with, and some, with holes, are still lying about.

Of greater importance, perhaps, are the indications available for the architecture of the temple at Gebal, made known by coins of the Roman period.

On the left is shown a chapel, the front surrounded by pediments. At the top of the steps giving access to the interior was a tripod table, perhaps for offerings, and a strange emblem surrounded the mouth of the roof, while the temple was open, flanked by plasters supporting the pediment. Above this entrance, a conical stone surmounted by a naïve head, and two rudimentary arms. Perrot suggests that the size of the opening has been purposely exaggerated by the engraver in order to exhibit the divine image, which was, in reality, not at the entrance, but at the far end of the sanctuary. On each side of the porticoes or colonnades, flat-roofed, hardly more than half the height of the central portion, surmounted by images of the doves sacred to the goddess. Under these arcades objects like canelabra are shown, the upper part arranged either for the purpose of giving light or for the burning of incense. Above the upper structure, and between the two towers, are shown a star and the crescent moon—emblems of the goddess. The space in front of the building seems to be represented paved, and enclosed by a semicircular railing, provided with a double gate. Within this enclosure is a dove, apparently seeking food. The details vary somewhat in the different copies of the coin, but it is to be supposed that the engraver had no intention of giving more than a general idea of the building, so that numerous accessories have been omitted. According to Di Cesnola, the body of the edifice was rectangular, 67 metres by 50, surrounded by a court-yard 210 by 164, more or less. As it is based upon actual exploration, it is to be preferred to the plan given by Gerhard after the indications of travellers who visited the site in the early years of the 19th cent.; but how the latter could have obtained the exceedingly probable details of the interior which he gives is difficult to understand. According to his plan, there were two enclosures, the first provided with four entrances, and surrounded by a colonnade. A doorway admitted to the second enclosure, in which was the temple. There we see the semicircular railing, the paved forecourt, the sites of the towers, the central portion of the building, divided into a vestibule, a large hall, and a sanctuary wherein was the sacred image; likewise the lateral structures, each with four chambers, to which admission was gained only by a door in each corner.

But it will be asked: Were these two forms—the high place and the temple or mountain-shrine—the only architectural creations of the Phoenician, designed for the purpose of worship? All that can be said is that they are the principal forms found. It seems not improbable, however, that they had others, and, as we shall see later, Solomon at Jerusalem was built by workmen and material supplied to that king by Hiram of Tyre. If not in that king's structure, there is at least in the temple as described by Ezekiel (40–43 etc.), and by Porphyry and Cyprian, a certain likeness to the Phoenician temples as shown on the coins of Cyprus, which seem to have been erections of imposing architectural appearance.

In Cyprus the most famous temples were those of Paphos, Amathus, Idalion, and Golgoi, in which places were Phoenician settlements, as also, probably, at Citium (now Larnaca), Salamis, and other sites. From Cypriote coins, an idea may be gained of the celebrated temple at Paphos, dedicated to Venus or Astarte. It consisted of a central erection—a kind of pylon—in the form of two narrow towers connected, in the upper part, by a chamber surrounded by the stones of the shrine, however, seem to have been long ago carried away by the inhabitants of the country to build their houses with, and some, with holes, are still lying about.

Naturally the architecture of this building suggests Greek influence, and to all appearance it is a simple reproduction of the Egyptian shrine, but it may be noted that Babylonian architecture has something analogous (see p. 682), and may have been the true origin of the structure. What would seem to be due to Greek influence is the pointed roof.

The real ancient part, however, was probably the structure on the right, which shows a colonnade to which access was gained by a flight of steps, and a large court-yard, with columns—a kind of arcade—behind. The representation of this building was evidently altogether too much for the die-sinker, whose ideas of perspective were on a level with those of the Assyrians. Above the cornice of the colonnade is an erection of open work, behind which one sees a conical object towering high in the open—the emblem of the god of the place, corresponding with the sacred stones in which the divinity was supposed to reside.

And here we again have the 'high place,' not formed out of the solid rock by the laborious quarrying of all the mass which was not needed, but by an enclosure of hewn stone, ornamented with a colonnade all round. This was naturally much more elaborate than the simple clearings in the open, and also more aesthetic than the hill-enclosures marked off by simple rows of tall stones.

* Refer, Mission, pl. 9; Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 180.

† Von Lando, Vorläufige Nachrichten über die im Eshmün tempel bei Sidon gefundenen phönikischen Altäre, with plan, fig. 20, 90 (Phenicia).

‡ Donaldson, Architecture Numismatica, No. 30; Perrot, Phénicie, fig. 120, pl. 10.

§ Upon these objects see p. 384.
from the large central hall, and one (that at the end) which could be entered only from the sanctuary. The two plans are too different for one asks whether they could have been taken from the same remains. According to Tacitus,* the stone emblemat of the goddess in the open air, indicating that the place where it stood had been a roof; notwithstanding this, it is said never to have been wet with rain. This rather favours Di Cesnola's plan, which, however, does not agree with the picture on the coins. Probably further exploration is necessary in the neighbourhood, but nearer to the sea, Di Cesnola† found two conical stones still in position, which, it is suggested, are all that remain of some sacred spot—perhaps the traditional landing-place of the goddess when she first visited the island. If this be correct, the site was the spot where the pilgrims to the sacred places on the island commenced their pious visits. Perrot suggests that this site is represented on another Cypriote coin,‡ in which two sharply-pointed cones are shown, one on each side of two columns, resembling the side-posts of a doorway, standing on bases, and connected at a distance of about three-quarters of their height by joists, intended, to hold the appearance, to hold the structure in position. The whole seems to have been provided with some protective covering of the nature of an awning. Under this seeming doorway is a conical object on a plain roof; notwithstanding this, it is said to have never been wet with rain. It is possible that the object meant by means of the two cones is the conical roof, which stands on a central column. The whole shows a simple form of the temple at Paphos, without the lateral structures of wings or aisles. At Golgos the temple was a parallelogram,§ the roof supported by five rows of three columns each. There were two doors, one S., the other E. A large cone of grey stone found on the site implies that the building was dedicated to the goddess of Paphos. It resembles in form, but on a large scale, the terra-cotta cones found in such numbers at Telloh in S. Babylonia. Many figures of women holding or suckling their children, and of cows suckling their calves, were found at various points on the site. Numerous pedestals, each of which anciently bore a statue, and some of them two, were found. Ceccaldi, who studied these pedestals, supposes that they were given a very vivid picture of the appearance of the temple when it was still standing. Its four walls were of sun-baked brick covered with white or coloured cement, and the pillars were of wood, with stone capitals, the two sides of the roof which they supported having only a very slight slope, forming a terrace, like the present Cypriote roofs. The roof was of wood covered with reeds and mats, upon which was spread a thick layer of earth beaten down hard. The exterior was therefore of a very simple appearance. The interior was lighted only by means of the large doorways, whereby one saw a motionless and silent crowd of stone-carved figures, their features and robes tinted with the colour of nature, surrounding the mystic cone as perpetual worshippers. Shrine-like stone lamps illuminated the grinning ex-votos hanging in recesses on the walls, which last were adorned with curious pictures. Strange sculptures adorned the circuit of the building, where the slanting rays of light were reflected on the white and polished tiling of the floors.

This is a vivid and probable picture, of which, however, some of the details require verification. Perrot suggests that this building was simply a treasury or museum belonging to the real temple. A few underground buildings exist, the most noteworthy being the crypt at Curium, ¹ in which were found many objects of value. Having descended the short steps and opened a door provided with a true door leading to a small chamber, within which one finds three successive bayed rooms, and at right angles with these, a fourth, with a further length of the passage. This interesting and well-built structure seems to have been used as a treasure-chamber, but whether it was originally intended for such is uncertain. That at Larnaca is known as the Panagioth Phaneromini. Enormous blocks, as well as small stones, have been used in this construction, which consists of a large room paved with a door leading to a small chamber, within which was found at low spring, probably some sacred source. The roof was formed of two large blocks of stone considerably arched on the under side. It had been thought to be a tomb; but in view of the existence of the spring, this is unlikely. It was probably a sacred well, much resorted to by the inhabitants and the people of the neighbouring port.

Far behind the perfection of the temples of Phoenicia and Cyprus are those of Malta and Glaucos (now Gozo). Artistically and architecturally, a wide gap separates them from the structures of the Ionian, but these Funan- (sacred) stones found therein have caused them to be regarded as certainly Phoenician. Evans and others, however, are of opinion that these buildings are really Libyan. At Gozzo there are two temples,† side by side, and joined together by a wall, which forms a kind of rough façade. Passing through a narrow entrance, one reaches, in the case of the larger building, first a small and afterwards, continuing along the passage, a larger hall arranged at right angles thereto. The rear termination of the building is an apse in the form of a semi-circle, and the whole suggests the arrangement of a church choir with deep bays. In consequence of its nearness, the smaller building has the first half larger than the second. The semi-circular apse at the end is decidedly smaller; otherwise the arrangement is in both cases the same. In the various apses of which the building consists, there are given a very vivid picture of the appearance of the temple when it was still standing. Its four walls were of sun-baked brick covered with white or coloured cement, and the pillars were of wood, with stone capitals, the two sides of the roof which they supported having only a very slight slope, forming a terrace, like the present Cypriote roofs. The roof was of wood covered with reeds and mats, upon which was spread a thick layer of earth beaten down hard. The exterior was therefore of a very simple appearance. The interior was lighted only by means of the large doorways, whereby one saw a motionless and silent crowd of stone-carved figures, their features and robes tinted with the colour of nature, surrounding the mystic cone as perpetual worshippers. Shrine-like stone lamps illuminated the grinning ex-votos hanging in recesses on the walls, which last were adorned with curious pictures. Strange sculptures adorned the circuit of the building, where the slanting rays of light were reflected on the white and polished tiling of the floors.

† They are called the Gigantika, the enormous stones used in their construction having led to the tradition that they were the work of giants. Plans and description published in Notices et Monuments de la Mission archéologique en Égypte, sous le commandement de M. le Comte de laborde, donnés par M. Flou, 9 vols. 1821-29—31, Pls. I-VII, and in Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, figs. 231-234.
‡ Cursan, Report on the Phoenician and Roman Antiquities in the group of the Islands of Malta, Malta, 1832, reproduced in Perrot-Chipiez, ib. fig. 225.
§ ib. figs. 219, 220.
four on the W., but the southernmost of each seems to have been separated from the rest, and partitions in the case of two others are shown on the plan. Stones decorated with spiral ornaments show that attempts at decoration were made; the ground on which the spirals are carved is covered with a number of minute holes, emblematic, it is supposed, of the stary vault of heaven. A striking altar, with fluting, decorated with a representation of a growing tree, has the same ground-work. Another altar, also made of the great blocks of stone used in the building. Another altar, like a small table; with a thick central support—a type met with often in Syria—was found in one of the large rooms.

Scultures show that similar temples to those in Syria existed, in Punic times, in Sicily and Carthage. One of these was known under the name of Erk Hayajin, 'Length of Lives,' and was dedicated to Astarte as goddess of longevity, whence the name of Eryx, given by the Greeks to the city where it was. It arose on the peak of a mountain, within that mighty wall which protected the summit. Judging from a stele found at Libbis, (fig. 68), there is reason to think that the same altar existed there. The upper part of this monument shows a priest adoring before a candelabrum, or fire altar, behind which is the sacred cone with 'candela,' and near which is an Egyptian sphinx. Inscriptions dedicated to Ba'al Sama'im, 'the lord of the heavens,' Astarte Erek Hayajin, 'Astarte length of lives,' Eshmun, Ba'al Hammon, and Elat, make it probable that Phoenician temples to these deities existed in Sardinia, where they were found. A shrine in the Egyptian style, found at Sulcis (height 28 in.), has on the cornice a disc, and a row of uraei above. In another example from the same place, a carcase, like a goddess in Greek costume, we have a mixture of styles, Doric columns being introduced as supports of an entablature showing the Egyptian winged disc surmounted by a row of uraei.

Carthage and its dependencies have but little to offer in the way of religious architecture in the Phoenician style. At Eblis a lintel of a doorway curved with two lotus-flowers, the sun with rays above, and at Jezza a capital of a column in modified Ionic, suggesting Cypriote influence, testify to buildings erected there. At Carthage itself the great temple of Eshmun, demolished by the Romans, was re-built in the Byzantine age; but nothing now exists of it, as the church of St. Louis and its dependencies at present cover the site.

The ornamentation of the Phoenician temple has been referred to from time to time in the preceding pages, but a few additional words thereon are necessary. The cornices are often plain, but when a row of uraei-serpents was added, the effect was decidedly decorative. Exceedingly effective was the mixed style of the entablature of the temple at Gebal, with its Greek-Roman decoration, including scrolls and flowers flanking a conventional Egyptian winged disc-emblem with uraei. The doorway at Um-al Avamid, being much more Egyptian in style, forms a striking piece for comparison. Egyptian influence is again manifest in the relief showing a tree, carried on two columns, found at Arad.

Apparently it was a favourite decoration with the Phoenicians, for it occurs also as the support of a throne in the decorative panel-relief showing a seated personage in the presence of the sacred fire (see below, p. 885 f.). Gravine ornaments, such as are found in Assyro-Babylonian temples, occur on alabaster slabs from Gebal, now in the Louvre. They suggest the Assyro-Babylonian temple-tower, surmounting a decoration of flowers in squares over a band of laurel. This gravine-ornament is also found in Syria, even of the Roman epoch. As in the case of the round tower-like monument of Anrit, however, the idea that it was really a temple is lost by the material between the two sides being left; there are no openings. The great disadvantage of the modern student of their decoration, however, is that the remains are so scanty.

There is hardly any doubt that the architecture of the Phoenicians has had an influence on that of the nations around. Perrot and Chipiez cite the old mosques of Cairo, Anurra, and Tsulin, with their great rectangular courts surrounded on all four sides by rows of columns, the idol alone being absent. 'If one wishes to have a complete example, one must go as far as Mecca, and enter into the Ka'ba, where even the triumph of the Qur'an has not succeeded in ousting the primitive bethel, the black stone, which, in the sanctuary, has received the homage of the Arab tribes throughout many centuries.' (Phénicie, p. 315 f.)

But perhaps these temples are not derived directly from Phoenician architecture. We have always to take into consideration the possibility of their having come down to the nations which produced them by some collateral line, and the likeness between them and the fane of Phoenicia may be due to action and reaction. Whatever reservations may be made, it is quite certain that the influence of history and the monuments seems to show that the influence of Phoenicia preponderated.

T. G. Pinches.

ARCHITECTURE (Roman).—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—If it be necessary in the case of Greece to point out that religious buildings were but a part of the architectural activity of the people, it is still more necessary in the case of Rome. Roman religious architecture was small and comparatively unimportant rôle. Her baths, her palaces, her amphitheatres, and other public buildings were all upon a grander scale than her temples.

When Rome became mistress of the world, although she had at that time no architecture of her own, she made use of artists from all nations, and thus arose a composite style of the architectures of the world, in which Greece played by far the largest part. The origin of the Roman temples seems to have been partly Etruscan, partly Greek; but whatever part Etruscan architecture played in other branches of Roman architecture, the Roman temple in its final form was almost wholly Greek. The fact was that the great development of Roman architecture was almost entirely in the hands of Greek artists, and it is by no means easy to determine how much can really be considered Roman at all.

The true Greek style was transplanted, the arch, as has been shown, being only occasionally used. The style of the Romans, however, was a hybrid, partly arched and partly unarched, and in form the hands of the two elements never became complete. It is generally said that the arch in Roman architecture is the arch of the Etruscans; it is, however, doubtful whether it was not an introduction of the Greek architects of the East.

Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 77.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 73.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 323.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 232.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 163.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 105.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 231.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 230.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 219.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 167.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 68.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 67.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 45.
Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 51.
and Alexandria. In any case both the arch and the barrel vault date back to remote ages in the East, and the later Greek architects were more likely to be influenced by these traditions than by the comparatively obscure work of Etruria. At the same time, fine arches with large voussoirs were built more for Etruscan than for the canals in the Marza at Gracignan, supposed to date from the beginning of the 7th. B.C., or the Cioaca Maxima at Rome of the 6th. If, however, the Romans themselves had continued the tradition and had built in some similar style, it is almost impossible that some remains, however scanty, would have come down to us. Indeed, we know that early Roman architecture was of brick, and brick vaulting with voussoirs occurs in Egypt as far back as B.C. 2500. Even the intersecting vault is found in a Greek example at Pergamos dating from the 2nd. B.C. The earliest surviving Roman building that had arches is the Tabularium, and it dates only from B.C. 78, long after the sack of Corinth, when Rome passed under the rule of Greece intellectually and artistically. Arches were in common everyday use in Greece, at any rate for structural purposes, as early as the time of C. C. 290, so there is no reason to suppose that Greek architects working for Rome were in any way necessarily indebted to the Etruscans for their conceptions. Even the triumphal arch—that ornamental form which we are wont to consider typically Roman—was built in Athens in B.C. 318. The earliest instance of such an arch in Rome is that of Scipio Africanus (B.C. 190), of which we have the record, but no remains. The most that can be allowed is that it is not impossible that the Romans may have had a developed arcuated style derived from the Etruscans before they fell under the dominion of Greece; but there is no evidence of any kind, and, as far as existing remains are concerned, there are no new developments that precede Greek work. The attached column, for instance, sometimes spoken of as a Roman invention, occurs in the Arsinocion in but slightly modified form, in the monument of Lysicrates in Athens, and at Phigalia, even if those of the Erechtheum were of Roman date.

With regard to their brick and concrete construction it is otherwise. The Romans were certainly great engineers. They, however, not the same intellectual acuity about Roman work that there is in Greek work, and this was never acquired. When the Roman Empire was finally divided, the Greek or Byzantine portion at once began to develop a more scientific style in marked contrast with the ruder work of the West. Roman work was practical, rough and ready, often grandiose, but lacking in the finer artifices sense.

It is likely that we shall never be able to say what elements are Roman and what are Hellenistic, but it is possibly in the general planning that the Roman influence is strongest.

The Romans borrowed the Greek orders; perhaps a more correct way of putting it is to say that the Greek architects working for Rome used their own orders, and by slow degrees trained a native school. The Doric order became very de- creased, and is found in a great variety of forms. The simpler of these forms are commonly grouped together as Tuscan, but they differ very much among themselves, and there is no historical evidence for any Tuscan origin. Vitruvius uses the term, but it is impossible to draw any clear dividing line between Tuscan and the debased Doric. The cause of the common error is that the Renaissance architects did make such a hard and fast dividing. The term as applied to Renaissance work has a drop in meaning, but has no relation to anything in Rome. There was a Roman tendency to dispense with the fluting of Greek work both in Doric and Ionic, and occasionally in the Corinthian order, which greatly detracts from the strong refined vertical character of the shaft. Flutings were expensive to work, and were not showy enough to please Roman taste, which preferred monolithic shafts in hard brightly-coloured marbles in which flutings would have little effect. The column loses the sturdy proportions of Greek Doric, and tends to assimilate itself to the proportions of the other orders. In most of the existing examples of Roman Doric there is a base, but this is absent in early examples such as those of Pompeii, which are much more Greek in feeling. It has been suggested that the origin of the base is Etruscan, but its absence in early work is against this theory; and the part that Vitruvius would assign to Etruscan influence in architecture is not much more of a reality than the part assigned by Virgil to Aeneas in Roman history. The contours gradually deteriorate, and the echino of the Doric column speedily becomes a simple quarter round. In the almost unique early example of the Temple of Hercules at Cora the hyperbolic curve is found, and is obviously executed by Greeks. The architrave shrinks in importance, and the whole entablature is much shallower. There is a marked tendency for the intercolumniations to become wider. This is mainly the result of the fact that the order as such is not an essential part of the construction in Roman work. It does not govern the building, but is merely something applied afterwards, and has to suit its proportions to the available space. It is to this that we owe the introduction of the pedestal as a regular feature, which occurs only occasionally in Greek work. The architrave is set farther back than in Greek architecture, and the line of its face tends to fall within the base (fig. 1). The beautiful sculpture

ROMAN DORIC
ORDER: TEMPLE
OF HERCULES
AT CORA.

FIG. 1.

which was the glory of Greek buildings, and particularly of the Doric order, is absent, and its place is often taken by trivial conventionalities, such as wreathed pilasters. The origin of this feature is probably to be found in the actual skulls of

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of Apollo at Naucratis, the Erechtheum itself, and a capital in the forum of Trajan, we see it in its undeveloped form.

The entablature in Roman Corinthian work is very ornate. The architrave is divided by several moldings more or less enriched. The frieze is often decorated with continuous scroll work founded on the acanthus leaf, which is beautiful in itself although giving a restless effect as the result of over-ornamentation. Below the cornice a low feature is introduced in the modillions—ornamental brackets which give an aesthetic sense of support (fig. 3).

Religious buildings.—Of course in most of the great secular work the arch plays an important part, and the orders are placed ornamentally in very much the real arched construction; but except in the case of the propylaeum in the East before the sacred temenos, the arch practically plays no part in religious work. The vault, however, does occur (fig. 3). The religious buildings of the Romans were of comparatively small importance, and the great thermes are far more typical of Roman work than the temples. The temples, too, were used for many other besides religious purposes, just as was the case with the temples of the medieval cathedrals. But a temple of Concord was not only an art museum of the spoils of the world, but was often used for meetings of the senate, as also was the temple of Mars Ultor. The public weights and measures office was in the temple of Castor and Pollux, the temples of the Roman temples, although in their main features simply modifications of the Greek, have certain distinctive marks of their own. It seems probable that the early Etruscan temples were of a triple cela placed side by side, and, moreover, that it was the custom to erect them upon a lofty base, or podium.

The Etruscan architecture apparently was largely of wood, and terracotta became much less important, noticeably in a peculiar fringe of ornamented terra-cotta tiles hanging from under the eaves and apparently also from the main beam of the portico. These features can be traced in Roman work—the lofty podium with a great flight of steps approaching the main portico, the wide intercolumniations, and the use of terra-cotta ornaments—and even the three-celled temple may have followed its influence in the great breadth of the Roman temple, or in the case of a temple in the temple of Concord was not only an art museum of the spoils of the world, but was often used for meetings of the senate, as also was the temple of Mars Ultor. The public weights and measures office was in the temple of Castor and Pollux, the temples of the Roman temples, although in their main features simply modifications of the Greek, have certain distinctive marks of their own. It seems probable that the early Etruscan temples were of a triple cela placed side by side, and, moreover, that it was the custom to erect them upon a lofty base, or podium.

The ruins of the temple of Mars Ultor and three columns of the temple of Castor and Pollux (completed A.D. 6) are probably the earliest extant remains. They may, however, have been earlier examples, as Greece can be said to have begun its dominion over Rome in B.C. 146. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was possibly largely Etruscan.

Generally speaking, the earlier the date the purer the work and the more marked the Greek influence. It has been observed that the Greek temple was ornamented; but this was not the case with Roman temples, and we find them facing in all directions, generally planned in relation to their architectural surroundings. We find them all round the Forum Romanum, for instance, each facing into the forum. As in the case with Greece, the altar was not in the temple but outside, and the exact raison d'être of the temple itself is by no means so clearly defined.

The typical Roman temple, then, is a rectangular building with a cela very much wider than was usual in Greece. In the temple of Concord the width was greater than the depth. This may possibly have been the result of the earlier three-celled temple or of the many uses to which the
Roman temple was put. The architectural effect was always concentrated upon the front, and the back of the temple was often absolutely plain. As part of the same tendency we may notice that the temples were generally only pseudo-peripteral, with attached columns round three sides of the cela and an abnormally large front portico. The temple of Fortuna Virilis is a good early example; there is a very fine later temple known as the Maison Carrée at Nîmes (fig. 4).

The Roman temples within were apparently rarely divided into nave and aisles, so that a greater floor space was obtained, but the span was sometimes reduced by internal columns close against the wall, after the manner of the Greek temple at Phigalia. Occasionally there was an apse, as in the temple of Mars Ultor; and in the temple of Venus and Rome there was an interesting arrangement of a double temple with two cellae and apses back to back (fig. 5). The whole in this case was surrounded by a court and stoa.

The roof appears to have been normally of wood, but certainly in a few instances a concrete or stone vault was employed, as in the above-mentioned temple of Venus and Rome, the temple of Neptune, the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, and the temple at Nîmes known as the Nymphæum or the Baths of Diana, which has a stone barrel-vault supported on stone arches which rested upon attached columns (fig. 6).

In front of the temple was a great flight of steps generally flanked by two projecting portions of the podium, the steps not extending the entire width of the building. In the temple of Minerva at Assi the steps are carried between the columns which are raised on pedestals. This was probably from want of space.

A favourite form of temple with the Romans was the circular building which had become popular in Greece during the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. It has been suggested that the Roman circular temple had an independent Etruscan origin. Even if this be the case with regard to the mere fact of the plan being circular, it has certainly nothing whatever to do with the actual form, which is simply a copy of Greek work. The lofty podium is generally found in Roman examples; but this, too, occurs in Greek examples of much earlier date. The picturesquely situate temple of Vesta at Tivoli is a fine example, of which the cela itself may even date back to the close of the 1st cent. B.C., although the Corinthian peristyle is later (fig. 7).

By far the most remarkable of the circular temples, and indeed of all the Roman temples, is the celebrated Pantheon (fig. 8)—a great building 142 ft. 6 in. in diameter, 2 ft. in excess of the domeless reading-room of the British Museum. The exterior is plain, not to say ugly; but originally the brick was faced with marble up to the first string course, and above this with stucco, which may possibly have somewhat improved the general appearance although not actually affecting the building architecturally. It is approached by a great portico built from the spoils of Agrippa's temple, which was taken down for that purpose. This fact was discovered in 1862, and is some consolation to those
who have always maintained that the portico is hopelessly out of place, and ru\s the severe dignity that the plain circular building might otherwise have possessed. The date of the main building also has conclusively been proved to be A.D. 129-124, from the stamps upon the bricks of which it is constructed. This is a most important fact, as the assignment of the building to Agrippa has led to many wrong inferences with regard to the history of dome construction.

The building occupies the site of what was once an open circular plaza, the pavement of which has been found some 7 or 8 ft. below the floor of the present building. The walls are 20 ft. in thickness, containing eight great recesses three of which are apses; the highest faces the entrance on the main axis, and the other two are at the extremities of the diameter, at right angles to the main axis. The entrance itself is a great rectangular recess covered by a barrel-vault, and between these four recesses are four others, all of rectangular form. Except in the case of the entrance and the main apse opposite to it, all the recesses have two columns in antis in front. The dome is divided in its lower part by vertical and horizontal ribs into five ranges of thirty-two coffers. Above this it is plain, and the building is lit by a huge circular hypetral opening 30 ft. across. Altogether the interior effect ranks very high among the great buildings of the world.

Under Roman rule many great temples were built in many other countries than Italy, but, save in those countries that had no architectural style of their own, it is misleading to call them Roman. Particularly in the East we find many buildings that are practically simply a development of Hellenistic architecture. The great temples of Syria, for instance, are not placed at the end of the form as in Rome, but in a temenos of their own as in Greece, with propylae leading into them. With one exception only (Baalbek) they are orientated in the Greek manner. Of this type is the great temenos of the temple of the Sun at Palmyra. In most instances, just as at Athens, the propylae have a wider intercolumniation in the frieze, but it was spanned by an arch round which the entablature is carried. The propylae of Damascus (fig. 9), which may be dated

The invention—if so it may be termed—appears to be that of Apollodoros, a Greek of Damascus, and seems a natural development of the temples of later Greek tradition already noted. It afterwards appears in Dioecletian’s Palace at Spalato, on the north-east coast of the Adriatic (c. 305 A.D.). It marks an important step, because hitherto the arch had always been carried by portions of walls or piers. On the other hand, the columns had never before carried anything but a horizontal entablature; and the piers and arches behind, with the columns and entablature in front, always remained two distinct and irreconcilable elements. Indeed, it was left for the Byzantine and Gothic architects to work out truly homogeneous styles of column and arch.

Of these Syrian examples the finest is that at Baalbek, which is built upon a great platform forming an acropolis. The general setting out is probably not Roman, and some of the substructure is pre-Roman in date. It was approached by great propylae of Roman times, the restoration of which is largely conjectural. An interesting feature is the hexagonal court, surrounded by a double peristyle upon which the propylae opened. The hexagonal court leads in its turn to a great square court, at the end of which, some vast, in the Roman manner, is the larger of the two temples. Apparently it was never completed. The other temple to the south, the temple of Jupiter, is a very fine piece of work. In some ways the building was a compound of Greek and Roman feeling. It was peripteral with two ranges of columns in the front, but the portico was very deep, and the central intercolumniation was wider than the rest. The interior had attached columns after the manner of the temple at Phigalia, except that the entablature was broken and carried round and back between the columns. It probably had a flat roof, except at the far end, where there was a small vaulted recess, about half the total width, approached by a flight of steps. A curious feature is a two-storey division into shallow niches between the columns, which has a very unpleasing effect. The lower one is arched, with a horizontal cornice, and the upper lintelled, the crescent, but is surmounted by a pediment. The carving is bold and good, and shows the influence of Greek tradition.

Construction.—The Roman method of construc-

![FIG. 9.](image1)

DAMASCUS.

![FIG. 10.](image2)

BAY FROM COLOSSEUM
ARCHITECTURE (Roman)

Romans built mainly in brick and concrete, and the finer materials were used only for facing. In Rome itself even brick was never used throughout, although in the provinces brick walls or courses of stone and brick alternately are not uncommon. Whether brick or stone was used in the core of the wall or not, the outer face was invariably covered with stucco or some finer material. When brick or stone occurs, its use is not easy to determine, as it would neither add to the strength of the wall, nor admit of its being built without planking to keep the concrete in position while setting. Bricks were of flat triangular shape, and stones pyramidal. 'Opus incertum' was work where the stones were more or less irregular in shape, and 'opus reticulatum' where they were dressed to a true square, and set diagonal-wise in the wall (fig. 11). In either case occasional courses of large flat bricks, 1 ft. 11 in. long, bonding through the wall, were used. A similar method was adopted with arches to prevent the concrete from spreading and settling down before it had set (fig. 11). The marble or other facings were secured to the wall by iron or bronze cramps running into the body of the wall (fig. 11).

In vaults and domes, arches or ribs of brick were built upon light wooden centering, and cross bonding bricks dividing the whole into compartments were inserted at intervals. The concrete was then poured into these, and the whole set into one solid mass, exerting no outward thrust whatever. Stone vaults, instead of concrete, were occasionally built in later days, as in the Nymphaeum at Nimes, mentioned above.

Ornamentation.—The ornamental work of the Romans was not nearly so good as their construction, which was sound and workmanlike, and of great durability. One even regrets that they ever attempted ornament at all, as the bold and simple majesty of their great work is only spoilt by the applied ornament. After all there is very little Roman work if any, more pleasing than the Pont du Gard at Nîmes; and it has no ornament at all. One of the most delightful of their more purely architectural works is the gateway at Trèves, which is practically devoid of ornament. The ornament used by the Romans was all derived from Greek sources, but there is a roughness and want of delicacy that shows an entire ignorance of the subtlety and refinement of Greek work. The profiles of the moldings are nearly always segments of circles, instead of the sinuous and hyperbolic curves of Greek art. Moreover, the molding, as a rule, does not depend for its effect upon the subtle gradations of light and shade produced by its own contour, but upon the elaboration of the carving cut upon it. Somewhat similarly we find a preference among the Roman architects for the acanthus mollis with its rounded and less precise form, whereas the Greeks preferred the acanthus spinosus with its crisp angular lines (fig. 6, Architecture [Greek]). It is true that the acanthus spinosus badly drawn is less satisfactory even than the other, but this kind of thing is well known—the greater the height, the worse the fall. The carving, too, although vigorous in its way, is rougher and much more mechanical than that of Greece. Instead of the fine sculpture that adorned the temples of Greece, we frequently find endless repetitions of ox-skulls and festoons of fruit and flowers between. There was a great tendency to use the ornament in such profusion that it stultified itself. Such an example, for instance, as the arch at Benevento is so overloaded that there are practically no plain surfaces at all, and the whole effect is worried and unsatisfying.

Colour was used in their buildings by the Romans as by the Greeks, and the great fondness of the Romans for marbles of many colours gave their buildings an opulence in effect that was one of their most marked characteristics.

One of the most important adjuncts of Roman ornament was the mosaic, which, however difficult to work satisfactorily, is undoubtedly more in consonance with architectural feeling than any mere surface pigment.

Adequately to appreciate Roman work, it would be necessary to study much more than the religious architecture. Rome's finest achievements were in the thermae and the great baths, which were the centres of Roman life, where literature was read and discussed, and politics debated. In these magnificent buildings it was the interior that was the greatest achievement. It was in interior effects that the Roman architects made the real architectural advance, giving to them a magnificence hitherto undreamed of. Magnificence was the aim and end of Roman art; subtlety and refinement were beyond its range. How ver, of existing remains, it is a religious building—the Pantheon—that gives us the clearest conception of what this interior magnificence was; and for us the Pantheon, with its fine interior and poor exterior, is the great key to the whole of Roman achievement, as the Parthenon, with its delicate subtleties and sculpture of unsurpassable loveliness, is of Greek.


J. B. STOUGHTON HOLBORN.
ARCHITECTURE (Shinto)—ARCHITECTURE (Slavonic)

ARCHITECTURE (Shinto).—There are indications that the original Shinto place of worship, like the Roman templum, was a building or a plot of ground consecrated for the purpose. It was probably enclosed by a row of twigs of the sacred evergreen sakaki tree stuck in the ground. Spirit terraces\(^1\) for Shinto worship in the old restored shrine, and the common word for a Shinto shrine, viz. yashiro, means 'house-equivalent,' i.e. a make-believe house for the god—no doubt a plot of ground of this kind. Another word for a shrine is mise, which means 'inner house,' and is applied alike to a palace and a shrine. Sir Ernest Satow says (TASA 1874):

'The architecture of the Shinto temples is derived from the primitive, but, with numerous less significant in propriety and influence of Buddhism in each particular case. Those of the purest style retain the thatched roof, others are covered with thick shingling, while others have tiled, and even diapered, roofs. The projecting ends of the rafters (called kap) have been somewhat lengthened, and carved more or less elaborately.' It appears from a passage in the Nikang, that the kap of the chuigi were restricted to Imperial residences and to Shinto shrines. Another distinctive feature of the shrine is a row of cigar-shaped pieces of timber laid cross-wise on the roof-tree. The walls consist of plastered earth work, and the roof is round, and without bases. The shrine has a wooden floor, raised some feet above the ground. There is a sort of balcony all round, with a flight of steps at both ends, from which they have at times a bronze ornament and wood-carving is used in some shrines, but, generally speaking, they are characterized by great simplicity. The wood-carving and metal ornamentation of some of them are truly marvellous, and in others are mere remnants, when the shrines were 'purified' after the restoration of the Imperial power in 1868. They are always of wood, without paint or lacquer, which, of course, limits their duration. The shrines of Ise are renewed every twenty years. Nor are they of great size. In the 8th cent. a 'greater shrine' had only fourteen feet frontage. At the present day the outer shrine of Ise—that in honour of the Goddess of Food—measures 34 feet by 19 feet. The great majority of Shinto shrines are very tiny edifices.

The more important Shinto shrines are surrounded by a cluster of subsidiary buildings, which serve various various purposes, oratories where the Mikado's envoy performs his devotions. No provision is made for the shelter of the ordinary worshipper. He remains outside in front of the shrine whilst he utters a brief invocation. The joint worship of a congregation of believers is a rare phenomenon in Shinto. Within the precinct there are usually a number of smaller shrines (nasshu) to other deities than the one worshipped in the main building. At Ise there were formerly more than a hundred of these. Sometimes there is an enodô, or picture-gallery, for the reception of ex voto offerings of this kind. A characteristic feature of Shinto architecture is the torii, or honorary gateway, which adorns the approaches to the shrine, sometimes in great numbers. These arches consist of two upright pillars leaning slightly towards one another. Near the top they are connected by a cross-beam or tie. Another beam rests on the upper corners, and the ridge board on each side. It is often made to curve upwards slightly at each end. The torii is usually constructed of wood painted red, but may also be of stone, bronze, or even of plaster. The whole is simple but graceful effect. Mr S. Tuke has shown that the torii is identical with the Indian turan, the Chinese pailou, and the Korean hongbolmun, which are similar in form and purpose. The name is probably Japanese. It means literally 'bird-rest,' i.e. hen-roost; and the gateways were so called from their resemblance to this familiar object.

LITERATURE.—B. H. Chamberlain, Things Japanese (Lond. 1893); B. H. Chamberlain and W. M. Muddiman, Look for Travellers in Japan (Lond. 1895); W. G. ASTON.

ARCHITECTURE AND ART (of the pagan Slavs).—The pagan Slavs seem to have had only the most rudimentary ideas on the subject of art. The few monuments which are ascribed to them are very crude, and it cannot yet be asserted with absolute certainty that they are the work of Slav artists. There is no connection between pagan monuments and the more or less grotesque descriptions given in some of the Chronicles of the Middle Ages. These chronicles owe to the Germans, Adam of Bremen gives a glowing description of the Russian Empire is very questionable. Hilarion, a monk of the 10th cent., writes: 'We are no longer building kapiskha, but churches of Christ,' thus indicating that kapiskha (from kap, 'idol') were pagan temples. But the oldest Russian chronicles speak only of idols, and the word kapiskha may mean simply idols. Among the Baltic Slavs we find the existence of temples allotted by German writings, in which the descriptions are not always very plausible. According to the statements of Helmold, the temple of Svantovit in the Island of Řügen was the great sanctuary of the Baltic Slavs. It was built in the town of Arkona, Saxo Grammaticus says, a temple of respect to it. 'It was,' he says, 'a very beautiful wooden temple. The exterior or enclosing wall of the building was ornamented with thin roughly painted sculptures representing various objects. It was entered only by a single door. The temple was surrounded by a double wall. Inside the building stood a huge idol.' He adds that the temple was decorated with purple cloth and wild animal's horns.

According to one of Otto of Bamberg's biographers, the god Triglav had at Stettin four temples called continue (from a Slav word meaning 'building'). The most important of these continue was marvelously decorated and ornamented with sculptures representing men, birds, and animals, so cleverly reproduced that one could have believed them living, and so ingeniously coloured that neither rain nor snow could injure them.

At Gostkov, according to one of Otto of Bamberg's historians, there stood sumptuous temples adorned with colossal idols. In the town of Riedgost (perhaps Riehetra [?]) Thietmar describes a temple built of wood and resting on animal's horns (though the statement seems rather curious). The outside walls were covered with wonderful carved representations of gods and goddesses. In the interior stood gods made by hand, with their names engraved, arrayed in armour and helmets.

It is not our duty to discuss here the question as to the characters in which the gods' names might have been inscribed. This point, upon which much has been written, is probably purely imaginary. 'As many districts as there are in these parts' (i.e. among the Baltic Slavs or Slavs of the Elba), says Thietmar, 'so many temples are there, and the images of demons are worshipped by the infidels. It is to the temple that they come
ARDASHIR I.—ARHAT

When on the point of making war; to it they bring gifts after a successful expedition.

Did the Slavs themselves build those temples, which were probably very small? Did they call in foreign architects? When did they not know geography? Masudi (10th cent.) had heard of their temples, but he gives an absolutely imaginary description of them, which cannot be believed, and he places the people whom he is describing in districts no less fanciful than those, in Punnah, (Artaxerx.)

We know that a certain Sasanian dynasty was called the Arsacid (Parsee) dynasty. They were kings of Persia, and among the Slavs, by that name, no ruined temple is in existence. Some of them were the names of idols worshipped in ancient Russia and among the Baltic Slavs—Svantovit, Perun, Triglav.

The present writer has reproduced in his Mythologie slave (1901) illustrations of German and in Galicia (Austria). They are believed to be Slav origin; but we are not absolutely sure, as we have no trustworthy information. German and Ancient Russian writings alone bear witness to the existence of these idols. When Christianity reached the Slavs, they adopted the religions of the neighbouring races, from whom the gospel had come to them—the Roman style prevailing among the Western Slavs, and the Byzantine among the Slavs of Russia, Bulgaria, and Servia.

LOUIS LEGEER.

ARDASHIR I. (Artash, Arakhabshahr, Artaxerxes).—Ardashir I. (A.D. 226-241), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, was the son of Papak, 'king of Khir (Chir), south of the region of Persepolis. Having made himself master of Persia and some neighbouring kingdoms, Ardashir killed the Parthian 'king of kings,' Artaban, in 224, and seems to have conquered the capital, Ctesiphon, two years later. From the beginning Ardashir identified his political aims with the restoration of the Mazdasyan faith, which, notwithstanding the superficial sway of Hellenism, had never lost its hold on the people. He thus secured a mighty ally—the Zarathushrian priesthood, the 'race of the Magians'—and continued and accomplished a work already begun by Parthian monarchs. In his zeal for the national religion, he seems to have been his grandfather Sasan having been attached to the temple of the goddess Anahita in Istakhr (Persepolis)—as well as to his personal feelings. He was devoted to the Magian rites, and himself Theus (Artaxerx, Hist. ii. 36). The Avesta texts, destroyed and scattered in the time of Alexander and the following centuries, were collected by Ardashir, and completed by his high priest Tarsar (according to a tradition reported in Dinkart, iii.), who thus gave 'a faithful image of the original light.' Another passage, in Dinkart, iv., which corroborates the king's having called Tarsar to his capital in order to gather the scattered texts, adds the important fact that canonical authority was attributed only to the collection of Tarsar, all doctrines that did not originate from him being considered as heretical. The collection was not completed until the reign of Ardishir or his successor Shahlparh (i. 241-272). A different tradition, reported in the introduction to the Persian translation of Artā Virāf Nāmak, makes Ardashir collect the Aves and texts and the Zend names, and summon the priests surnamed to the capital (Dinhaw and West, Book of Artu Viraf, Bombay, 1872, pp. xv-xviii.). The custom of reciting a chapter, called irnād (Yazna), dates, according to Ardashir, from Ardashir's time. He says we may perhaps conclude with Darmesteter (Zend-Av, iii. p. xxxii) that Ardashir and his Hōrad of Hōrbads regulated the liturgy. The two chief facts of the restoration, viz. the collection of texts, legends, traditions, laws, and doctrines, and the monopolizing of true worship and true faith by the king, are expressed in the letter from Tarsar to Gushnap, king of Tabaristan (south of the Caspian), preserved, with additions and alterations, in a Persian translation of an Arabic version of the Pahlavi original. According to Darmesteter, op. cit. 1879, the first part, or most of this document, especially a certain azeit tendency evidently contrasting with the Zarathushrian law, considers it 'a being of this present form as a subtle political fiction.' He goes much further than Darmesteter in eliminating spurious parts and in reducing the remainder, but he expressly recognizes a historical nucleus.

Ardashir has immortalized his political and religious restoration by his theory of the mutual aid of the two powers, the State and the Church, if Masudi (Parasriptes d'or, text) and G. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courtedeuille, i. 162), has correctly rendered his testament to his son Shāhrūr: 'Religion and kingship are two sisters that cannot exist the one without the other, because their existence belongs to other communities. In the latter sense, which is exceedingly rare (Vinayà, i. 30-32; Samýutta, ii. 220), it means a man who has attained to the ideal of that particular community, to what was regarded in it as the fit state for a religious man. This sense is not found in pre-Buddhist literature; but the usage by the early Buddhists makes it almost certain that the term was employed, before Buddhism arose, among these communities in the N.E. India. In the more usual, the Buddhist sense, the technical term arahat is applied to those who have reached the end of the Eightfold Path, and are enjoying the fruits of it, the so-called 'perfect' or 'saintly.' The first five discourses attained arahatship on perceiving that there was no sign of a soul in any one of the five groups of bodily and mental qualities constituting a sentient being (Vinayà, i. 14). The Buddha's son, until the reign of Ardashir, because he has overcome the 'intoxications' (devaras) of sensuality, rebirths, and ignorance (Digha, i. 84). In a list of punning derivations in Majhima, i. 280, the arahat is said to be one from whom evil dispositions are far (sāvāt). The first five discourses attained arahatship on perceiving that there was no sign of a soul in any one of the five groups of bodily and mental qualities constituting a sentient being (Vinayà, i. 14). The Buddha's son, until the reign of Ardashir, because he has overcome the 'intoxications' (devaras), and will incur no rebirth (Thera Gātha, 296; cf. 386). Every arahat has the sambodhī, the higher insight, divided into seven parts—self-power, self-confidence, investigation, energy, mindfulness, joy, concentration, and magnanimity. There is extant in the Canon a collection of hymns, 264 of which are by men, and 75 by women, who had become arahats in the presence of the Buddha. Fifteen of the women's need to have The question of sambodhī has been discussed at length in the present writer's Dialogues of the Buddha, Oxford, 1899, pp. 190-192.
gained the three vīyas or 'sorts of knowledge': the knowledge of their own and other people's previous births, and of other people's thoughts. Laymen could become arahats. A list of twenty who had done so in the time of the Buddha is given in Arius, and after the Buddha was an arahat. The word occurs in the standing description applied to each of the seven Buddhas known in the earliest documents (Dhyāna, ii. 2). The Jātaka commentator says that the Buddha made arahat-ship the climax of the teaching. But the climax of the majority of the Dialogues. Thus the first Dialogue in the Dhyāna deals with the first stage in the Path. The second is started with the question, by a layman, as to what is the use of the religious life. After a lengthy commencement of various advantages, each nearer than the previous one to arahat-ship, the discussion of the question ends with arahat-ship. The third is on social rank, and ends with the conclusion that arahat-ship is the climax of the teaching. Thus the climax as that the arahat is the true Brāhmaṇ. The fifth discusses the question of sacrifice, with the result that arahat-ship is the best sacrifice. The sixth is on the question of the members of the Buddhist Order, and ends by the statement that the seven remaining Dialogues in that volume. Out of thirteen chapters, if we may so call them, lead up to this subject, the other three being concerned with it only incidentally. The proportion in which the rest of the Dhyāna is less, in the Mahāyana it is probably about the same.

The last discourse of the Buddha to his disciples is summarized in Dhyāna, ii. 120, as follows:—

Buddhism, ye to whom the truth I have perceived has been made known by me, when you have made yourselves masters of them, practise them, think them over, spread them abroad in order that pure religion may last long for the good and happiness of the great multitudes. ... Which are these truths? They are these: the four modes of mindfulness, the fourfold struggle against evil, the four footsteps to majestic, the five moral powers, the five organs of spiritual sense, the seven kinds of insight, the noble eightfold path. These are they.

In Vinaya, ii. 240, these seven groups are called the jewels of the Dhamma-vinaya, the doctrine and discipline, in whose ocean the arahats dwell. The total of the members in the seven groups amounts to thirty-seven. These are identified in the commentaries with the Sambodhi-pakkiyā dhammā, the qualities which are the 'sides,' that is, constituent parts, of the insight of arahat-ship. These are mentioned already in the canonical books (Aṅguttara, ii. 70, 71, iv. 351; Sutta-pitaka, v. 227, 239). But it would seem from the discussions on the use of this term by E. Hardy in his Introduction to the Netti (p. xxx ff.), and by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her Introduction to the Vihāra-pitaka (p. xiv ff.), that the commentators' interpretation of its meaning is later, and that it originally referred simply to the saṁyuttī, the seven divisions of which, already given above, form only the seventh division of the thirty-seven qualities. The term is so used in the Viheśa, p. 249. It would follow from this that in the later Pāli writers the conception of arahat-ship would include the thirty-seven of these characteristics. So also the Mahāyana distinctly adds to the conception of arahat-ship the possession of the four Patissamabhiā. As the meaning of the term was extended, so the reverence for the arahat increased. In the old texts we are informed of a custom by which, when a bhikkhu thought he had attained, he could 'announce his knowledge,' as the phrase ran. The 112th Dialogue in the Majjhima gives the six questions which should then be put to the new aspirant. If he answered these correctly, his claim should be submitted. By the time of the commentators this was obsolete. They speak of no arahats in their own day; and we hear of none mentioned, in any source, as having lived later than the 3rd century of our era. 

The Sanskrit form arahat has had a precisely contrary history. From the ascendency of the brahmanic religions centuries after the rise of Buddhism by those Buddhists who then began to write in Sanskrit, its use was confined to those who tended more and more to the conception of bodhisattvas in place of that of arahat, as the ideal to be aimed at. In the literature of this period arahat-ship has ceased to be the climax; it is not even the subject of the discourses put into the mouth of the Buddha. Neither in the Lalita Vistara nor in the Mahāvihāra can the present writer trace the word at all, except when used as an epithet of the Buddha, or of the early disciples. In the Dīghavīlāna (a collection of stories of different dates, put together probably some time between the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ) we find a reference to persons who lived in the Buddha's time (pp. 494, 464) the term arahat is used very much in the old sense. So also in the story of Vītsākha, the brother of Asoka, we find at pp. 223 f. and 231 f. a. arahat who shows that it was familiar to those who recorded this particular legend, in the sense of one who had reached emancipation in this life. It is used incidentally, in the midst of the narrative; and throughout the volume attention is directed to the historical legend rather than to the discussion of this or any other point in Buddhist ethics. The word had survived; the interest in the doctrine had waned.

In the Sattarvanu-paddhati ("Lotus of the True Law"), arahat is used a score of times of a Buddha, and is, in fact, a standing epithet of each of the numerous Buddhas invented in that work. It is also used as an epitaph of the early disciples, but with distinctive connotation. Thus at p. 43 of Kern's translation "arahats are called conceited if they do not accept the new doctrine. At p. 189 the stage of arahat is declared to be a lower stage. At p. 350 ff. the merit of one who hears a single word of the new doctrine is said to be greater than that of one who leads a vast number of men to become arahats. There is a similar argument beginning on p. 357. We find, then, in these works that arahat-ship extends or passes over, or put on one side, and finally is openly attacked.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

ARAHATSHIP

1. Christianity recognises Unity of God and Divinity of Christ.
5. From the death of Constantine to the Council of the Dedication.
9. Reaction against Anomalous Arianism.
11. Arianism under Valens, and down to the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381.
13. The Arian controversy inevitable.
16. Arianism supreme among the conquerors of the Western.
forms. Conversion of Clovis.
17. National strength and Arianism.
18. The barbarian kingdoms abandon Arianism.
19. Spain returns to orthodox.

SBE, vol. xxii, Oxford, 1884. The text has not yet been edited.
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20. The Lombards and Arianism.
21. The Re-narrating of the Arian controversy at the Reformation.
22. Re-appearance of Arianism in the 17th century.


The promulgation of the heresy of Arius, which followed the close of the contest between the Christian church and the Roman government, on only a few years, may justly be regarded as the culminating of all the various controversies in the early Church concerning the relation of the 'Persons' of the Holy Trinity to one another.

For centuries the term Arian had been anathematized from the first the supreme necessity of maintaining the absolute Unity of God. According to one of the earliest apologists, Aristides, the worship of the Christians was more purely monotheistical than that of the Jews (apol. xiv., xv.). But, whilst acknowledging Unity to be the essential of Divinity, Christians of every description perceived the momentous consequences of the Incarnation. Whether Judaic, Pauline, or Gentile, all who professed to follow Christ saw in Him the one means by which God the Father had been made known to man. 'Thus the Lord's divinity was from the first as fixed an axiom of Christianity as the unity of its Church. St. Athanasius, St. Athanasius, the Church, 1900, p. 5. The earliest controversies about our Lord bore on the question of the reality of His sufferings and His humanity; and it was not till the old Docetist heresies had become comparatively insignificant that the nature of the Divinity of the Son and His relation to the Father occupied an important place in Christian speculation.

By the close of the 2nd cent. the conditions under which a theological controversy could be de- bated were practically the same as those which have prevailed down to the dawn of modern criticism. It was no longer a question of rival Scriptures, the majority of the books of the NT being already acknowledged as authoritative; the orthodox tradition of the Church had practically prevailed over all opposition; the question as to the recognition of the OT by the Church had been decided. There were already definite methods of exposition, and collections of Scripture proofs for use in controversy with Jews and pagans had been formed from a very early date. None of the facts of the Gospel story was disputed; Christian philosophy did not conflict with the doctrine of the Logos; faith acknowledged His pre-existence, His miracles, His Resurrection and His Ascension as unquestionable facts. No doubts were raised as to the authorship or authority of those passages in the OT and NT which were accepted as the basis of the Christology of the age. The utterances of the Prophets, the words of David and Solomon in Psalm and Proverb, the doctrine of St. Paul and St. John, were all admitted to be the source and basis of Christian doctrine. It is of great importance to bear in mind the fact that the premises from which orthodox and heretic alike drew their conclusions in the 3rd and 4th centuries were different from what would now be accepted; and it is not always by the arguments used in this controversy that we must form our judgment in regard to the decision finally reached.

The problem was, of course, the reconciliation of the two apparently conflicting beliefs in the Unity of the Godhead and in the real distinction of Personality in the Trinity. The controversy naturally turned first on the meaning of the phrase 'Trinity of the Divinity of Jesus Christ.' In attempting to maintain the Unity of the Godhead, the Christian teacher ran the risk of sacrificing either the Personality or the Divinity of our Lord. On the one hand, Fraxex, Balliello, their followers, represented the appearance of our Lord as hardly more than a temporary means whereby God had been dramatically manifested to the world, making the Trinity an economic unit, which the Divinity was related in different aspects. But the Christian conscience could not thus allow a personality of the Divine Master without real permanence. 'It is clearly impossible, that the Divinity and the human of the Divine economy, that God should exist even for a moment only in a single mode, or that the Incarnation should be only a temporary and transient manifestation' (Bethune-Baker, Christian Doctrine, ii. 156). Equally, to the statement of the Church to asent to a practical reversion to the old Ebionite doctrine that Jesus was simply an ordinary human being being defied by reason of His eminent virtue. Theodotus, Paul of Samosata, and others who held this view were not unnaturally ranked among the heretics. But the question was too difficult to be settled by the rejection of these alternatives, and it was further complicated by the founded of the doctrine of the Trinity and the terms employed to explain the mystery of the Trinity, as the correspondence between Dionysius of Rome and his namesake Dionysius of Alexandria abundantly testifies (Feltow, Letters and other remains of Dionysius, 1907, p. 21). Three interesting letters reveal two opposite tendencies—that of the West, which so emphasized the eternal unity as to obscure the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity, and the teaching of the Easterns, who, under the influence of Origen, insisted on the theory that subordination explained the existence of the threefold Personality. Dread of the Sabellian Christology was especially potent in influencing the course of theological speculation throughout the East.

At the beginning of the 4th cent. the most famous Christian scholar was Lucian, who, after the deposition of Paul of Samosata, founded a theological academy at Antioch. He seems to have been looked upon at least with suspicion by three successive bishops—Domnus, Timeaeus, and Cyril; but his exemplary conduct, ascetic practices, and, above all, the fact that he was one of the last martyrs in the Diocletian persecution, caused him to be regarded with particular reverence by his disciples, who felt especially bound to one another by the memory of their common master. The school founded by Lucian at Antioch was to furnish the bishops Ennadius of Nicomedia, Menophantus of Ephesus, Theognis of Nicea, Maris of Chalcedon, Leontius of Antioch, and Athanasius of Anazarbus, the sophrin Asterius, and the presbyter Arianism (Harnack, History of Dogma, vol. iv. p. 3, Eng. tr.). It is a matter of considerable doubt whether Arianism is to be traced to Antioch or to Alexandria, and also how far it is due to the teaching of Origen. Newman is of opinion that Arianism is the outcome of the grammatical literalism of Antioch as opposed to the more spiritual method of interpreting Scripture current in Alexandria (Arianism, c. i. sec. l.). Professor Gwatkin, on the other hand, points out (Studies of Arianism, 2, p. 12) that though Antioch was undoubtedly Arian in the later days of the controversy, when Alexandria, owing to the influence of Athanasius, had become orthodox, it was not so at the beginning. The language of Arianism was borrowed from Origen, and especially from Dionysius, who speaks of the Second Person as μην το ηἰκον εἰμι, ηἱκον εἰμι, εἰμι νοός δείκτις, and says το ηἰκον γωνίαν—phrases which were adopted into the terminology of Arianism, as well as others, more, however, in Alexandria when he promulgated his heresy. Harnack (op. cit. vol. iv. p. 3) considers that Lucian continued the work of Paul of Samosata at Antioch, and gives credit to the statement of Alexander (Theodore, i. 4), that Gwatkin rejects, that Lucian was destined to a long sojourn outside the Church, that is called 'the Arian before Arians.' The high honour, however, in which his memory was held, as the Synod of Antioch in a. 341 testified by adding the title 'venerabilis' (Euseb. Hist. eccl., i. 21) to his name, is in relation to the enunciation of Lucian the martyr' (Sozomen, iii. 5), makes it difficult to believe that Lucian ever considered as a heretic. The question of Origen's responsibility for Arianism is an extremely vexed one, and is admirably discussed by Bishop Robertson (Prolegomena to the Life of Dionysius, p. xxv) and by Bishop Gwatkin in his De Sententia Dionysii, the language of two theologians may be almost identical, whilst the spirit in which they employ it is quite different.
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2. The years A.D. 318 and 319 found the Church of Alexandria in great confusion, distracted by the obscure Monarchianism set forth by a council summoned by the bishop Alexander and the presbyter Arians ('Ariotes') of the district of Bæculas. Alexander, in a charge to his clergy, impressed upon them the unity in the Trinity of the Holy Ghost, and his exordium was to the effect that the Son of the Father, the unknown and unknowable Cause, of whom the Son is a creature incapable of knowing or revealing Him as any other creature, Arians deliberately sever all possible connection between the created and the uncreated, the human and the Divine. Christ is no mediator, no saviour. As Dr. Harnack forcibly remarks (op. cit. iv. p. 45), Arians and his friends are nowhere in their theology concerned with communion with God. Rightly, therefore, does Schulte (Kathol. Christi, p. 69) say that 'the Arian Christology is inwardly the most unstable, and dogmatically the most worthless, of all the Arianism was communicated and left behind it. It has not satisfied its conclusions, and leading to the ultimate subversion of Christianity, Arianism was most difficult to refute owing to the confusion of thought prevalent at the time of its appearance.

In the controversy which ensued, Alexander seems to have acted with some moderation, and even to have allowed his hesitation to proceed to such extremes as to be made an excuse for a schism. Arians had no scruples in forming a party of their own. He enlisted the support of two bishops, Secundus of Potesion Theodosi, and his raiding party of churchmen, and the capital of Egypt. But Arians' strongest support was his "fellow-Lucianist," Eusebius of Nicomedia, the most influential prelate in the East. In A.D. 321, Alexander held a Council at Alexandria; Arians were excommunicated and left behind it. It has not satisfied the depositum Arioi, included in the Benedictine Edition of Athanasius, and claimed as his by Newman. It is translated in the Nicene and post Nicene Fathers, 1st ed. London. 3. Two years later, Constantine defeated Licinius (A.D. 323) and became sole master of the Roman world. Affairs in Alexandria had become very serious, and indeed the whole Eastern Church was in the utmost confusion. The question of the keeping of Easter distracted the Christians as a matter of practice as seriously as Arianism was doing as one of doctrine. Accordingly the Emperor sent his episcopal adviser Hosius, bishop of Cordova in Spain, to Alexandria with a very remarkable letter to Alexander and Arians, begging them to lay aside their logomachies and co-operate with him in restoring peace to the distracted world. The letter is full of wisdom, as Socrates describes it, could not allay so embittered a strife, and Constantine decided to submit all matters in dispute to a Council of the whole Church, to assemble in the year A.D. 325 at Nicea, on Lake Asean, in the nomia of Asia Minor. The first act of the Council as regards Arians was with practical unanimity to pronounce his doctrine heretical. That the Son had been begotten out of nothing is the doctrine of the Church, and that He was of another essence than the Father, that, even before time was, the Father was without the Logos, were on all sides regarded as blasphemous assertions. It was not till the question arose as to how the error should be refuted that there

way for Arianism by his doctrine of God: 'Stripping from its concrete existence all spiritual attributes save that of being, it in the next place the three dimensions of space, we arrive at the conception of a point having position.' There is yet further step, says Harnack, for it is perfectly certain that something has been gained. Reject the idea of position, and we have reached the last attainable adolescence, the mystery of the Three of the observa, is essentially a heathen conception, and can be de-
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was any serious difference of opinion. The Fathers had met to affirm the ancient faith of the Church against novelty; but when they wished to express what they meant in words, they found that nothing had been hitherto acceomed to be capable of escaping the evasions of such masterminds as the Arians in the art of making Scripture phrases assume a meaning contrary to the teaching of Scripture. In consequence of this, the Council, probably at the suggestion of Hosius, was induced to adopt the expression ἐν τῇ οὐλαὶ τοῦ Εἱρήνου and the word ἀνεφες, neither of which is to be found in the Bible.

ἀνεφες (ἕν substans) was a word which presented no difficulty to the Latins who followed the teaching of Tertullian, e.g., Prætextus, and Novatian, de Triadite. Dionysius of Alexandria in his correspondence with his namesake of Alexandria had protested against any undue separation (μεταφορὰ ἐν αὐτῶν) insisting on τὸ ἐν σώμας. Tertullian had also, in his de Anima (c. 22), carefully distinguished substantia (ὁνία) from nature. The Latins and the anti-Origenists at the Council desired to press the unity rather than the equality of the Son with the Father; and to them the word was eminently acceptable. But the majority of the Greek-speaking bishops had a strong objection to both expressions, and so the following ground was given:

(1) They had no Scripture warrant. (2) The Council against Paul of Samosata (A.D. 366) had condemned the use of ἀνεφες.

(3) The word was foreign to the Christian language and might countenance Sabellianism. (4) The words might either imply an ἐνεφες prior to the Father and the Son, or be used in a material sense, which was equally to be avoided (Bathune-Baker, Christian Doctrine, p. 171 f.).

On this the Council nearly split; and Eusebius of Cesarea, the trusted adviser of the Emperor, and by far the most learned man of his age, was especially mistrustful. Ultimately, however, Eusebius and the Origenist party accepted a creed containing both the expressions in dispute, and Arianism was explicitly condemned.

Eusebius first offered the Council the baptismal creed of his own as a little amplified version of the Lord Jesus Christ was declared to be the ὄχος and God from God (θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ), and also from all of them created (ἐν πάντες ἐκπέφανος τοῖς εἰρήνους, Col 19) and only-begotten Son (ὁ ἵνα ἀνεφες). Constantinople, himself, promptly no doubt by Hosius, suggested the ἀνεφες. The creed differs from our Nicene Creed in its definition of the he founder of the Son in several important points (see Hort, The Dissertation, p. 61; Bathune-Baker, Chr. Doc. p. 156). After a hard pressed of belief in the Holy Spirit, the creed concluded with anathemas of all the distinctive teachings of Arianism, (1) that there was a time when the Son was not, (2) that He was not before the Father, (3) that He came into being out of nothing, (4) that He is of a different essence (ὑποστάσεις) or being (ὁνία) from the Father, and (5) that He is not the result of creation or change of alteration. It is generally agreed that the Nicene creed and ἀνεφες, which afterwards were carefully distinguished, were really synonymous.

4. Into the intrigues which culminated with the banishment of Athanasius, who became bishop of Alexandria on 6th June, 328, it is needless to enter, it being but for the furthering of the cause which prevented the Creed of Nicea from being the immediate conclusion of the controversy. Few of the bishops, whilst abhorring the heresy of Arius, understood the exact merits of the question. They feared the error of Sabellius, and to this the Homoeousiom seemed to have committed them. Moreover, with the natural conservatism of men pledged to hold fast to the faith once delivered to the Church, the Emperor was less enthusiastic in its favour, and showed so much readiness to welcome back its opponents that he received Eunices of Nicomedia not long after the Council; and this sudden decision of the heresias. Arianus, who at his command, have been reconciled to the Church.

How now the phrases introduced into the Creed were formally to limit the relations of the Son within the Trinitarian scheme of things, was a matter of serious doubt to all the bishops. The Pope, himself, was not divided the heresiarchs. Arianus would, at his command, have been reconciled to the Church.

5. On the death of Constantine (A.D. 337), his Eastern dominions passed to his son Constantius, who encouraged his bishops to draw up a creed to supersede that of Nicea, to which all the Asiatic and Syrian Churches saw fit to oppose. The result of their labours is apparent in the five creeds of Antioch, which exhibit the tendencies of the different factions, whose only point of union seems to have been antagonism to Athanasius and the Nicene formula of faith. Constantius had introduced by Athanasius’ honouring of the terms of the Bible. The orthodox opponents of the language of the Church of Rome. Professor Gwthian terms ‘the Conservatives’—men like Eusebius of Cesarea, whom dreaded of Sabellianism and hatred of innovation drove into opposition to Athanasius—were the only those who were at heart Arians to force an Arianianism creed upon the unwilling Church. The weak and unstable Constantius was always in the hands of those whom he believed capable of pacifying the Church by a new creed. He was in reality aiming at a comprehensive State-religion acceptable to all parties, and thought that a sort of modified Arianism would supply this want in the provinces over which he at this time bore rule.

In A.D. 341 Constantius, in A.D. 341 the formal reaction against the Nicene doctrine began with the famous council assembled for the dedication of the Golden Church at Antioch.

Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra went to Rome to lay their cause before Julius, to whom the bishops assembled at Antioch wrote under Julius, Dec. iii. 339. The Pope and Professor Gwthian terms ‘the Conservatives’ as ‘the most important faction of the entire controversy’ (Athanasius, Apol. contra Ar. prov. c. 52; H. E. ii. 17; Soc. ii. 119, 25). In all probability, Dianius, bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, presided at this synod, and there were also present Eusebius of Nicomedia, now bishop of Constantinople, who gave the name by which the opponents of Athanasius were at this time known, and Acacius, the successor of Eusebius Pamphilus in the see of Cesarea.

The oppositions of Athanasian were called ci νεῖν ἔνεφες, or the Eusebians, as the words have been somewhat inexact rendered. The term is used in two senses: (1) literally denoting the personal name of Eusebii, i.e., the court party, cryptic-Arians all of them; (2) more generally the majority of the Eusebian controversy was discussed with the term atonic. These latter ultimately became the Semi-Arian party.

Four creeds were put forward by this Council—twice the Synod of Antioch, to which the name of Lucian the martyr was attached. In this the Persons of the Trinity were said to be one by reason of a harmony existing between them—καὶ μὴ ὑποστάσεις τριών, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ εἰς τὸν ἐν ύποστάσεις τριών, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ κ. ι. The honour in which the Council of Antioch was held in after-days—Clarke’s Poetical Register of Eusebius and the canons appointed by the popes themselves (see Hilde, Concilium, v. 147, 560) his aforesaid that the bishops there are heretical. Yet they undoubtedly, by their endeavours to find some more moderate formula than that of Alexandria, a substitute. They were brought into the hands of the Ariani. The four creeds of Antioch were: (1) the first creed, which begins with a repetition of
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Arius: "We have never become followers of Arius, for how shall we believe that which Arius himself believed, and at the same time look with horror upon the confession which Arius himself had made before his restoration was ordered by Constantine. (2) The second creed, which became the basis for the creed of the Universal Council of Ephesus, was drawn up by Hosius and Protagenes of Sarice, which, though it did not emanate from the mouth of Arius himself, was pressed to the teaching of the West. It is found in Theodore, II, 8, and a Latin translation has been discovered. It declares there is but one substance in the Trinity (Lat. substantiatum); the Father is the first, the Son the second, and the Holy Spirit, the third. It is notable how the Westerns refused to condemn Marcellus (Harnack, op. cit. iv. 60). Athanasius, when he was asked his views on the orthodoxy of Marcellus by St. Stephen, Sophasius, wrote to him, showing that he had an equally poor opinion of his friend as a theologian and of his impiety as an anti-Christian (Epist. 142). The tendencies of the West inclined to Sabellianism, and those of the East to Arianism, and before orthodoxy could be satisfied each had to be checked. The result was that in the debate between Athanasius and the two Western delegates Vincentius of Capua and Erasmius of Cologne is related by Athanasius (Hist. Arian. c. 20).

7. During the next ten years (A.D. 346-355) the two parties were outwardly at peace, but yet busily arming for the conflict. At Alexandria, Athanasius, who had been welcomed back with surprising enthusiasm, maintained his influence undiminished, and set a seal upon the loyalty of his church to the Creed of Nicaea. The monastic movement was in all the vigour of its first enthusiasm, and the ascetics, recognizing the earnestness of the bishop, became his firmest supporters. At Antioch, Leontius, whose early indiscretion was similar to that of Origen (Hist. Arian. 28), though an Arian at heart, had managed to gain the cautious policy. This wise old prelate, however, knew well that the tranquillity his discretion had secured was only temporary, and in allusion to his death he would pathetically touch his grey hairs and say: "When this snow melts, there will be much mud." At Rome, Photinus of Sirmium, whose indiscretion outran even that of Marcellus, had been sacrificed for his Sabellian teaching; but the death of the wise and pious pope Julius in A.D. 332 was a serious loss to the cause of orthodoxy. His successor Liberus lacked both his firmness and his wisdom. Political events were also precipitating the crisis. Athanasius' faithful friend, the Emperor Constans, was killed by the usurper Macsenius. Before the end of A.D. 350, when he was at or near Sardica on Dec. 29, to the close of A.D. 359, Constans spent his time in his Western dominions, being most frequently to be found at Sirmium or Milan (Gwatkin, Studies of Arianism, App. ii. "Movements of the Eastern Emperors"). Sirmium, not Antioch, was destined henceforward to be the scene of the conflict-making.

8. Many of the original disputants in the controversy had already passed away, and a new generation had arisen. Parties were becoming more and more defined. As their system was developed, stern logic forced the Arians to become more Arian than their founders. Some of the old conservatives were drifting towards Arianism, whilst others shrank back in dismay at its encroachments. The general tendency favoured the obliteration of the old party landmarks and the rise of new factions. The place of Eusebius of Nicomedia as Imperial adviser had been taken by Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia, the province bordering on Illyricum, to which Arius had been exiled after the Council of Nicaea. Valens, with his friend Ursacius, maintained an honourable position as most uncomprising Arian, and his policy was not, like the old Eusebians, to fight Athanasius by means of conservative prejudice, but to force an Arian creed on the Church in place of that of Nicaea (Robertson, Athanasius, p. liv). Valens had won great influence over Constantius, who believed that the bishop had received from an angel the news of the victory of Mursa (A.D. 351), and from this time an open attack was conducted against Athanasius, which culminated in the coup d'etat at Alexandria, when the bishop was expelled by military violence (A.D. 356). Valens' ablest assistants in the East were Acacius,
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and Ariminum, the Arians and Homoeans had the folly to attempt to crush these Semi-Arians at the Synod of Constantinople (A.D. 380), and thereby caused the final triumph of the Nicene Christology.

The Semi-Arians and the Cappadocian Fathers are subjects of separate treatment in this work; and it is unnecessary to do more here than allude to the important dispute as to the final settlement of the Arian controversy. The question at issue is whether the Homoeans was ultimately accepted in the sense of Homoean Christology. This Dr. Harnack maintains that it had been the case. His contention is very ably disputed by Mr. Bute-Henry-Baker in his Cambridge Texts and Studies (The meaning of Homoeoian). Attention should be paid to Professor Gwatkin's most instructive survey of the importance of Asa Minor to the Eastern Empire, which as long as that was unsubdued, remained upon the whole the strongest power on earth' (Studies of Arminianism, p. 9). With true historiographical insight Gwatkin points out that in the Arian controversy Asia really played the part of the deciding factor. Disturbing the Homoeans because it was an innovation, the steady conservatism of Asia accepted it when it was proved to be the only means of averting worse evils. "Ent. the later Homoean orthodoxy, he adds, rested on a conservative rather than a Nicene basis." One of the chief representatives of semi-Arianism is Cyril of Alexandria, who sought to reconcile the Nicene faith, as though the Council of Ariminum had never assembled. Just before the Emperor's death, Meletius was, at the instigation of Acacius, elected bishop of Alexandria, and his death by his installation showed the strength of popular feeling against Homoean Arianism. Constantius demanded that the new bishop should preach on the text τον θεον ἐν αὐτῷ ὄνομα με, 'The Lord created me,' i.e. the Son; and so Propoi. LX., and on this the Arians based their doctrine that the Son was a copy of the Father. To the delight of the people, always at this time more orthodox than the bishops, Meletius declared that the word tean was a mistranslation of the Hebrew 'hebrew,' possessed,' and gave a decidedly Nicene interpretation to the text (the sermon is preserved by Epiph. Hist. 73. 29-33). "This bold confession," says Professor Gwatkin, "proved to be the first effective blow at the Homoean party." But perhaps the most crucial point was the return of Athanasius to Alexandria under Julian, who held a small but very important Council at Alexandria, the great weight of which was to contribute to the partial understanding due to the employment of such words as οὐδεὶς and ἀδιακόπτως. It was agreed that there might be a fundamental agreement between those who employed these terms in different senses, but that the language of the Nicene Council was the safest which could be made use of. This paved the way for a reconciliation between the conservatives, with their dread of Sabellianism, and the Athanasian and Eastern Christian view of the importance of the Unity of the Divine essence. As Bethune-Baker says, 'By the 4th cent. it was becoming clear that the only solution of the problem was to be found in a distinction inside the essence—imunity —which was necessary for the idea of divine personality and to acknowledge not three individuals but three eternal aspects of the Divine' (Chur. Doct. p. 157 n.). This was done when the distinct meaning in question was agreed upon, and the ambiguity of the Latin and Greek terminological work removed.

In the early days of the controversy the terms οὐδεὶς and ἀδιακόπτως were used to express the two opposing points of view and great misunderstanding, because, whilst one party acknowledged only one individual, the other distinguishing between ὁ Θεός and ὁ Λόγος, and explaining the mystery of the Trinity as μία θεός ἀπίστως ἀπειροτάτως, the ambiguity was removed. This was the work

The succession of Eusebius Pamphilus in the see of Cæsarea, and Eutocius, bishop of Antioch and Constantinople successively. In A.D. 357 there appeared from Sirmium a pamphlet called "Hily of Poiitiers, the blasphemy of Sirmium." Other formulæ of belief were promulgated from the same place, notably the 'dated credal,' in which the consuls of the year are mentioned, as a sign of which, Apollinaris is not slow to take advantage in his de Synodo. The Arians, supported by the Emperor, did not hesitate to push their claims; and finally, at the great assemblies of Westerners at Ariminum and Orientalists at Seleucia, an Arian creed was accepted as the official doctrine of the Empire. Thus in A.D. 359 it seemed as though the Nicene profession of faith was repealed and Ariamism was triumphant.

The credal of Sirmium are as follows. The 1st was drawn up against Photinus in A.D. 347. The 2nd (A.D. 351)—but commonly known as the 1st—is identical with the fourth creed of Antioch (zis episkopos προσώπου). The 3rd (A.D. 357), called the "blasphemy," (a) distinctly denies the true Divinity of the Son; (b) forbids the use of the terms Χριστός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Φωτις, etc. an un-Scriptural, maintaining that it is impossible to declare the Name of God in the same sense and generation of the Father. (c) opposed to the teaching of the creed proposed, but not accepted at Sardica (see above), makes the benefits of the Son as contra-diction of that of the Father (see also Bethune-Baker, Intro. p. 181 n.). This extreme teaching started at Antioch, passed to Seleucia, and under the pressure of bishops of Antioch a synod was held at that place in A.D. 358. At this synod the extreme Arians, Eutocius, Aetius, and others, were uncommunicated with anathema condemning all who will not acknowledge the complete likeness (οὐδεὶς ἀγαθόν) of the Son to the Father, as well as the terms Χριστός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Φωτις, etc., as opposed to the Scriptures. The result of the stand made by Basil and his friends was an attempt to compromise, i.e. to allow that the Son was like the Father. The 4th, or "dated creed" (A.D. 359), composed by Marz, bishop of Arethusas, declared the Son to be ὁ Θεός ὁ Φωτις in ὑπερστρώματι νυκτόν παύεται with the addenda to the Scriptures, which allowed the Arians to put their own sense on the words. It was this Homoean Arianism which was accepted under imperial pressure at Ariminum Seleucia.

9. Already, however, a reaction had begun. In the first place, the Arianizers were divided among themselves. Logical and consistent Arians, like Aetius and his disciple Eunomius of Cyzicus, were prepared to push the teaching of Arius to its ultimate conclusion. If the Son was not God in the same sense as the Father, He could not be like Him, for they argued, God's identity is unique. Their argument, different as was the inference drawn from it, was the same as that used by Athanasius himself. 'Like is not predicated of essence, but of habits and characteristics. In the case of essences we speak of likeness, not of likeness, but of identity' (de Synodo, 53). From their denial of the likeness of the Son to the Father this class of Arians were called Homoioaios. But the majority of Arians were men of compromise and evasion, having no other idea than to insinuate their opinions under the guise of apparently innocuous phraseology. These, led by the dexterous Acacius of Cæsarea, allowed that the Son might be acknowledged to be like the Father, and were consequently called Homoioi. Lastly, there was the party headed by Basil of Ancyra, the successors of those conservatives who had opposed Athanasius. These men, who constituted the strength of the episcopate of Asa Minor, were as hostile to Arimanism as Athanasius himself, and were ready to accept the term οὐδεὶς in their definition of the Godhead. Fearing that Sabellianism underlay the use of φωτιστήρ, they rejected the Nicene term, which was to bring about the idea of the Lord was like in substance (φωτιστήριον) to the Father. This formidable combination was known as the party of the Semi-Arians (q.v.). At heart most of them were orthodox as a fact of their own faith and the history of their faith, and the idea of the Nicene faith, Athanasius and Hilary, bishop of Poitiers (who had been exiled by Constantius to Asia Minor), had the wisdom to perceive. After their triumph at Seleucia
of the Cappadocian Fathers, but it really began with the Council of Alexandria. In Latin legal language, *substantia* means property, and *persona* a being with legal rights, a 'party' in any suit; and a *substantia* and a *persona* might belong to more than one *persona*. Tertullian uses *substantia* in the sense of essence, or 'substance', of which Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are but one, he seems to hesitate to use *persona* if he can avoid it. He takes the words from the apologetic writers of the time, but the ground he actually treads is already covered by the unfortunate schism at Antioch, was directed to a real reconciliation of those who were at heart anxious to be loyal to the Council of Chalcedon.

For the question as to which creed was accepted by the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381 see *Gwatkin, The Arian Disputation: A Contribution to the Creed;* and, above all, Hort, *Two Dissertations.*

12. Arianism may be defined as an attempt to determine the relations of the Persons of the Trinity on a basis of *monothelitism*. Despite all the efforts of Arians to popularize his opinions, they never found favour with the people. The movement was clerical rather than lay; the difficulties it sought to overcome were those of Origenean theologians perplexed by philosophical doubts and seeking an explanation where none was possible. Nor did Arianism pure and simple ever fail to arouse a strong feeling of indignation; the creed of Arius at Nicaea, the Sirian 'blasphemy,' the opinions of Arius and Eunomius, all caused a storm. It was only by insinuating itself in the plausible guise of Scriptural phraseology that Arianism ever obtained a hearing.

Nor could it be otherwise. Perhaps the chief difficulty created Logos unable to reveal an unknown God, could never be the Christ acknowledged by Christians as the Incarnate Word, the sole Mediator between God and man, the supreme Sacrifice for the sins of the world. They who adhered at heart to the Nicene doctrine, however they might object to the language in which it was expressed. The great merit of Athanasius was his ability to recognize this truth; and he and Hilary were ready to make any concessions to those who shared the spirit, though they might not adopt the phraseology, of Nicæa. The test word *Homoousios* hardly appears in the works of Athanasius.

Arianism does not seem to have sprung from any strong ethical impulse. Its philosophy was pagan, and the object of its leaders was political rather than religious. 'Arianism revealed in such a way as to render it acceptable to men whose whole conception of God and of life was heathen' (Bethune-Baker, *op. cit. p. 156*). His heresy was, in short, a symptom of the disease of the Church in the 4th cent. induced by the desire of ingratiating itself with the civil power. What the Roman government required was that the Christian Church enter into alliance with it and was that the Faith should cause as little disturbance as possible to the existing order of society. Arianism promised to provide this, in his creed offering an easy and almost imperceptible transition from paganism to Christianity. By the edict of Milan, Christianity, the religion of the minority, had been virtually accepted by the Roman government, which thereby had itself committed to the policy of making it the religion of the majority. Arianism, by surrendering the chief characteristic of Christology, the proper Divinity of Christ, made the new faith less hard to accept; and this reason the Emperors, though from time to time encouraging the Nicene theology, were not disposed to accept the Nicene faith in its entirety; and under the name of Macedonians many refused to acknowledge the proper Divinity of the Holy Spirit (Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, p. 65). The work of Bishop, of Cyril of Alexandria, by the unfortunate schism at Antioch, was directed to a real reconciliation of those who were at heart anxious to be loyal to the Council of Chalcedon.

The Semi-Arians, in the time of Constantine, the emperor of the East, a favourite of the Emperor, was a notable writer, his name being the same as his father's. The Council of Alexandria declared it a matter of faith that the Father and the Son were forever different in person. Attilas, who reigned in Italy, was the first to use the title of *César* in the West. It is possible that the name *Cesarea* was given to the town in his honour. But the text *Homoousios* hardly appears in the works of Athanasius.

It is not possible to give a complete list of the names of the Semi-Arians. The most notable was Arius, bishop of Alexandria, who lived from 296 to 367. He was a man of great learning, and wrote many works on theology. He was a member of the Council of Nicaea, and was appointed bishop of Alexandria by the emperor Constantine. Arius was a supporter of *monothelitism*, and he wrote a number of works in defence of this doctrine. He was eventually condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 381, and was exiled from Alexandria. Arius was a man of great influence, and his works were widely read. He was a pioneer in the development of Christian doctrine, and his ideas were influential in the development of the Christian Church. Arius did not accept the Nicene faith in its entirety, and he was eventually condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 381.
with the policy of Constantius, namely, the union of all parties in the Church on the basis of sub-
servience to the State (Athen. 15.79, B.1.9.10). The
moves made, led to the rapid secularization of the
Church which characterized the 4th cent. were
almost uniformly opposed to Ariian teaching.

13. None the less, the Arius controversy was not
wholly due to the influence of those two bishops
but was the inevitable outcome of the tendencies of the age. A Sabellian
Christology would have been as fatal to Christianity
as that of Arius, since it would have robbed
the Incarnation of its reality, making it little
more than the result of the revelation of God
and depriving the Church of an ever-present Divine Master
Eusebians of Cesarea was only reasonable when he
demanded at Nicæa that the creed should not be
perverted to encourage this error; and the views
proposed by Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus
served to justify his action and that of the con-
servative and Origenist bishops of the East. It
was indeed till the Creed secured the adherence of
African Origenists like the Cappadocians, Basilius,
Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus,
that it was really accepted. The episcopate of Basil,
the eloquence of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the
philosophy of Gregory of Nyssa were alike instru-
mental in counteracting the dogmatics of Eusebius
in order to accept the Homoousion as the one and only safe-
guard of the Divinity of the Son against the specious
teaching of the Arians.

14. The Christian controversy virtually ended
with the Council of Constantinople in A.D.
381, it was fruitful in new disputes destined to dis-
tract and divide Christendom. As early as the
time of his banishment to Phrygia (A.D. 356), Hilary
of Poitiers was able to foretell the approach of
a heresy concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit
(de Trin. lib. ii. and viii.; Swete, Hist. of the Doct.
of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, p. 112). In
555 the rise of the Tropici caused St. Athanasius to
enter, in the Letters to Serapion, upon the subject
of the Divinity and Procession of the Spirit (Swete,
op. cit. p. 91; see also pp. 47-49). The subject
was also considered at the Council of Alexandria (A.D.
362); and about the same time Macedonius, the
Syrus orthodox bishop of Antioch, expressed by
the Homonoia Synod in A.D. 360, was elaborating
the theory (which was afterwards known by his
name) that the Son was like, and the Holy Spirit un-
lke the Father; though the controversy about this
question never roused the world like those
on the Divinity of the Son, the consequences were
even more serious, the question of the Procession
of the Holy Ghost being the pretext of the schism
between Eastern and Western Christendom. Even
more fruitful in divisions was the problem raised
by Apollinaris of Laodicea, one of the chief op-
opponents of Arianism, concerning the relations of
the Manhood to the Godhead of Christ. See
APOLLINARISM.

The principle for which Athanasius contended so
nobly, and which he asserted in early youth before
the appearance of Ariusism, was the union between
God and man brought about by the Incarnation
(de Incarnatione). But the zeal with which the
Divinity of the Son was asserted tended, as Har-
nack truly says, to obscure the historical Jesus
(op. cit. iv.); and theology occupied itself with the
dogmatic aspect of the Divinity of the Son rather than with
the practical example of the human Christ.

15. It is a remarkable fact that one of the results
of the great dogmatic controversies in the early
Church was the decided protest of the spurious zeal in missionary effort; and, without
sparing condemnation of the self-seeking and un-
scrupulous spirit of the political Arians, we have
also to remember that some later Arians, like the
heresiarch himself, were ready to condescend to
instruct the simple. Possibly Arius believed that
by re-stating the theology of the Church in terms
suited to his age (I.1.4.5), in order to render the faith acceptable to the hearers, Arius
and his followers found ready converts among the Teu-
tonics invaders of the empire. The exiles of Arius to Illyricum resulted not only in the appearance of
some Arians who were to influence future bishops Ursacius and Valens, but also, if we are
to judge from results, in the conversion of the
neighbouring Goths, and through them of the Teutonic races, to Christianity of an Arian type.
For long years the question of their god, and the
Arian and the Teutonic invaders of his territory was that of
religion rather than that of race. It is our mis-
fortune that we have little or no information on this
concerning the apostles of the Goths, Vandals, Lombards,
and Burgundians. The fact that Cyril, the Vandal
bishop or pope of Carthage, knew Latin very
imperfectly (Victor Vitensis, lib. ii.), and the appear-
ance of his book De Civitate Dei, in which the
question of the right of the Bishop to accept the
Homoousion is perhaps expressed in the blunt refusal of the
Burgundian Gundobald to worship three Gods
(Avitus, Ep. xii.). But there seems little doubt that the transforming effects of the Christian
upon which the barbarians adopted were genuine. Both
Salvian and Orosius praise the virtues of the Arian
conquerors of Roman territory, and Augustine (de
Civitate Dei, i.) relates how moderately the Vis-
igothic Arians were received by the new rulers, that
of the inhabitants of the city, and what respect
they showed for the sanctity of the Christian
Churches. The long reign, moreover, of the Ari
Theodoric in Italy, and his impartial government,
extort, among Arian monks, "the praise of the most
zealous Catholic" (Latin Christianitatis, bk. iii. ch. iii.).

Ulfils is mentioned by Socrates (li. 41, iv. 33), Sozomen
(vi. 35), Theodoret (v. 30), Philostorgius (Ulfils de
Jordanes (Ch. 53), but the most important document is the
fragment of his pupil Auxentius, Arian bishop of Dorostorus
now Sertif, complete, and fuller, in the Vi-chen
Lahre des Ulfils), 1410). Auxentius made remarks in the margin
of a copy of the Acts of the Council of Aquileia (A.D. 381), at
which the Goths were led by St. Athanasius and the
Arians under Palladius and Germanus. In the course of his
criticisms of the Church, at this time, a passage caus-
ing him to be denounced by the Arians is quoted by
Ulfils, who brought him up both physically and spiritually as
his son in the faith. The facts of the life of Ulfils seem to be
that he was the son of noble Gothic parents, who from
his time, and onward, was a convert to Christianity.
According to the story, he was a Chris-
tian from childhood, a pupil of Theophilius, the Gothic bishop
present at Nicæa. He was ordained a reader, and about A.D.
460 he was sent on an embassy to Constantinople. In the
following year he was made a bishop at the Council of the
Dedication by Eusebius of Nicomedia. He laboured among his
people in Dacia, but owing to a persecution he led the Christian
Goths into Mesia, at the foot of Mount Hamus, where they
were allowed by the Emperor Constantine to settle. These
Gothi minores are described by Jordanes. Both Philostorgius
and Auxentius compare Ulfils to Moses; and if a more
instance is permissible, we may recall the work of John Eilot,
the Puritan of Jesus College, Cambridge, among the Algonquin
Indians in the 17th century. Like Ulfils, Eilot gave it
converts the Bible in their vernacular. Ulfils on his deathbed declared his belief, which is given by
convents, who have incidentally, that it is a definitely
Christian fashion on it. In this creed the Divinity
of the Holy Spirit is expressly denied. Harnack (op. cit. vol. iv.
44, p. 44, Eng. tr.) says it is the only Arian creed that is worth
consideration. It is found in Hahn, § 185. Theodoret says that Ulfils
was persuaded by Eudoxius that the controversy was unimportant
but from the statement of Auxentius it seems to have been a
convinced homoian Arian (see C. A. Scott, Ulfils, 1855).

16. In the Western provinces of the Empire during
the 5th and 6th centuries, between that of the
religion of the conquerors, and orthodoxy of the
conquered. Nor did the Catholic faith triumph by
force or worldly power so much as by persuasion,
since at one time there was not a single orthodox
ruler in the Empire or among the barbarians. It
was then that the belief of Rome, and the Churches in communion with her, won its most signal triumph in the conversion of Clovis and the Salian Franks (A.D. 496). The strength of the organization of the Church of the fall of the Roman Empire is more than an adequate contrast to the weakness of the less disciplined national churches of its Arian invaders. As Dr. Hodgkin remarks, 'The Arian bishops took their fall of court favour and influence while it lasted, and they helped their own fall by their failure. They stood apart from one another in stupid and ignorant isolation. Untouched apparently by the great Augustinian thought of the world—encompassing city of God, they tended more and more to form local tribal churches, one for the Visigoths, another for the Vandals, another for the Burgundians. And thus in the end the fable of the loosened figgot and the broken sticks proved true of all the Arian monstrosities' (Hist. Byz. and Her. Invaders, vol. iii. p. 345; see also Gwatkin, op. cit. p. 272).

The events which followed the conversion of Clovis showed the immense political power of the Catholic-Church in the West. The important Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse, which fell before the pressure of Clovis, had taken the name of its power under Euric (A.D. 486-488), fell before the Frankish armies at the decisive battle of Vouillé (A.D. 507). The war of Euric against Clovis, the defence of which Euric and the bishop Sidonius Apollinaris played so valiant a part, was one of Arian against Catholic; and the triumph of the former was followed by a persecution. (For a discussion of these measures see vol. iii. and DCH, art. Euric.) Dr. Hodgkin (Hist. Byz. and Her. Invaders, vol. iii. p. 347). In the case of the Burgundian Gundahard, the Catholic spokesman Avitus, bishop of Vienne, held out, as an inducement to him to embrace orthodoxy, that he would be protected against Clovis (Avius, Bp. v. 17, quoted by Hodgkin, Italy and Her. Invaders, vol. iii. p. 347). The fall of the Visigothic kingdom in Italy is an even stronger proof of the political strength of orthodoxy. The admirable rule of Theodecl, his fairness and toleration, were of no avail to save his dynasty; directly an orthodox Emperor was on the throne at Constantinople, the Church intrigues against him. 'Tothas,' as Professor Gwatkin, 'was a model of barbarian justice; yet even Tothas, the son of Clovis, was too weak a successor to stay the progress of the orthodox oppressor' (op. cit. p. 372).

Mr. C. A. Scott, in his useful monograph on Ulfilas, says the secret of the broad distinction between the Arian and the Niceno-Roman, is to be found in the influence of a creed which relegated the Son to a lower position than the Father, by reminding us that, whereas in the case of the Arianizing clergy in the days of Constantius, there was a fall from a higher to a lower conception of Christianity, the Arianizing clergy, the Arians, were making a distinct advance in substituting an Arian Christianity for heathenism (Ulfilas, ch. vii.).

In the same chapter (p. 172 fl.) Mr. Scott gives some useful hints about the few traces of Arian Church organization among the Teutonic—the subject on which we are almost entirely in the dark.

17. It may be that the northern invaders found in Arianism an easy transition from polytheism to Christianity (Hodgkin, op. cit. p. 88); and their firm adherence to the doctrines of Arius and the Son being of the same substance as the Father, led to the assertion that the victory of Clovis over the Visigoths was an evidence of the inferiority of the Arian theology of the barbarians to the Nicene doctrine accepted by the Franks (op. cit. p. 273)—a view which the present writer himself formerly held (Cambridge Theological Essays, p. 500)—we are convinced that the Arianism of the Visigoths, Lombards, Vandals, and Burgundians is more than a phase in the ecclesiastical struggle between the Teutonic and the Roman conception of Christianity. The barbarians desired to have their own national Church, and when they found a form of Christianity which kept them separate from the despised provincial and independent of the clergy of the Empire, they held to it with the proud firmness of a conquering race. Their natural reverence for Roman civilization made them as a rule nobly tolerant of the religion it sanctioned; and when they are said to have been persecutors, the motive must have been mainly political. Euric's 'persecution' in Toulouse has been compared with the Kulturkampf in Germany, and it bears an even stronger resemblance to the more bitter struggle between Church and State in France, where the reason given for depressing the former is the determination not to submit to any external interference with the internal organization of the Church.

The inherent weakness of the barbarian occupants of the Roman territory was their incapacity for organization, whilst the strength of the Romans in both their civil and their ecclesiastical polity lay in the system of centralization. The Arian churches were as little able to maintain themselves as the short-lived Teutonic kingdoms, and their clergy had ultimately surrendered to direct pressure of the better disciplined church of the Roman provincials. The destruction of Arianism as a rival system is one of the most important factors in the genesis of modern European civilization; for, had the barbarian conquerors preserved some form of Christian faith apart from another, no progress would have been possible. Oppressive as the unregulated feudalism of the dark ages was, it would have been intolerable if the conquerors had not had the claim of a common Christianity to encourage consideration for their vanquished subjects.

The chief authorities for the history of Arianism among the Teutons, besides those already cited, are St. Gregory of Tours (especially vi. 45, the story of the interview between Gregory and Opila, the Spanish ambassador to Chalperic. When examined by him to his creed, Opila, the Credo, 'proclaim the provinces against the orthodox oppressor' (op. cit. p. 372).

18. Every barbarian kingdom ultimately abandoned Arianism, or else, as in the case of the Ostrogoths in Italy and the Vandals in Africa, Arianism proved one of the causes of national ruin. The principal Arian nations were the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Lombards; and each in turn, after a severe struggle, abandoned the form of Christianity in which they had been instructed for the Niceno-Roman faith. As the chief reasons for their conversion were political, the reader is referred to the history of the period; all that is possible in this article is to give the main features of the struggle with the orthodox prelates, in which each of the three nations mentioned eventually succeeded. It is quite clear that the Burgundians do not seem to have been originally Arians; indeed, if we are to believe Socrates, who wrote in the reign of Theodosius ii. (c. A.D. 439), they were originally Catholic, like the Ostrogoths and theancients; and 'Orosius,' it would seem that the Burgundians were never entirely Arian, though the majority of the nation at the time of Clovis were
of that persuasion. It is an open question whether Gundobald, the contemporary of Clovis, was Arian or orthodox (Greg. Tours, Hist. Franc. ii. 34; ii. prologue; Avitus, Ep.). His son, the unfortunate Sigismund, was certainly orthodox, whilst the next king Godomar (also a son of Gundobald) was an Arian. In A.D. 523, when the Franks subdued but subduing Gundobald, Arianism seems to have continued to drag out an obscure existence till the end of the century (Revioulit, op. cit. p. 218).

19. After their defeat by Clovis, the Visigoths were driven out of Spain, except Septimania, the coast from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, being otherwise confined to the Spanish peninsula. In their dominions as elsewhere the Roman provincials remained orthodox, and in the sense there to the influence of Constantinople was still considerable. Spain, however, was the great stronghold of Arianism, which made a long and obstinate struggle before it gave way to the orthodox belief of the Empire. In A.D. 566 the able Leovigild became king of the Visigoths; and, after a series of successful campaigns, reduced his people to almost complete submission to his authority. His son Hermengild was married to Ingundis, daughter of Clovis of Burgundy. The bride (she was only thirteen years of age) was expected to become an easy convert from Frankish orthodoxy to Visigothic Arianism. She proved, however, very firm in her faith, and absolutely refused to be baptised by the Arians, though her grandmother Goiswintha, the wife of Leovigild, treated her with great brutality. To prevent further trouble in his family, Leovigild made his son king, and gave him a separate establishment at Seville. There it is said, by the influence of his uncle, the famous bishop Leander, and that of his wife, Hermengild became a Catholic. The young prince soon rebelled against his father, and with the assistance of the Catholic provincials and the Byzantines his party became very formidable. To conciliate his subjects, Leovigild visited the churches, and professed that his belief was Catholic save for his denial of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, for which he was able to find no Scriptural warrant. He also made a remarkable concession to the prejudices of his subjects, by allowing them to go from the Roman to the Arian Church, for the term Arians denominates their body (de Romana religione ad nostrum catholicam fidem), without any repetition of the baptismal rite, but merely by imposition of hands and saying the Gloria in the Arian form, Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto. The rebellion of Hermengild was suppressed, and Leovigild is said to have persecuted the orthodox faith with severity. The unfortunate Hermengild was put to death, and received, on somewhat doubtful authority, the honours of canonization at the hands of Pope Urban VIII. (1623-1644). Leovigild died in A.D. 586, and was succeeded by his son Recared. One of the first acts of Recared was to declare himself in favour of the Catholics, and, according to Gregory of Tours (ix. 15), he arranged a dispute in A.D. 587 between the adherents of the two creeds, after which he embraced the Nicene faith; but this Synod is passed over in all collections of Councils save Mansi's (Hefele, Concilia, sec. 286). Two years later, Recared held the famous third Council of Toledo, at which 67 bishops and only 5 nobles were present. The leading bishop, leader of the people, uncle to the king, and Massona of "Emerita. Twenty-three anathemas were pronounced against Arianism, the most interesting of which are the third, which declares the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son; and the seventh, which maintain that the Son is ignorant of anything; the ninth, against declaring that the Son in His Godhead was ever visible; the fourteenth, prescribing the omission of the Greek "Gnousis" in the Creed; and the sixteenth, condemning the 'abominable treatise which we composed' to seduce the provincials into the Arian heresy, i.e. at the Arian Synod at Toledo (581); and the eleventh, subduing but subduing Gundobald, together with the bishops including eight Arians, subscribed, contained the fateful addition of the Filioque. Arianism, however, was not suppressed by a violent force, but as many of the Gothic nobles held out for some years. For fuller particulars concerning this Council see Gans, Kirchengesch., vol. Synan, vol. ii. pt. i. secs. 6-16; also Dahn, Urgeschichte der persan. und roman. Folker, p. 525. The native chronicler is Johannes Hieranes (Migne, Patrol. Lat. vol. ixii.).

20. The Lombard conquerors of Italy were Arians during the first century, and, even in the days of St. Gregory the Great, Antharis, their king, forbade any of his Lombards to give their children Catholic baptism. But shortly before his death Autharis married the Bavarian princess Theodelinda, who had been brought up in the Catholic faith. So great an impression did her wisdom and beauty make on her people, that, when she became a widow, the dukes of the Lombards begged her to select her own husband and continue to reign with her. She chose Agilulf, and by her persuasions the new king was gradually reconciled to the Catholic faith. It was to Theodelinda that Gregory addressed that most interesting revelation of the credulity of his age, the Dialogues. Traces of Arianism remained among the Lombards down to the middle of the next century, and it is not at all certain by what means the whole nation was induced to abandon the heresy. The Roman pontiffs regarded them always with the greatest apprehension and abhorrence. For the correspondence between Gregory and Theodelinda see Hodgkin, Italy and Her Invaders (1890), vols. i., ii., and Homes Dudden, History the Great (1905).

21. During the Middle Ages there seems to have been little if any revival of Arian opinions properly so called, the tendency being perhaps in the direction of Sabellianism rather than otherwise, though the drift of a Christian thought was much more on the nature of the Church, and eventually on the position of the Virgin Mary in the hierarchy of heaven, than on Christ (Dorner, Doct. of the Person of Christ, Div. ii. vol. ii. p. 286). Subordinationism, on the contrary, says Dorner, "durst no longer raise its head in the form of naked Arianism within the system of the Church; it was, however, never extinguished, but it reappeared, although in a different form, among the sectarians who opposed the Roman Church; and the new sects which were of a very different kind, and which were opposed to the Roman Church on other grounds, were but one more among the many which have been raised up since the fall of Rome, by a spirit of intolerance that has only been destroyed by the progress of human society."

The whole subject of the transition from Arianism to Catholicism is one of great obscurity, and deserves careful investigation. Of the Church of Aescaarrus to the Arians, almost nothing is known. They survived, and, except Ullus' translation, there is no literature which has survived. The rebellion of Hermengild, and the important factors in the destruction of Arianism were the power of the Franks estab- lished on the side of orthodoxy, the weight of influence which the subject Roman provincial were able to throw on the side they favoured in any struggle between rival barbarians, and the part taken by the wives of the kings and chieftains in bringing their people over to the religion of the Romans. Teutonic Arianism was at best a semi-barbarous Christianity; and it is interesting to observe that a form of Christianity, which began with the highly educated bishops of the East as a speculative creed, ended in the West as the national religion of ignorant barbarian warriors. But the struggle between Catholicism and Arianism in Western Europe was no less critical and far more protracted than in the eastern provinces.
of the three ages of the world. But they touched Christology merely at a few points.

It was not till more freedom in theological speculation became possible and theology was subjected to criticism, that a rationalistic spirit, that anything resembling Ariusim made its appearance, and then in a shape different from the opinions of Arius and his adherents. After the Reforma- tion, the thoroughly born of the Logos, though the creative principle by which all things were made, was, according to his teaching, not really of God, but a demi-god called into being to create the world, and, in the Incarnate Christ, to save mankind. No such spirit of criticism was made to renew this heresy at the time of the Reformation.

Unitarianism started on the other hand, with the denial of the pre-existence of Christ, who was declared to be no more than man, though in the Virgin Mary and actually raised from the dead. The first Unitarians were Italians, and the majority took refuge in Poland, where the laxity of the laws and the independence of the nobility secured for them a toleration which would have been denied to their views in other countries. They were divided into two main parties: those who declared that worship ought to be paid to Christ, and those who held that to adore Christ was idolatry. The leader of the former party was Faustus Socinus (Soccius) and those who followed him are often termed Arians to distinguish them from genuine Unitarians like Blandrata and Francis Davidi.

These opinions, as the Logos be considered apart from Ariinism proper, which is the subject of the present article.

2. In Lassin's Memoria de Fausto Socioso. In his introduc- tion this author says that he adheres to Socius's opinions, and he distinguishes these from the followers of Socius, the Socinian Lectures, Lect. viii. In mention- ing Legate, the unfortunate heretic who, according to his Count, in the reign of James i., we observe that most Church history of this latter text. In the Bampton Lectures, x. iv. 9., Legate held that Christ had no existence before his conception by the Virgin. Milton has been charged with Arianism on account of his representation of the sending of the Son by the Father to pronounce sentence on Adam and Eve (Paradise Lost, x. 556). But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee, Viceregent son? To thee I have transferred All judgement . . .

22. In the 17th century there was a tendency towards Arian opinions, due partly to the arguments advanced by the learned Jesuit Petauus in justification of the claim of the Roman Church to preside over the affairs of both; for, though Sandius, a Unitarian, accuses Petavius of holding Arian opinions, Bull was charitable and

acute enough to see that the drift of his thesis, that the Anti-Nicene Fathers did not hold the doctrine of the God-Head, was really different, and that he had the cause of the Pontifex more than that of Arian in his mind (pontificis potius quam Arianus cause consultum voluisse, Def. Fidei Bott. Vic. Proem. §5,). Bull's famous treatise in defence of the Nicene appearance of the doctrine which was sought for ten years later he wrote his Judicium Ecclesiae Catholicae in answer to views similar to those of Petavius advanced by the Remonstrant Episcopius, and amiable and learned man, whose object was not so much to attack the Trinitarian position as to maintain its comparative insignificance as an essential of Christianity (frigidum nimis tante vitatam vindicem esse ostendit, Intro.; see also Nelson, Life of Bull, ch. iii.). The proceedings of Bishop Bull were not, as a rule, Englishmen, anti-Trinitarian opinions in Church as having as yet no prominent advocates, but rather, as Bp. Van Mildert styles them in his Life of Waterland (p. 37), 'importers of foreign novelties.' Perhaps the best English work advocating Ariusim in the 17th century was published by Dr. Bury, rector of Exeter College (Oxford, 1690). In the same year, Dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, published his Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost and Ever-blessed Trinity (London, 1701), in which, following some suggestions made by Cutdworth, he propounded the views which were denounced by South with his customary vehemence as countenancing Trinitism. Sherlock's opinions were condemned by the Vice-Chancellor and heads of halls of Oxford, who declared that it is 'false, impious, and heretical, contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and especially of the Church of England, to say 'that there are three infinite, distinct minds and substances in the Trinity, who, though three Persons are three distinct infinite minds or spirits.' (Appendix to Dorner, by Patrick Fairbairn).

23. Professor Gwatkin in his Gifford Lectures 'Knowledge of God,' ch. xvii., says incisively: 'Arianism is one of the most modern of the old heresies strangely English in its inpatient common sense.' And it was in the England of the 18th cent. that the controversy revived.

24. A variety of circumstances conspired to give this turn to religious thought in England. The reaction from Puritanism, now the tide of fortune had set in so powerfully against it and scope no longer existed for a religious philosophy which alone was then sufficient to account for it. . . Partly springing, too, from the same reaction it bore a name by 1670, and by 1700, a philosophy came into vogue, heralded by Cutdworth but properly founded by Locke, in its bearings on morals and religion was peculiarly cold and rational. . . Reason with this school of philosophical divines was placed in a sort of antagonism to faith; as the one element rose the other fell. . . With those who still maintained a certain belief in Christianity, the prevailing spirit chiefly operated in disposing them to rob it of its more distinctive features, and, as regards the subject of our Lord's Person, led them either to reject altogether the doctrine of His divinity, or, with the Arius, to hold it but a quasi-divinity—something of an essentially subordinate nature to that of the Father' (Appendix to Dorner, Person of Christ, p. 251.)

The two English divines properly deserving of the name of Ariens were William Whiston, who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton in the chair of Mathematics at Cambridge, and his friend Dr. Samuel Clarke. Whiston's was the worst of his attainments rather than marriages of many eccentrics. His study of Christian documents led him to place the Apostolical Constitutions on a par with the Gospels, and to choose Eusebius of Nicomedia as the author of the fresh apostles of a new and peculiar Christian doctrine. He repudiated the name of Arian, but his outspoken utterances caused him to be deprived of his professorship. His more cautious friends, among them Benjamin Hoadly, rose to the highest and
most lucrative positions in the Church of England (Abbey and Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, vol. i. p. 490.) Dr. Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, London, in 1712 published his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, in which no fewer than 1257 texts were cited and examined, with the result that the English Church was not only to be regarded as the Church of God, whose Divine only so far as Divinity is communicable by the Supreme God, and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Father and the Son, not in order only, but also in dominion and authentication. This answer to the Aristotelian doctrine of the Trinity gave rise to the question: is the Son a Logos, or a pseudo-divinity of the Father? The answer was given in 1719 by Mr. John Jackson, rector of Rossington and vicar of Doncaster. Clarke's work was condemned by Convocation in 1714; but the Church was not thereby silenced, and in 1719 Dr. Waterland, archdeacon of St. Albans, published an answer to Jackson in his Vindication of Christ's Divinity. In the long war of pamphlets which followed, Waterland succeeded in basing his doctrine on Scripture alone and for the respect he showed for the Fathers. The Arrian dispute in England marks, indeed, the close of the age when the Fathers were confidently appealed to in theological disputes. Nor was the Church of England alone disturbed by the question, since from the time of Emlyn's condemnation in Dublin (1702) and his expulsion from his church, the Nonconformists were disturbed by the presence of Arius, which culminated in the Savilian Chair of Natural Theology in 1718 between Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists. The Arrianism of the early 18th century was succeeded by anti-Trinitarianism; and the subordinationist theories of the first decades gave way to more distinctly Unitarian doctrines, the discussion of which is scarcely within the scope of the present article.

For English Ariusian see Nelson, Life of Ball, 1715; Van Mildert, Life of Waterland; Whiston, Memoirs, 1746–90; the Appendix to Doreen's Person of Christ (Eng. tr. 1805–6); Alberoni, Saggio per ridurre il Concilio Lateranese XVII, 1758, cit. vili; Sykes, Anti-Trinitarian Biography; Dale, History of Eng. Congregationalism, 1897.

24. As a philosophy of religion, Ariusianism struck a blow at the root of the Creed, but at the whole principle of Scriptural revelation. 'Is,' asks Harnack at the beginning of his chapter on the subject (op. cit. vol. iv. Eng. tr.), 'the Divine, which appeared on the earth and has made its presence actively felt, identical with the supremely Divine that rules heaven and earth? Did the Divine which appeared on earth enter into a close and permanent union with human nature, so that it has actually transfigured it and raised it to the plane of the eternal?' The OT teaches that the One True God revealed Himself, in part at any rate, to Israel; and the NT supplements this by showing that humanity is made one in the Christ (Χριστός), and by this is brought into complete harmony with the God and Father of All. Arius declared God to be unknowable, and the Son completely detached from Him. Humanity can therefore never be brought by Christ to the true Divine, but only to a sort of pseudo-divinity created in the Son by the Father. Such an evacuation of the purpose of the Christian revelation and the falsification of the fundamental Christian doctrine is presented in its crude form. But we must carefully distinguish between the logical results of such a system as Arius propounded and the opinions of those who have upheld it. Arius himself rejected the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Trinity. His teaching was that the Son is a Logos of God, but not God: a Logos or Word of God, not the Logos of the Trinity. However, several of his followers propounded the doctrine of the Trinity without consideration of all that it involved. As a matter of fact, he was ready in later life to subscribe to a creed approximating that of Athanasius. The opinions of the famous Unitarian Dr. Priestley rightly says in his Church History (vol. ii. p. 189): 'Nay, the proper opinions of Arius, viz., that the Son was made out of nothing, and that there was a time when He came to be, are far more than very few. So that what we call Ariusian arose much later and spread much less rapidly than has been generally imagined.' The Arius controversy was not finally settled, the decisions of which Christians had to choose one. If Jesus Christ existed from eternity, and is Head of a Kingdom which shall have no end, if He is indeed to be worshipped and received as God, then the Nicene doctrine is true, and He is of one substance with the Father. Otherwise, Christians have been mistaken from the first in their conception of Him, and He is not Divine, but a creature; not eternal, but belonging to time, and as such, either, as is suggested, a second God, using the term 'God' in its looser polytheistic sense, or, as the Unitarians maintain, a mere man eminent for goodness, but subject to human limitations, and therefore no divine Son of God, though God in the highest sense, and in union and communion with the Father. It is without significance that Socinus expressly denied the doctrine of atonement through Christ.

ARISTOTELIANISM. — 1. Life.—Aristoteles—son of Nicomachus, friend and physician of Amyntas, king of Macedonia—was born B.C. 384 at Stagira or Stagiria, a city of Chalcedon. In his eighteenth year (367) he came to Athens and joined the Academy, of which he continued to be a member, learning and teaching, during twenty years. Tradition relates that he taught rhetoric in opposition to Isocrates. That is to say, whereas at this time the school of the politico-rhetorical sophist Isocrates and the Academy, the school of Plato, were rival colleges, Isocrates was professor of rhetoric in the one, Aristotle in the other. In 347, when Plato died and his nephew Speusippus succeeded him as scholarch, Aristotle and Xenocrates, on the invitation of Hermaeus, lord of Atarneus and Asso, who was himself an Academic, betook themselves to his court. After a three-year's stay, Aristotle moved to Mitylene; and about this time, after the death of Hermaeus, he married Pythias, a near relative of his friend. In 343 Aristotle received and accepted a call to the Macedonian court to initiate two or three talented young men of Alexander, then thirteen years old. This task occupied him during three years (343–340). A stay at Stagira followed; and it was not till Alexander had ascended the throne, and was about to start on his Asiatic expedition, that Aristotle finally left Macedonia. Meanwhile, in 339, Speusippus had died, and Xenocrates, after a contest with Heracleides Ponticus and Menedemus, had succeeded him as head of the Academy.

In 335 Aristotle returned to Athens and founded a school of his own in the gymnasium known as the Lyceum. There he spent twelve busy years, teaching in the morning a select class of advanced students, and in the afternoon a larger audience. From his habit of walking to and fro as he discoursed, the members of the school were called Peripatetics (Περιπατητες). Towards the end of this period he wandered about the island of Leucade, and in the year 323 he was invited to Alexandria, whose jealousy of Antipater and suspicion of Callisthenes prejudiced him against their friend and correspondent. Nevertheless, when Alexander died in 323, the androgynous philosophy at Athens, passed on to Alexander, whose jealousy of Antipater and suspicion of Callisthenes prejudiced him against their friend and correspondent. Nevertheless, when Alexander died in 323, the androgynous philosophy at Athens, passed on to Alexander. This may be interpreted as a charge of 'impiety.' The accusation, based upon a
lynn to virtue, in which he was alleged to have re-
produced Hercules as a god, was plainly frivolous; 
but Aristotle prudently left Athens and retired to 
his house near Chalcis in Euboea. There he died in 
the summer of the following year (322). The 
story that he committed suicide by drinking heavy 
loco, or by drowning himself in the Euboean 
seems to have no foundation. Dr. Waldestin in 
1891 opened a tomb near Eretria which he supposes 
to be that of the great philosopher.

Writings. The philosophical community is the most 
notable of all the prominent and the golden stream 
of Aristotle's discourse'; Quintilian, its 'grace 
and fertility'; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 
its 'force, clearness, and grace.' These praises 
must needs refer to Aristotle's published writings, 
and, in particular, to his Dialogues, of which only 
fragments have come down to us. The philo-
sophical writings, upon which his fame rests, are 
wholly deficient in literary quality. The style is 
curt, abrupt, jejune. The language is careless and 
overcharged with terms.

The exhibition is sometimes incomparable, sometimes 
uninteresting, sometimes redundant, sometimes in-
consistent. There are reminders, recapitulations, 
revisions. Arguments are sometimes indicated 
without being worked out; promises are sometimes 
tacitly dropped. In 
a word, these writings, which have so 
profoundly impressed the thoughtful minds of 
centuries, would seem to be neither completed and published works 
not even more notable. The fragments from 
records of oral teaching addressed to a few 
advanced pupils. 
In this way, and perhaps in this 
way only, are explicable the rough and ready 
terminology, the diagrams and examples, the 
reference and conformity of the lecture-room 
and to members of the class, 
the occasional sentences which have no beginning, 
and, in some instances, the peroration 
addressed to an audience.

But if these are records of oral 
teaching, and some of them more completely 
finished than others, by whom were they prepared? Are 
they Aristotle's notes made with a view to his 
teaching? Are they notes of his teaching made by 
his pupils? Are they compilations made by an 
editor who had before him both Aristotle's notes 
for lectures and his hearers' notes of them? In 
the opinion of the present writer the treatises 
which have come down to us are in the main the 
notes of pupils, and, as fortune, if they were compilations, 
much of the roughness and the obscurity would 
have disappeared.

For the Greek philosophers, A III, 1060 35 and 1070 & 
the words ωραίαι φαίνεται would not have survived, and in A I, 
990-115 & we should not find indications of three Platonic argu-
ments, and the corrections to them packed in for 
length. It would seem that Aristotle's notes, made for his own use 
and supplemented and corrected by himself, but never revised for 
publication, were treasured in the school; so that we possess 
not indeed always his last thoughts, but at any rate his 
thoughts; and the inconsistencies which trouble us prove 
only that his thinking was progressive.

The chief of the so-called 'metrical' treatises 
attributed to Aristotle may be classified under 
their medieval titles as follows:

1. Logic: the Organon, including Categories, de Interpretatione, 

Inferentia, Priora, Analytica Posteriora, Topica, de Sophisticis Elenchis.

2. Physics: Physica or Physica Auctulationes, de Oeis, 

de Generatione et Corruptione, Meteorologia.

3. Biology: Historia Animalium, de Partibus Animalium, 

de Genere Animalium, de Generatione Animalium, de Animae, Pars Naturalia.

4. Philosophy: Metaphysica

5. Ethics and Politics: Ethica Nicomachea, Ethica 

Endemiocr, Magna Moralia, Politica, Economica.


It is not possible to speak with any certainty 
about the chronology of these writings; for there 
can be no assurance that references from one to 
another are Aristotle's and not the additions of editors. But we 
know that the certain treatises from which we gather Aristotle's ontology 
was early placed after the treatises on Natural History; for this, and no more, is implied in the 
title τα μετά τα φυσικά, whence we derive our convenient 
missing name 'metaphysics.'

Besides the 'published works' (εὐθέλωμα λόγια), 
the the 'lectures,' to which were also 
memoranda' (τεκμήρια). Under this 
in general, Aristotle may perhaps place certain summaries 
of the teaching of philosophers, the προβλήματα, and the 
προτάσεις, i.e. notices of the constitutions of 158 
poets, and the syllogisms of the recent 
theticus appears to have contained (1) a brief 
constitutions of Athens and (2) a citizen's handbook; but the want of proportion obvious 
in the former of the two sections suggests that it 
was a compilation, made by some member of 
the school, from extracts and documents which Aristotle 
had casually collected.

Strabo and Plutarch relate that Aristotle's library, including 
his own writings, became the possession of Theophrastos, and 
after his death passed into the hands of Kleus of Scapia in 
the Troad; that his heirs, for fear of the lords of Pergamos, 
blooded them in a cellar; that about 100 Apollonius bought 
them and brought them to Athens; and that in 66 they came 
into the hands of Sulla, who, as is known to the modern 
marian Tyrrhannus, whose copies were the basis of an edition 
prepared about 70 by Andronicus of Alexan-

Aristotle's principal works.

3. Philosophical system.—We have seen that 
Aristotle entered the Academy and was made 
for the first time of it twenty years. 
In later life he still regarded himself as an 
Academic; for even when he is criticizing certain of 
Plato's tenets, he speaks of them as doctrines which 
we hold. Indeed, it would appear that 
Athens in 339, he might have succeeded 
Spen-
hiphysih as head of the School; for in the list of 
philosophers, it is expressly stated that when Xen-
crates was elected, 'Aristotle was in foreign parts.' 
But though an Academic, Aristotle could not 
be regarded as a Plato.

The master and the pupil differed fundamentally in their attitude 
towards inquiry. Plato taking his departure from 
which is eternal, Aristotle from that which 
is actual in time and space. Yet, in spite of this 
disagreement, they were at one in their 
theories as to the nature of natural kinds of 
species, which may be studied in three 
branches. After all, Aristotle 
more sympathy with Plato than with the 
biologist who assumed the existence of natural 
without attempting to make it 
apparent of them; and more appreciation of Plato than 
Xenocrates, a moralist, who, when he ventured 
into Platonic metaphysics, was soon out of his 
depth; whereas Speusippus dropped 
the theory of Ideas, and Xenocrates blended it 
with Pythagorean fancies, Aristotle was, at any 
rate, careful to formulate his dissent. In a word, Plato 
propounded an idealist ontology and rested upon it. 
theory of natural kinds, which should be a 
for the study of natural kinds. But despite Aristotle's 
rejecting the idealist ontology, proceeded to 
state the theory of natural kinds, restating it upon 
an ontology of his own. The criticism of his 
master's idealism is indeed Aristotle's starting 
point, and for this reason it will be convenient, in the 
present account of Aristotle's system and 
encyclopedia, to give precedence to 'First 
Philosophy' (πρώτη φιλοσοφία) or 'Theology' (θεολογία).

(1) FIRST PHILOSOPHY.—The all.

Aristotle, four principal lines of inquiry, having 
for their ends the discovery of four causes (aitia) or 
principles (dxoi). These causes or principles are 
then divided into four classes (a) the 
causes, υ ν έ νεκα, (b) the 
cause, (c) the 
and the final cause, (l) φύσιν, (l) τέλος. Apart from
accidents or attributes which are not common to all the members of a natural kind, each of its members, though natural, is in fact, indissoluble into a specific soul or life, which is its form, and an appropriate body, which is its proximate matter. But again, the body is resolvable, in thought, though not in fact, into organs and constituent parts. Further, these constituents are compounds of the four elements—air, fire, water, and earth. Finally, fire, air, water, and earth have for their ultimate matter a purely indeterminate potentiality, which is the result of the four primary qualities—hot and cold, wet and dry: fire is the combination of hot and dry; air, that of hot and wet; water, that of cold and wet; earth, that of cold and dry. The ultimate matter of the members of a natural kind is then a potentiality, in virtue of which that member exists in time and space; its form is the sum of its specific characteristics, in virtue of which it is what it is. What we can know of the member of a natural kind is its specific characteristics. Anything which is peculiar to an individual member or to individuals is not known but perceived.

Such is Aristotle's analysis of the particular members of a natural kind. It may serve as a statement of the aims which he has in view in his classificatory researches; but it leaves the adaptation of body to soul, the organization of body, and the differentiation of splenetera explained away, and when he tells us vaguely that 'Nature' works always to an end and 'does nothing at random' (οὐδὲν ἄτολον ἢ μάργην ποιεῖ ἡ φύσις), it is plain that 'Nature' is no more than a démiurge machina.

For the proximate moving cause by which the particular member of a natural kind is brought into existence, Aristotle looks, not to any transcendental cause eternally operant, but to a previous member of the species which in its maturity transmits the specific characteristics to the humblest member of the same kind, this principle is expressed in the formula 'man generates man' (ὁ ἡμείς γενέσθαι γενεσθαι). The final cause, the end sought, is the maintenance of the species. For though, under the influence of the sun as it approaches and recedes in its apparent progress through the signs, the life of the particular animal or vegetable waxes and wanes and ultimately ceases, Nature is 'careful of these corruptions'. It is necessary, however, to account not only for the existence of the animal and vegetable kinds, but also for that of the earth and the heavenly bodies, and their motions, especially if, as the use made of the sun suggests, animal and vegetable life is to be dependent upon them. For this purpose Aristotle postulates (α) a prime unmoved movevnt (στρυγόν κωμόν διάστημα) eternal, existent, essentially operative, exempt from matter, and (b) other unmoved moves (κοσμόστα διάστημα). The prime unmoved movevnt, with the other unmoved moves, attracts (κατὰ ὑπὸ ἀνέμου) the material universe, and so causes to rotate the spheres which are necessary to account for the motions of the earth and the heavenly bodies. Of such spheres Eudoxus had postulated 26, Callippus 35; Aristotle finds 55, or at any rate 47, necessary. The prime unmoved movevnt is mind (νοῦς), which, with itself for object, thinks continually (ἐνέγκει ἐγώ), and is conscious of its thinking (η νοῆς νοῆσει νοῆσει). The other unmoved moves, though Aristotle does not say it, must needs be the things through which the prime unmoved movevnt. For, as the end of Metaphysics A, criticizing Speusippus on the ground that his system makes the universe 'episodical,' Aristotle adds epigrammatically: 'Speusippus substitutes for the universe, as Homer says, a plurality of kings is bad; let us have one king.' Plainly Aristotle supposes himself to escape this condemnation; and so does he, if the other unmoved moves are mind and its thoughts are one and the same (1078b 21, 1075a 3).

Such is the substance of Aristotle's First Philosophy, found also in a 'Mcloskr.' The mind, the prime unmoved movevnt, which, with its thoughts, the unmoved moves, originates and maintains the orderly motions of the earth and the heavenly bodies, is emphatically monotheistic. It is described as 'the first unmoved of all unmoveds.' Aristotle seems to be moved beyond his wont when he writes: 'It is wonderful that God should have always an excellence which we have sometimes: that he should have a greater, a more wonderful. But so it is.' 'God is perfect: he has life, continuity of existence, eternity of existence; that is what God is.' 'He is one; and therefore the firmament which he sets in motion is one.' The belief in a Divinity which invests the whole of Nature goes back,' Aristotle adds, 'to remote antiquity; but, for the persuasion of the many and in the service of the law, an anthropomorphized mythology has been built upon it.' Strip the aetheism from Aristotle's metaphysics, and there is left 'first existences are gods' a divine word. 

The lacune in the system here described are obvious. In particular, we besiderance an explanation of the origin of the four kinds of matter. Is the omission the more startling because we find Aristotle endeavouring to bring his scheme of unmoved moves into relation with the contemporary astronomy. His chief care was perhaps to show the possibility of deducting the theory of natural kinds on a metaphysical system other than that of Plato. According to Plato, everything is directly or indirectly the thought of universal mind. Fire, air, earth, and water are its geometrical conceptions of space. The stars are souls of life implanted by it in fiery spheres. Animals and vegetable are modes of life, conceived by universal mind, but combined by the stars with bodies appropriately fashioned out of the elements. The particular member of an animal or vegetable species is a phenomenal copy or reflexion, in appropriately corporealized space, of the transcendental idea. Aristotle's immanent form received from the previous member of the species corresponds to Plato's phenomenal copy or reflexion of the Idee; Aristotle's Nature's design corresponds to Plato's Idea. The truth is that there is little difference between the two analyses which is it is understood that Plato emphasizes the transcendental idea at the expense of the immanent reflexion, and that Aristotle emphasizes the immanent form at the expense of Nature's design. But the fact always remains that, whereas Plato regarded matter also—that is to say, space—as the creature of universal mind, and so was a monist, Aristotle distinguished matter—that is to say, potentiality—from supreme mind, and was therefore a dualist.
tectures of the species to which the particular belongs. Such is the doctrine of De\n
metaphysics. E. Nevertheless, the Categories, primary existences is\nto the particular or composite of form and matter. The inconsistency is one of termin-
ology and not of thought. For the specific form which is the primary existence of the Metaphysics existences, variety by of the species particular. The prim\ny existent particular of the Categories is known only in so far as it represents the species to\nwhich it belongs. Aristotle coined many technical terms; but, in fact, the fact that he was not always careful to harmonize the terminology of one treatise with that of another. In this case, the terminological dis\ncrepence is unfortunate; but, in the opinion of the present writer, it is a matter of indifference or vacillation.

2. PSYCHOLOGY.—The conception of mind, ex-

cept from matter, reappears in the Psychology (πνεύμα). In this treatise Aristotle begins with a re-

view of previous and existing opinion. It reaches\n
appears that some had regarded soul exclusively as the organ of motion, others exclusively as that of sensation and cognition. For himself, he pro-

poses to include under this name all activity, whether in the soul or in the body. He living body, and distinguishes living body from body which is lifeless. (Perhaps this is all that Aristotle meant in the first instance by defining soul as the first active principle of organisms body [ἡ πρώτη ἐνεργεία ἀνάμορφων φυτικῶν ὄγκων]: but when he adds that, while soul is actuality of body, body is not actuality of soul, the definition becomes a declaration of soul's supremacy.) Having thus widened the scope of psychology, Aristotle proceeds to enumerate the faculties of soul. N\n
utrition (together with generation), sensation, app\tection, locomotion, intellect, follow one another in this order; and the possession of a higher faculty implies that all the faculties below it. The soul of plants is nutritive only. The soul of animals is not only nutritive, but also sensitive, app\ntitive, motive. The soul of man has all the faculties of animals, and is intellectual also. In sensation the form of the sensible, without its matter, being\nthe sense through an intervening medium; and the sense perceives the sensible in virtue of the\ndevice which the advent of the sensible brings about. In the satisfaction of the sense in the condition, there is no sensation; and when the sense is in excess, the organ may be deranged or disabled. Touch is the primary sense. Besides the five special senses, Aristotle recognizes a common or central sense, which (a) is conscious of sensations, and (b) distinguishes and co-ordinates the impressions received by the special senses. Its organ is the heart. So far we have been dealing with faculties which man shares with the animals. Passing next to reason—the faculty which belongs distinctively to man—Aristotle distinguishes a \npassive reason (πνεύματικον νόσον), which receives from the senses their impressions, and an active, consti-
tutive reason (πνεύματικον νόσον), which provides form for the interpretation of the impressions received from the senses. Such is the function of the active reason in the individual; but it and it alone of the psychical faculties may exist apart from soul (ἔννοια). The active reason is \n
independent of external objects, having no in-

essential attributes, essentially operative," and 'only when it so exists,' it is immortal and eternal. Now the existence of an unmoved, the God, of the Metaphysics. In so far as man possesses this reason, it comes to him from without. Plainly the passive reason is inter-
posed in order to bring the recepta of sense into relation with the divine faculty.

3. LOGIC.—Of all Aristotle's achievements the\ngreatest was perhaps the invention of logic. The group of treatises known as the Organon includes a formal logic, a theory of scientific research, the treatise on disputation, and a classifications of fallacies. The formal logic comprises an enumeration of categories or heads of predication; a study of the quality, quantity, and connexity of the positions; a detailed investigation of the syllogism and its figures; and a careful discrimination be-

between adduction (παραγωγή), or generalization from known particulars in regard to those particulars, and example (παράδειγμα), or inference of particular in regard to unknown particulars, effected by ascent to an imperfectly certified general and subsequent descent from it. Within the limits of the Organon, Aristotle success at once of dialectical debate, by which the promises of demonstration are provisionally justified, of de-

monstration, by which the consequences of given premises are ascertained, and of sophistry or eristic, pursued irrespectively of truth with a view to argumentative success.

4. SCIENCE.—While the formal logic still holds its ground, Aristotle's scientific writings were no more than stepping-stones. His physical specula-
tions occupied the attention of the illustrious by giving to them a higher task than they were ever to reach. In the time came when, by reason of his great name, they were positive hindrances to progress. His books are praised for the observation, the insight, and the knowledge, of which they afford conclusive evidence.

5. ETHICS AND POLITICS.—In the Nicomachean Ethics the Politics, Aristotle raises and dis-

cussion. What is good? Ethics is concerned with the 'character' of the individual, the political with the 'constitutions' of the State. All are agreed that man's good or end is well-

being (ἐθικόν), that is to say, well-living (εὖ ὑπάρχον) or well-faring (εὖ πραττόν); and man's well-being —the term 'happiness' should be avoided—is the expression of those functions which are distinctly human. In a word, 'man's chief\n
good or end is a psychical activity characteristic of an excellence (ἀρετή), or, if there are more excellences than one, characteristic of the best and completest of them, such activity being continued during a complete, period of existence.' Setting aside nutrition and growth which man shares with plants, and sensation which he shares with animals, we find that man's distinctive functions are reason, reasoning, and the rational control of appetite, under which head are included desires and passions. What, then, are the excellences of these functions? And which of the excellences is the best and the completest? There are two sorts of excellence—moral excellence, the excellence which the appetitive part of soul displays when it is duly obedient to the rational part, and intellectual excellence, the ex-

cellence of the rational part. Moral excellence (or virtue) is 'a deliberate habit which enables the individual, with the help of his reasoning faculty—\n
subject to an appeal to the man of practical wisdom—to attain what is for him the mean between the extremes of extravagance and prudence. The virtues are courage, temperance, liberality, munificence, magnanimity or self-respect, gentleness, justice. The intellectual excellences are practical wisdom or prudence (φροντίδα), the excellence of that sub-

division of the rational part of soul which controls
the appetitive part, and speculative wisdom (ορθής)
the excellence of that purely intellectual part which
is called reason (ràoùs). Practical wisdom and the
moral virtues must be developed proi pasa, or
repeatedly and constantly, in the best part of the soul, and
therefore its excellence, speculative wisdom, is the
best of excellences. This best of excellences has for its activity (ιέργεια) study (τεωσία). Conse-
quently, to complete with the aid of the individual
is to be found in the life of the student (θεορητικός
Bias), who, however, must loyally do his duty as a
member of the city and the family. This com-
plete test well-being brings with it the highest of
pleasures. Next to the life of the student ranks
the practical life of moral virtue. For the pro-
duction of excellence, three things are requisite:
first, natural aptitude; secondly, instruction, for
its guidance; thirdly, habituation, to establish
the habit. Inasmuch as well-being implies not
merely the possession of a habit, but also its
exercise, we require for the realization of well-
being those external goods upon which the exercise of
the habit depends. The extreme that well-being
implies the exercise of a habit and not merely the
possession of it, and the corollary that external
goods are indispensable conditions, distinguish
Peripatetick from Academic ethics.

"Aristotle is concerned with the well-being of the
individual, so in the Politics he is concerned with the well-being of the community. The city (πόλις) is a complex organism, developed out of the village (κωός), which again has its origin in the patriarchal family (εὐρύχωρον.ua)
and which political (πολιτικά) or governmental (κυβερνητικά) activities are in which the sovereign
(κύριος)—whether one, few, or many—rules for the
benefit of the community; perversions (απερεκ-
δοτικά) in which the sovereign or his representative
rules over some one, few, or many—uses power for personal
advantage. The right polities are aristocracy,
monarchy, polity proper; the perversions are
democracy, oligarchy, and tyranny. The best of
cities would be one in which absolute power was exclu-
sed for the benefit of all the citizens by one
person, or more persons than one, superior to the
rest in mind and in body. But we cannot hope to
find rulers thus exceptionally qualified, and accord-
ingly the expression of an unattainable ideal. Thus
of the three right polities one alone remains, namely, polity proper, in which all free men are admitted to a share in the government and at the same time submit themselves to the ‘passionless intelligence’ of law.
Of all polities this is, in Aristotle’s estimation, the most stable; for inasmuch as all in turn rule and are ruled, the middle class has a preponderant influence. For the maintenance of polity proper, Aristotle would rely, as Athens did and as the United States do, upon supreme or constitutional laws (κώμως), alterable only by special formalities, to which supreme or constitutional laws, upheld by courts of justice, all ordinary enactments (φυλακ-
τικά) must conform. Of the three perversions—
democracy, oligarchy, tyranny—democracy, which
has the smallest power for evil, is the least bad;
tyranny, in which such power is greatest, is the
worst. Tradition places at the end of the treatise
a fragmentary scheme for a perfect State; but,
unlike Plato, Aristotle had no hope of its realiza-
tion. In the intervening books, on the strength of
a sort of obvious the best part of the human
soul, Aristotle inquires what sorts of constitution are suitable to
given sorts of people; how a constitution may be
established and maintained in accordance with
given conditions of knowledge, and what
constitutions tend to change, to overthrow, and
to maintain the several constitutions. The reader of
the Politics must not forget that, on the one
part, the citizen population of a Greek State was
very small, so that Aristotle knew nothing of
representative government; and that, on the other
part, he had no number of slaves (πάθος) to
compare with the number of free men, very great,
moreover, what he calls a democracy was in some sort an
aristocracy.

In these two treatises, the Nicomachean Ethics and
the Politics, Aristotle an acute and skilled
student of human nature. They have a Shake-
spearean quality which makes them perennially
interesting. But it must be clearly understood
that they do not pretend to offer a theory of
morality. Aristotle says nothing about the Good
or Duty, about the distinction between Right
and Wrong; and very little about the faculty
which discriminates them. Moreover, inasmuch
as he concentrates his attention in the Ethics upon
the well-being of the individual, and in the Politics
upon the well-being of the State, the relations of
man to man and of citizen to citizen are insuf-
ciently handled. Indeed, they find a place, and
that a subordinate place, only in so far as the
particular virtues of justice and friendship are
concerned with them. In a word, Aristotle works
upon the lines of Plato’s Republic.

In the Eudemian Ethics, which is now generally
regarded as a supplementary prentice to
Ethica Nicomacheana, by Aristotle’s disciple Eudemus, the line of
argument is similar to that of the Nicomachean.
But (a) Eudemus chiefs under the limitations of the inquiry,
and would fix a sort of moral index. Right regarding pleasure,
not as the concomitant of an energy, but as identical with it,
he sees in ἐθικῶποι the best of pleasures; and
(b) abandoning the distinction drawn in the Nico-
machean between moral action and the activity of the man of
the world, he finds man’s well-being in a life of culture (σπάλασαγλία) which
combines both. It would appear that Aristotle
himself, when he was writing the Politcs (see iv. 1338 b 1)
and had learnt to regard statesmanship
as a proper subject for scientific study.
In the opinion of the present writer, Books v. vi. vii.
of the Nicomachean, which appear also as Books iv. v. vi. of the Eudemian, the line to
the Politics and the Eudemian resemble both in
their doctrine and in their style.

(6) RHETORIC, ETC.—In the Rhetoric— a treatise
on oratory and style, apparently framed on lines
marked out by the great tragedians (ποιηταί)
and the fragmentary Poetics, Aristotle shows himself a
literary critic of a high order. In particular, his
appreciations of the tragedians have a permanent
value. Perhaps no literary judgment has grown
rise to more controversy than the remark that
tragedy, ‘by raising pity and fear, purges the mind
of those passions.’ This theory of the ‘homoeo-
pathic purgation’ effected by tragedy (see Milton’s
Preface to Samson Agonistes) is Aristotle’s answer
to Plato, who in the Republic condemns tragedy as
an incentive and stimulus to mischievous emotions.
The greatness of Aristotle was not fully under-
stood until the Middle Ages, when the Church
borrowed from him the framework of its theology,
when the whole of civilized Europe saw in his
encyclopedic writings the summary of the sciences,
and when Dante hailed him as ‘the master of those
who know.’ In the present article no more has
been attempted than to describe in outline the
philosophy upon which the schoolmen built, and
to indicate the scope of Aristotle’s labours. See,
Furthermore, SCHOLASTICISM.

Liturature. What is the best edition of Aristotle’s writings
deserve special mention: Becker, Opera Omnia, 5 vols, Berlin,
1831-70; Paccius, Organon, Frankfurt, 1834-49; Waiz, Organon,
1811-49; Aubert and Wimmer, Historia animalium, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1803; Hcks, de Anima, Cam-
bridge, 1847; Bouét, Metaphysics, Bonn, 1814-19; Bywater.
ARK

In an inquiry into the nature and use of sacred arks, our interest centres chiefly in that which is familiar to us from the OT, the so-called Ark of the Covenant. This name, which occurs in the Deuteronomistic literature, is not, however, the earliest one, older designations being apparently 'Ark of Jahweh,' 'Ark of God,' and 'Ark of our God.' But the word 'God' ('θεό) when used in the genitive, may have two meanings; i.e. it may be either possessive or adjectival, in the latter case denoting connexion not so much with the one true God as with the class or order of supernatural beings. It is this word 'God' of the phrase 'ark of God' which is later used of the ark of the covenant as being the true ark of God. In Latin, 'ark connected with the presence and power of the 'Deus' ordenis superiorum' is possible. To decide which of these two renderings is the correct one, we must inquire what name the writer uses to denote the Deity. If, for instance, he uses the word 'Jehovah,' or 'Jahweh,' then the phrase 'ark of Jehovah' may mean 'God's ark.' It is the same in the Latin, where the phrase 'ark of Jehovah' is used by various writers, and the cases of inspiration. Of particular importance is the case where the writer refers to the ark of the covenant, and says, 'ark of Jehovah;' for a Hebrew, unlike an English writer, does not attempt to vary his style by the use of synonyms. The probability is that in early times the phrase 'ark of Jehovah' was synonymous with 'ark of God.' A discussion of the original form of the 'Ten Words' would be out of place in the present article; but it is by no means probable that in early MSS two words would be used with the worship of Jahweh, the mere mention of the name of Jahweh would be sufficient. The form of the Ten Words in the Pentateuch, and the use of Jehovah for the name of God in the Decalogue of Ex 24 being superseded by that of Dt 5, and again by that of Ex 20; but the traditional number ten was retained. Since even the Decalogue of Ex 24, with its traditional form, cannot be the earliest code, it is at least possible that subsequent to the reforms of Hezekiah, at the time when the earliest codes were broken up by the iconoclastic zeal of 'Moses,' these two fresh tables were drawn up out of the first, wherein the Law in Ex 24, similar to that which was on the first tables, but amended in harmony with the growing hatred of images.

But since there is nothing in any early document to connect the text 'ark with the Tables of stone, and since, when the first passage which does so connect it (Dt 10) was written, the Ark itself had long disappeared, we may safely disregard this comparatively recently suggested link, and seek in the earlier writings of the OT some indication of the purpose of the Ark.

There is no mention of the Ark in the inventory of Temple furniture carried off by Nebuchadnezzar. It is possible that the book of Psalms shows us the scope of the Tables of Stone being first found in Dt 10. On the one hand, the oldest documents of the Pentateuch, J and E, in describing the Tables of Stone, make no mention of any receptacle for them; and, on the other, the oldest passages outside the Pentateuch which mention the Ark give no hint that it was regarded as a receptacle for a sacred Law, but imply rather that it was regarded as containing the symbol of Jahweh Himself. Thus, to quote Cheyne, the Ark was not a symbol of the Mosaic Law, but the focus of Divine power. The formula given in Nu 10. 24, and similarly the account of the capture of Jericho, imply that the Ark was regarded simply as the symbol of Jahweh's presence. Still more striking is the narrative of the capture of the Ark by the Philistines. On hearing of its arrival in the camp of Israel, the Philistines exclaim (1 S 4), 'Who shall deliver us out of the hand of these Philistines? And is it a light thing to us that God has delivered us into the hand of Saul?' The passage of 1 S 6 implies the virtual identification of the Ark with Jahweh (cf. 61). Similarly, the language of 2 S 7, where David's dwelling in a house of red curtains, the Ark was carried into the temple, and within curtains, appears more natural if the Ark was regarded as localizing the Deity.* if it merely contained the tables of His Law. It is noteworthy also that the Ark is nowhere described as performed 'before Jahweh' (2 S 6).

Professor Cheyne (EBI i. 302) considers it probable that in the earlier form of the story of the capture of the Ark as originally given in J, the shattered tables were not removed. If we accept this be so or not, the uncertainty which prevailed as to the code inscribed on the tables (cf. Ex 34 with Dt 5 and Ex 20), coupled with the absence of any mention in J of the Ark bearing the tables, the Ark, or in any other book that they were ever taken out of it, makes it extremely probable that the statement in Dt 10 is merely an inference drawn by the Deuteronomist, who supposed, reasonably enough, that, an empty box being meaningless, the sacredness of the Ark must have been due to the sacred character of its contents. In this connexion, since his religion forbade him to think of any idol, the objects which would naturally occur to his mind would be the sacred Stone Tables. It has been suggested that the Tables of Stone were originally portable; possibly 'thrones,' or, according to Professor G. F. Moore (EBI col. 2165), 'portable stones of God,' by taking which with them the Israelis were assured of the presence and protection of God. It has been supposed that the Ark was brought away from his holy mountain. But of such portable stones we have no other example in Israel. Moreover, the difference between the cases of Ezekiel's engraving with the writing 'Ark of God,' and fetish stones is so great that it is difficult to suppose that the ark of God was brought away from his holy mountain.

It is certain that the Ark was brought away from the Temple at Shiloh, but whether this was in the days of Eli, as Cheyne supposes, or in the days of Samuel, or after the death of Samuel, it is impossible to say, because of the fragmentary condition of the narrative. The Ark is not mentioned again in Scripture until we come to the beginning of the first book of Samuel, in which case we are to consider the writer's account of the capture of the ark as a parallel to the Deuteronomistic account of the destruction of the Temple at Shiloh (cf. 1 S 3:1-14). On the other hand, it seems clear that 'Ark of God' describes the Ark as a receptacle containing the tables of the Law, and not simply as a symbol of Jahweh. The passage of 1 S 6 is a good example of the use of 'Ark of God' as a symbol of Jahweh, and not simply as a symbol of His presence. The writer of the narrative is not so much concerned with what the Ark actually contained as with what it represented to the people of Israel. It was a symbol of the presence and power of God, and it was revered as such by the people of Israel. The writer of the narrative is not so much concerned with what the Ark actually contained as with what it represented to the people of Israel. It was a symbol of the presence and power of God, and it was revered as such by the people of Israel.

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the early references to the Ark imply that it contained some sacred writing or document. The phrase 'the ark was not only a receptacle for the Law, but it was a receptacle for the traditions of Israel. It was a symbol of the history and the traditions of the people of Israel. It was a symbol of the past, and it was a symbol of the future. It was a symbol of the past, and it was a symbol of the future. It was a symbol of the past, and it was a symbol of the future. It was a symbol of the past, and it was a symbol of the future.
freely admitted that idol images of Jahweh were formerly common in Israel. It is natural, therefore, to regard the Ark as the portable shrine in which the receptacle of some such images, which upon this supposition must have been deposited by Solomon in the Temple of Jerusalem.* Have we any indication of the existence of such an image? The golden calves are not to be taken as of, for there is no evidence that they were ever worshipped under this form among the Leah tribes; since it must be remembered that the original image at Dan, if it really was in the form of a calf—which is doubted by both Jonathan the Levite, and by Micah the Ephrinimate.

But at Jerusalem there was an image of Jahweh to which sacrifice was offered, viz. the bronze serpent, or, to call it by the name by which it is generally known, the brazen serpent, which in the age of Hezekiah was believed to have been made by Moses (2 K 18:4; cf. Nu 21:9), and may therefore be supposed to have been as old as the Ark. It is therefore a not unlikely inference that it was for the image of the Ark that was made. It is notedworthy that these are the only two objects, traditionally connected with the worship of Israel in the wilderness, of the existence of which there is any evidence in the persons of Kings.† traditions which assigned the making of the first golden calf and the brazen serpent to Aaron and Moses respectively are of the utmost importance; for the fact that the essential part of these traditions—viz. that images were made by the Israelites—survived even the iconoclastic commandments shows how deeply rooted must have been the traditions themselves. And if, as will be generally admitted nowadays, the narrative of Nu 21:9 and 2 K 18:4 agrees in the essential part of an object which seemed inconsistent with its iconoclastic law, and if the brazen serpent really was an image coming down from the time of Moses, or at least from the days of the Israelite conquest of Palestine, it is reasonable to suppose that the history of the brazen serpent was identical with the history of the Ark.

But if the brazen serpent really existed in such an early period of Israelitish history (and both Nu 21:9 and 2 K 18:4 agree in the essential part of an object which seemed inconsistent with its iconoclastic law, and if the brazen serpent really was an image coming down from the time of Moses, or at least from the days of the Israelite conquest of Palestine, it is reasonable to suppose that the history of the brazen serpent was identical with the history of the Ark. If, as seems probable, we are right in concluding that the Ark and the brazen serpent shared the same vicesatitudes, or, in other words, that the Ark contained the brazen serpent, we are at once able to explain both the existence of the latter in the days of Hezekiah, and the veneration shown to the former in the narratives of Joshua, Samuel, and Kings. And if the iconoclastic zeal of the reforming party in the days of Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent, the Ark, if this was the altar of the serpent, would have shared the same fate.

Objection may perhaps be made to this theory, on the ground, first, that the narrative of Nu 21 implies an image which could not have been contained in the Ark; and, secondly, that it is the Ark itself which is always spoken of as sacred, no reference being made to its contents.

In answer to the first objection, it is sufficient to say that the conventional representation of the brazen serpent is not necessitated by the language of Nu 21:9, which merely states that, in order that the serpent might be visible, it was raised on a pole, in the same manner as a 'pole' in Ex 17:5 is used of an altar.

The second objection appears more valid; but when we remember that images, with which serpents in general, and the brazen serpent in particular, were regarded, it is by no means unlikely that the brazen serpent arose, because they shrink from mentioning the sacred object within it.

But the question may still be asked, Why should a box have been necessary at all, since there existed a tent in which to keep the idol image, a large image (and the writer of 1 S 19:12 evidently thought of the teraphim as being the size of a man), a box would perhaps not have been necessary, though it might have been convenient for carrying the image about in time of war; moreover, the size of the Ark, of which the later tradition gives the dimensions as 2 ½ x 1 ½ x 1 ½ cubits, would have been unsuitable to such an image. A comparatively small object, however, such as we must suppose the brazen serpent to have been, would certainly have needed some sort of case to preserve it when being carried about. But it is not improbable that the origin of the Ark may be due to another and a more important source, viz. the serpent images which doubled its origin in the worship of a living serpent, for which some sort of receptacle would, of course, have been necessary. The conservatism of religious ritual would preserve this, even after the substitution of another metal.

It is not necessary to suppose that a live serpent was revered in the time of Moses. The substitution of the metal image for a primitive a generation long before the age of Moses. There are, however, parallels which seem to point in this direction. Thus, on an amphora of the British Museum (l. c. 420), there is a representation of the story of Erichthonios, which is reproduced by J. E. Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, 1903, p. 139). The sacred chest stands on rude piled stones that represent the rock of the Acropolis, the child rises up from the Acropolis, Athenes looks on in dismay and anger, and the bad sisters hurry away. Erichthonios is here a human child with two great snakes for guardians, but what the sisters really found, what the maidens really carried, was a snake and symbols like a snake*. Additional evidence for the same practice of carrying serpents in sacred chests is to be found in the class of coins known as cistophoroi, of which a representation is given by J. E. Harrison (Prolegomena, p. 138).

† For the case of snake-worship in Palestine, there was, until recently, no evidence apart from the OT. But in 1903 R. A. St... Malcolter, in his paper 'On the Serpent in the Canaanite 'High Place' of Gezer, came across a circular structure '13 feet 8 inches in diameter at the floor, 10 feet 2 inches surrounded by a wall now about 2 feet high and 4 feet 6 inches in height of 6 feet.' Within this structure, among a number of broken pieces of pottery there was found a stone knife or type of cobra, redly but unmistakably portrayed (see Report on the Excavation of Gezer, PEFSAS, July 1903, pp. 222). Although the discovery at Gezer did not include anything of the nature of an ark, it is not impossible that it may throw light on the reason for the prototypes of the Ark. Mr. Malcolter's discussion of the place of the discovery is so suggestive that it may be quoted in extenso. The structure in which the serpent was found completely puzzled me, but an ingenious suggestion was made by Mr. J. Stogdon, of Harrow, when on a visit to the excavations—namely, that it was possibly a pit for keeping live serpents. The building is as suitable for such a purpose as the pits in which bears and other animals are kept in a modern zoological garden. It is such a case as the Serpent-Chariot at Assur, where the bronze model might be in the nature of votive offerings. We are reminded of the practice of keeping the holy serpents at the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, where they were in some way instrumental in effecting the cure of those among whom there wrought the Asclepius (see Essay in Essays, 1903, pp. 193-205; see also p. 290). It is not inconceivable that among the orgies or rites which were celebrated in the high places, where plenty of snake-charming was included, and that the snakes required for the purpose were kept in a similar enclosure to suppose that the snakes were kept with the fangs extracted. The tricks of modern holy men with serpents, which, if I be not mistaken, were still practised by the Kaposchans some years ago, may be a survival of such rites (PEFSAS, July 1903, p. 225).
with any such supposition. It is a safe inference from the cuneiform inscription that the method of carrying the Ark in early times was in a sacred cart (i.e., a cart that had been used for no other purpose) drawn by cows or bulls.\(^*\) The use of horned cattle might possibly denote that the Ark was carried to the gods as a god by the worship of the gods. In any case, however, they probably imply that the god contained in the Ark was regarded as the god of fertility (see Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, pp. 46, 50).\(^*\) At first sight it is difficult to suppose that the Ark could ever been regarded as a cart of fertility, but whatever the origin of serpent-worship may be—and we need not assume that it has been everywhere identical—there can be little doubt that in some cases, at least, it is connected with a view of ensuring fertility thereby. On this point the statement of the scholiast on the Hetaireia of Lucian, quoted by J. E. Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, pp. 121, 122), is very suggestive: ἄνάψεως δὲ κατάφωτα ἑγέρει τούτων ἐκ σεισμοῦ τῶν καταστρεφόμενα, μιμομαί δράκων καὶ ἄνθρωποι σχηματίζοντο.

But whether the view here advocated that the Ark of Israel originally contained the brazen serpent, which was later to be interpreted as the life-giving serpent (Deut. 8:15), is correct or not, it is evident that the Ark was the shrine or sanctuary of some object which symbolized Jehovah to His worshippers. On this point the evidence which we possess concerning similar objects in other peoples is conclusive (cf. Schwally, Semiti. Kriegsaltertümer, p. 10). And as the sacred object was certainly not in every case a live serpent, we naturally inquire why it should be placed in a box, and not rather set on a pedestal or throne in a temple. The answer to this question is to be found in the conception of the god which prevails among primitive peoples, in whose minds the fetish or image is so identified with the spirit which is supposed to animate it that the two are indistinguishable. In times of need or danger man requires a god that is near, and not a god that is far off. It is by no means a primitive conception which we find in the dedicatory prayer put into the mouth of Solomon (1 K 8:60), that, if people go out to battle against their enemy, and they pray to their god to save them, he will answer to His name. He will make their prayer and supplication heard to the heaven in which He really dwells.\(^*\) Primitive warriors wanted to have their gods in their midst. Of what use was the Divine Father (see Num. 29) and the Divine Son (see Ex. 34), if they were in danger in the field? It was but natural, therefore, that the gods should be carried out wherever their help was needed (2 S 20); cf. Polyb., viii. ix. 2; Schwally, op. cit. p. 9.

Man is slow to give up idolatry. In the course of the ages, indeed, he modifies his primitive conceptions of God; the inanimate fetish gives place to the bestial form, and this again to an anthropomorphic representation, tending more and more towards the spiritual. But the truly spiritual conception of God, enunciated alike by the prophet Jeremiah (23:24) and by our Lord (Jn 4:23-24), which is incompatible with local presence, seems ever to have been beyond the grasp of the Israelites, the majority of mankind. Jeremiah's warning (39) has been disregarded even by those who have called themselves Christians. At any rate, in the Christianized folk, the place of the gods of heathenism has been taken by the Saints, and the shrines containing relics of these have been venerated as being virtually dwelling-places of divinity. Between the medieval reliance on the protection afforded by holy relics and the primitive Israelite trust in the Ark, there is but little real difference. In theory the medieval Christian denied that his shrine contained a god, but his practice too often gave the lie to his theory.\(^*\)

B. H. KENNETT

ARMINIA

ARMINIA (Vannic).—The present article deals with Proto-Armenian religion as revealed in the Vannic or 'Khaldis' cuneiform inscriptions. The Indo-European Armenians, who are described by Herodotus (vii. 73) and Eudoxus (ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Apparia') as immigrants from Phrygia, did not become masters of the Armenian highlands till the close of the 7th cent. B.C. (Kretschmer, in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache, pp. 209-11) brings them from Ormecion in Thessaly by way of Armenia, near Sinope (cf. Hirt, Die Indogermanen, 138; Prähk, Gesch. der Meder und Perser, i. 147). The name Armenia (Old Pers. Armina, New Sus. Armiyana) is first met with in the Bab. and Pers. cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian age, and may be connected with the Vannic armanani, 'written tally.' The country had been previously known to its southern neighbours as Urartu (Hellenes, Urartu), which the Babylonian scribes explained as a compound of Ura-Urtu or 'Highlands.' Urtu is the name of the district near Lake Erivan in a Vannic inscription, which seems to have been spoken over by the later Armens, and to have been connected with that of Mitanni in Northern Mesopotamia. Like the language, the religion of the Vannic population was peculiar, and is difficult to correlate with that of any other people. At the head of the pantheon was Khaldis, whose children the Vannic kings and people regarded themselves as being in a special sense. Hence they called themselves 'the Khaldisians,' a name also applied to the numerous local deities who were 'children of Khaldis.' But though Khaldis was the national god, he could be localized like the Semitic Baal, and we hear of a 'Khaldis of the north' (1) and a 'Khaldis of the south' (2), while a dedication is sometimes addressed to 'all the Khaldis-gods.' Along with two other deities, Teisbas the Air-god (Assyr. Hadad-Ramman) and Ardinis the Sun-god, Khaldis was the member of a triad which occupied the supreme place in the

The phrase 'אמשו כה דות גוז' כה דות אמשו' has long been a cry to grama). We venture to emend the passage by pointing it differently as ז'כמ'כ המ ז'כמ'כ 'ס', and instead of as the accusative in object as the accusative in direction (cf. v. 30). The writer believes, like the prophet of Is 69, that 'heaven is God's throne; but trusts that the prayers which are offered at the earthly altar will be acceptable to the Lord by His heavenly throne. The quaintness of the expression is due to the writer's attempt to combine the phraseology of more primitive religion with his own spiritual faith.
ARMENIA (Zoroastrian)

Vannic divine hierarchy, and the conception of which may have been borrowed from Babylonia. Below the triad came the multitudinous deities of the land, and sacred trees were planted on the khahid-gods or local forms of Khahid. A long list of these, with the offerings to be made to them, is engraved on a rock called Meher Kapussi, two miles east of Van, and on a rock called Sakid, the Moon-god, as well as the gods of various cities and countries incorporated into the Vannie kingdom by conquest or otherwise. Most of these deities were merely deified States, and consequently had no religious ceremony attached to them. It was only when they were within the limits of the districts originally inhabited by the tribe whose supreme god was Khahid that they properly became forms of the national god, and could be called ‘Khahidans.’ As the Vannie kingdom extended, however, and the idea of a common nationality grew stronger, the deified State, even if originally outside ‘the land of Khahid,’ tended to pass into a Khahid; thus the deity called at Meher Kapussi ‘the God of the city of Ardinis’ (the Muzazir of the Assyrians), became, a century later, in the time of Sargon, himself a ‘Khahid.’ Only one goddess is mentioned in the inscriptions, and since her name, Sarid, was taken from the Assyrian Istar, it is possible that she was of foreign origin. The later (Armenian) legends which bring Semiramis into the plains of Van are probably an echo of the fact.

How far Vannie religion, as it comes before us in the inscriptions, may have been influenced by Assyria or Babylonia it is impossible to say. Teishas, however, who was afterwards united into a triad, and Khahid and the Sun-god, appear to have been the original divinities of a tribe or nationality which was distinct from that of the Vannie ‘Khahidans,’ while among the neighbouring Hittites each city had its Sun-god, who was identified with the deified State. The conception of gods in the Assyro-Babylonian sense may have been due primarily to contact with the cultured lands of the south, like the titles ‘lord of multitudes’ and ‘faithful shepherd of mankind’ given to Khahid. At this very early period the divine hierarchy of the official cult we find clear traces of an earlier phase of belief, in which the material fetish takes the place of the god. Sacrifices were made to Khahid and the Sun-god, but also to ‘the gate of the land of Khahid,’ ‘the gate of Teishas in the city of Eridinas,‘ ‘the gate of the Sun-god in the city of Urisis’—all of which are carefully distinguished from ‘the Khahid-gods of the door’ or ‘the Khahid-gods of the chapel’—as well as to ‘the shields of the land of Khahid,’ and even to ‘the foot-soldiers of the land of Khahid’ and ‘the foot-soldiers of Teishas’ (Sayce, v. 13). These foot-soldiers were the temple-guard, armed priests, and attendants, who were called Seluans, Urbikins, etc. A prominent object of veneration was the vine, the sacred tree of the Vannie people, which was sometimes planted by the side of the temple of Khahid (ib. v. 30, 51, lxxxvi. 10), sometimes in a sacred enclosure of its own. Sar-duris II., in one of his inscriptions (ib. li.), describes his endowment of one of these vines, which he had consecrated and planted after himself on the north shore of the lake of Van. The vine was often planted in the middle of a garden which was attached to the temple. Spears and shields, specimens of which from Toprak Kaleh are now in the Strassburg Museum, are hung up on either side of the entrance to the temple, large basins of bronze or terra-cotta, on stands, being placed in front of the shrine for the purpose of ablution.

No inscriptions made to the temples usually took the form of provision for the sacrifices and offerings, which were numerous and plentiful. The great impression of Meher Kapussi gives a long list of the sacrifices to be offered to each deity and sacred place. Khahid-gods were offered every day of the month. Thus 6 lambs were to be offered to the Vannie triad, 17 oxen and 34 sheep to Khahid, 6 oxen and 12 sheep to Teishas, 4 oxen and 2 sheep to the Sun-god, 1 ox and 2 sheep to the gate of the land of Khahid, 2 oxen and 4 sheep to the foot-soldiers of the land of Khahid. Libations of wine were also to be poured out, the wine being made, it would seem, from the fruit of the sacred and consecrated trees of the Vannie kingdom, of the vast herds of oxen and sheep presented to the gods could actually have been offered in sacrifice; according to the inscription of Kelshin (Sayce, lvi.), when ‘the gate of the land of Khahid’ was dedicated to Khahid, 112 oxen, 1029 sucklings and lambs, and 12,490 sheep were presented to the god. Most of these must have been intended to serve as a source of income. Similarly the prisoners who were devoured by Khahid would have been given as temple slaves. In the case of victory, the share of the god, we are told, was a sixtieth of the spoil (ib. xlii. 16). The temples, of which there were several varieties, probably possessed festival halls, since we hear frequently from the temple inscriptions of the king’s feasts.


ARMENIA (Zoroastrian).—The sources of our information for the earlier epoch of Armenia’s religious history are the Vannie or Vannie inscriptions (see preceding art.). For the Indo-Germanic period down to Christian times the most important native sources are Agathangeles (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1892), Moses of Chorene’s History and Geography of Armenia (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1865), Faustins of Byzantium (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1889), Eznik (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1829), Anania Shirvaci, (7th cent., ed. Patkanean, St. Petersburg, 1877), and (for names) the ancient Armenian historians, and the later literature and literature of the OT. We also gather short but valuable notices from Xenophon’s Anabasis, Strabo’s Geography, and the works of Dio Cassius, Pliny, and Tacitus. Considerable as the material is, it is not always reliable, or rather definite, as is shown by authors, and is, therefore, very fragmentary. We may, however, hope for important additions to our knowledge of Zoroastranism in early Armenia from the critical study of Armenian folk-lore and popular superstitions, when enough shall have been collected for the purpose.

Originally there was nothing in common between the Iranian races and the ancient inhabitants of Armenia, who were probably connected with the Hittites in the West and the Canaanite races of the North (Jensen, Hittiter und Armenier, Strassburg, 1888; Messerschmidt, Die Hittiter, Leipzig, 1905, p. 10; Winckler, ‘Westasien’ in Helmut’s Weltgeschichte, Leipzig, 1901, iii. 152 ff.; Hommel, Grundriss der Geog. und Gesch. des alten Orients, Munich, 1904, pp. 37 ff.; Prasse, Gesch, der Meder und Perser, Gotho, 1906, i. 57, 65). But Armenia, owing to its geographical position, was destined to become one of the points of contact with Iranian politics and civilization when the Medes began their political career. Towards the end of the 7th cent. B.C. the Vannie, or Khahidian, kingdom (see preceding art.) came up on the borders of the Cimmerians and Scythians, and during this period of anarchy the Armenians seem also to have entered the country which was henceforth to bear their name (Hirt, Die Indo germanen, 1903-05, p. 138). Meanwhile the Medes had begun
ADRESSING the national career not long before 935 B.C. (Justi, 'Geschichte der iranischen Kultur,' 1807-19, v. 1; Gr. Philologie, Strassburg, 1904, ii. 494-496), and the Median empire had been founded, probably in 675-677 B.C. (Praske, op. cit. i. 108). From that time Iranian influence was strongly felt in the politics, language, and religion of Armenia, and the Iranian religion, with its terminology, names of divinities, and many folk-beliefs, permeated Armenian paganism. How far the resultant religion may be treated as Zoroastrian without being a separate study of the material available, which may most conveniently be arranged under the main rubrics of Zoroastrian theology.

I. CELESTIAL HOSTS.—1. Ahura Mazda.—The Zoroastrian chief deity of ancient Armenia was Ahuramazda (see ORMAZD). In Agathangeles, the historian of the conversion of Armenia, King Tirdates calls him 'the maker of heaven and earth' (p. 107), and 'the All Good, Mhr, and Nané; giver of abundance and fatness' (Agathangeles, pp. 58, 61, 106, 500, 601, 503); while Moses of Chorene incidentally remarks: 'There is no such thing as Ahuramazda; but among those who were driven away by Alexander, and who bear the name, and one of them is Kund Aramazd' (Hist. of Armenia, i. 31). It is uncertain whether this refers to the Greek Zeus or to the Iranian Ahura Mazda. In the first case it might mean the bold (phrasing) Zeus, the chief deity of the ancient Persians, and might be translated 'brave,' 'strong' (Stepanean's modern Armenian translation of Moses of Chorene, p. 305). In fact, 'brave' and 'strong,' are frequent epithets of the Armenian Ahura Mazda (Agathangelos, pp. 52, 61, 100). The name Aramazd reminds us of the Ayrumazda of the Old Pers. inscriptions, rather than of the Avesta or Pahlavi forms Ahura Mazda or Ashaharmazd, Ormazd (cf. Armen. Ormizd). There is another important passage in Agathangelos (p. 629) about Ahuramazd, which may be tentatively translated thus: 'In the season of the god of the New Year, (who is) the bringer of new fruits, of the festivities of the hospitable god.' The later Greek translation reads: καὶ τὸ μεγάλον τῶν ἀνθρώπων έτος ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πάραρχω δύναμις τῆς τέχνης τιμωρίας, τοῦ παλαιίστα τρόπου τῆς τέχνης τοῦ μεγάλου πάραρχου τοῦ παλαιίστα τοῦ τέχνης. And he ordered the commemoration of the great god to be distributed on the great feast of Inian, which was widely held in honour of the ancient gods from the first fruits of the new year. The festival is called that of the hospitable gods (transliteration of divd; 'god'), which they joyfully celebrate in that place from old times, on the last day of the year.

This translation shows that the Gr. supposes a different, but none the less obscure, Armen. recension. The text must have become corrupt in early times, and yet St. Clair-Tisdall ('Conversion of Armenia to the Christian Faith,' London, 1806, p. 50) sees in it a new deity Amenabo, who had for a title Amanor (New Year). Others recognized Vanatu, 'hospitable,' as a separate deity, and explained it as 'deus hospitalis' (Gerber, Zur Armen., p. 105, 149) or 'Lord of Van' (Hommel, op. cit. p. 39). Moses of Chorene, however, in his allusion to this festival (ii. 66), treats Amanor simply as a common noun; nor does it appear from the text of Agathangelos as stands, either here or elsewhere, make it necessary to take either Amanor or Amenabo as the name of a deity. As for Vanatu, the only other time we find it mentioned (Armen. tr. of 2 Mac 6 59., and Xen. Vulg. 'hospitalis'), it is used as an adjective qualifying Aramazd. We can, therefore, fairly infer that it is simply the Turkish Amanor or Navasard, which is poetically described as a feto champitre (Grigor Magistros), was celebrated in honour of Aramazd, who was the lord of the New Year, quite as the six days of the Zoroastrian New Year began on the day Ahuramazd of the month Fravashit in honour of the creation of the world in six days by Ahura Mazda (Mar. 15; cf. al-Biruni, op. cit. pp. 169-171). Navasard, accordingly, as well as the calendar of pagan Armenia, in August, when the new fruits began to be gathered; and the Armenians still perpetuate the memory of this early autumn celebration by distributing and eating fruits on New Year's day.

The most prominent sanctuaries of Aramazd were in the ancient city of Ani in Darnali, the burial-place of the Armenian kings (Agathangelos, p. 590), as well as in the villages of Bavarvan, Bagravan (ib. p. 72), and Navasard. Navasard is the name of the festival of the first fruits of the new year and is celebrated in the month Fravashit ('The coming of the rich fertilizing Virgin' in Alishan's Hayopatun, Venice, 1901-02, p. 79). It is not easy to determine what the Armenians understood by the fatherhood of a female deity. The goddess is mentioned as his consort, not even Spenartam. It is through sheer ignorance that a late martyrology (quoted by Alisah, Ancient Faith, p. 290) calls Amanit the wife of Aramazd, and she being rather his daughter (see below). The fatherhood of Ahura Mazda, however, is not altogether foreign even to the Avesta, which represents him as both the father and the husband of Spenta Armaiti (Yasna xiv. 4, xxxiv. 10; Yasht xivii. 16), as well as the last month of the female deities (according to the Pahlavi commentary on Vendidad xi. 5, of the Fravashis; cf. also Yasna xxxvii. 1; Visperad iii. 4), and the parent of Asha Vartaša (Yasna xxvii. 2), Sraosha, Rashn, Mithra Ashi (Yasht xviit. 10), Atash (Yasna xxxvi. 3, etc.), Haoma (Yasna xi. 2), and, indeed, of all the Ameša Spentas (Yasht xviit. 2). On the whole, one may affirm that the Armenian Aramazd agrees with the Gr. Aramazd, and in the Avesta we know him, with the Avesta Ahuramazd. In the Armenian of the 5th cent., Ormizd, the variant form of Aramazd, generally refers to the last month of the Zoroastrian Ahuramazd; but the adjective Ormesakon, 'Ormazdian,' may also have been used in reference to the Armenian Aramazd and the Greek Zeus.

2. Ameša Spentas.—Of these Zoroastrian archangels (see art. AMEŠA SPENTAS), only Spenta Armaiti is unmistakably present in the Armenian pantheon. Her name appears in two forms, Spandaramat and Sansaramat, with a difference of meaning, the latter term denoting 'abyss,' 'Hades' (cf. Halschmanner, Armen. Gram., Strassburg, 1897, i. 73-74); but Spandaramat never occurs in the abstract theological meaning that the Avesta attached to the Indio-Iranian spirit of the earth and the keeper of things living (cf. the Pahlavi Shiiyati-la Shiiyati, xv. 5; Gray, AWD vii. 364-371). It is owing to this latter function of Spenta Armaiti, however, that the Armenian Christian writers of the 5th cent. used her name to translate Aragud, 2 in 2 Mac 2 18, and, in 2 Mac 3 24, 3 Mac 25. Spandaramat in the former form of Sansaramat possessed anything but be a synonym of Hades, and was very frequently referred to in theological books and in the Church.
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hymnary. This sense is not altogether foreign to the Avesta itself, where, from being the genius of the earth, Spenta Armaiti gradually became the dark, woad under world.

The darkness of Spenta Armaiti (Vendidad iii. 35) is a well-known expression of the Avesta, which has in common with the Bab. cosmology, that the insatiable fires of Hades which it contains, and that the powers of Hades have something to do with the fertility of the ground and with agriculture (Jerem. ii. 12; Prov. 18:11). The earthenware is of a flower (hypaconitus racemosus Dodonée), first mentioned by Agathangélos, p. 450 (cf. Abeggian, Armen. Volksglaube, pp. 62–65).

In the Quaran, ii. 66, Harut and Mărit are mentioned as the names of two angels in Babel, who, according to Muslim tradition, have given themselves impatiens with human之初, were sent down to earth by God to assume human flesh and to live in human circumstances. They could not, however, resist the beauty of women. We do not know whether they stayed in Babel or were sent to a place where they thereafter taught witchcraft. In the Arabic story of Buljaysa, incorporated with the story of Hābīb Kārim-od-Din (Aghahās, v. 72–73; Shiragaci, pp. viii–ix) 1434), Hilit and Milīlit, or, in Thālabi’s Idqat al-Ahlyā, Jihit and Milīlit, are the first inhabitants of Babel. Burton and Eb. Nestle (ZDMG iv. 692) identify these with Harut and Mărit, which have long been recognized as the Pahlavi Horvadat (or Hormart) and Amerdāt (or Amerdad), of the Avesta Hurvatāt and Ameratāt. The Muslim tradition in respect of these names is many centuries old in Rabbinical literature, and the whole is, ultimately, a Rabbinical elaboration of the intermarriages of the sons of God and the daughters of men. In the Apostolic Writs (as hath Mohammed aus dem Juden-)

The association of the names of Flora and fauna in the Zoroastrian fire-worship is apparent, but has not so far been drawn into any Rabbinical legend of the Quaran, and by what curious accident, instead of the later Pahlavi forms, we have Harut and Mărit, which find their parallel only in the Armenian name of a flower, very problematical. Either Harut and Mărit are Parthian, or even Syriac, corruptions of the archangels’ names, and found their way both to Armenia and Arabasia, or they are purely Armenian forms, and reached Muhammad from the north. At all events, Harut and Mărit were not remembered in Armenia as angels. We know, on the other hand, that the two Zoroastrian archangels in question were protectors of the vegetable world; Parthian Haraudad and Amerdāt were the tutelary deities of the Pahlavī frōbāg (Avesta *xwaromā-baya, ‘fire of divine glory’), a fire established, according to Iranian tradition, in Chorasmia, and later removed to Kabul (Bundahisn, xvii. 5–6). In the hagiography called the ‘Coming of the Rhidian Virgin’ (Alishan, ed. Venice, 1865), they were ascribed to Moses of Choresme, where we read (on the top of Mount Pa’nak) (1) there was a house of Aramazi and Astālik (Venus, and on a lower peak, to the south-east, there was ‘a house of fire, in which the insatiable fires of Hades were burnt. At the foot of the mountain, moreover, there was a mighty spring. The place was called Buth. They burned the Sister Fire and the Brother Fire.’ In the caves of the sacred well twofold dragons, devilish and black, to which young men and young virgins were sacrificed. And the devils, gladdened by this bloodshed, produced, by means of the altars of the fire and the spring (3), terrible sights, lights, and rolling Thunder; and the deep valley was full of snakes and scorpions.” Elsewhere we read: ‘Because they called the fire sister, and the spring brother, they did not throw the ashes away, but they wiped them with the tears of the brother’ (Summary of the Picture of the Holy Virgin in Moses of Choresme, Works, ed. Venice, 1865).

This form of fire-worship in a volcanic region has hardly anything in common with Zoroastrianism, though we have a true remnant of fire-worship, even in modern Armenia. A bonfire kindled everywhere by Armenians on the festival of Candlemas, or the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Feb. 13–20), when fire is kindled from on the altar on the occasion of rejoicing and good augury. The festival is called in popular language Ternatz, and in the Church calendar the commemoration is called Tarnedag, ‘Presentation of the Lord’ (Abeeggian, op. cit. p. 72).

It seems that the ashes of the sacred fire were also honoured, and the Christian writers love to remind their readers of the times when their ancestors were ash-worshippers (Agathangélos, p. 77; Ananias Shiragaci, Praise of the Cross; quoted by Alishan, op. cit. p. 45 ff.); while Thomas Arzruni applies this name to the Zoroastrians (Hist. i. 9–10). Nevertheless, vestiges of ancient fire-worship are still to be found among the Armenians of the interior (Abeeggian, op. cit. pp. 66–74).

It is quite possible that two types of fire-worship existed among the Armenians—one, older and more primitive, in which fire was a feminine principle, and stood in the bosom of the brother; the other type similar to the Zoroastrian.

(2) Water.—Water was honoured in Armenia as a masculine principle. Many rivers and springs were sacred, and endowed with benedicent virtues. According to Tacitus (Annals, vi. 37), the Armenians offered horses as sacrifices to the Euphrates, and divined by its waves and foam. Sacred cities were built around the river Araxes and its tributaries. Even now there are many sacred springs with healing power, and the people always feel a certain veneration towards water in motion.

Transfiguration Sunday in the Armenian Church was amalgamated with an unmistakably pagan water-festival, during which the people amused themselves, as they still do, with throwing water at each other. A similar custom connected with New Year’s Day is reported of the Persians (Alishan, op. cit. p. 192; al-Birint, Chronology, pp. 199, 293). The Armenian water-day, or feast of the Transfiguration, is called vardana, or ‘rose-festival’ (from vard, ‘rose’). It falls in the last days of the winter month from the Armenian calendar (Alishan, op. cit. pp. 283, 305).

* Shapur, not Ardashir, actually took possession of Armenia about A.D. 305.
The great Zoroastrian water-goddess, however, do not seem to be connected with water-worship in Armenia, even when they have a place in the Armenian pantheon. Of these yazatas we perhaps recognize Apānā Nāpāt in the name Ñapot, the Nāpāt of Naxi, a national divinity or Napsatavon of Naxigut, Naps being also the designation of the 26th day of the Armenian month, which was consecrated to the mountain.

(3) Anahit. —This goddess, doubtless an importation from Persia, was the most popular deity of Armenia. In Agathangelas she is called 'the great lady [queen] Anahit, the glory and life-giver of our nation' (p. 51) through whom the country of the Armenians exists and has life (p. 51), and she is 'the mother of sorrows, the benefactor of all mankind, and a daughter of Arazmaz' (p. 52). She is invoked, in an edict of Tiridates, to protect and watch over the country (p. 106). She was also called the golden mother (p. 407), and statues of massive gold were consecrated to her (pp. 601, 607), one of which (at Erêz?) was captured by the soldiers of Antony (Pliny, HN xxx, 24). With this may be compared the description of Ardy Shitter, the 'Golden Dawn' (Yahkhat) of 64, 78, 101-102, 123, 126-129), 'who purify the seed of all males; who purify the wombs of all females for birth; who maketh all females bear with ease; who giveth all females meat (and) tithe thy milk' (ib. 462). Anahita is distinguished as a female, but Agathangelas was paralleled by her Avesta attributes, 'laced with gold' (Yash. v. 64), 'wearing a golden kerchief' (ib. 123), 'with square golden earrings' (ib. 127), and 'with a golden diadem' (ib. 125; for further details, cf. Windischmann, Die pers. Anahita oder Anaitis, Munich, 1856). While the sacrifices offered to Anahita as described in the Avesta (e.g. Yash. v. 15, 21) are quite conventional, the Armenians offered her green branches and white heifers (Agathangelas, p. 49). Luke and Porphyrj Plugins Lives saw in Yashtshat (7) herds of these heifers, which were used only for sacrifices, at all other times 'wandering up and down undisturbed, with the maidens gazing at a target, branded on them.' Anahit was sought also in cases of great sickness (Moses of Chorene, ii. 60).

Three elements are to be distinguished in the Avesta Anahita. She is a planet (Venus), a goddess of the heavens, and presiding over the birth and nursing of children, and the increase and maintenance of all things. The Armenian Anahit is pre-eminently a goddess, with no reference to a planet or water. The fact that in Erêz this goddess admitted of a double form of worship, such as are generally associated with the orgiastic nature-cults of Asia Minor, must be explained by the proximity of Akhsianese to Asia Minor, as well as by the part which the Avesta Anahita plays in human conception. Strabo says of this special cult (p. 532):

"Both the Medes and the Armenians honour all the sacred matters of the Persians; but above everything the Armenians honour Anahit, to whom they erect temples in other places, and especially in Akhsianese. The very next day they consecrate her to her servants, male and female," and this is not surprising: but the most illustrious men of the nation give to her their virgin daughters, who, according to custom, give themselves up to consecration for a long time near the goddess, after which they are given in marriage, and none thinks it unworthy to live with them."

We have also no proof, however, that this sacred prostitution was characteristic of the Armenian Anahit throughout the country, especially as native Christian writers do not mention it, although the they might have used it to great advantage in their attacks upon the old religion.

Besides the great sanctuary in Akhislane, which was also called the Anahitishan district (Dio Cassius, xxxvi. 88), Anahit had temples in Artashat (Artaxata) (Avesta, p. 84) and in Yashtshat (p. 606); while a mountain, now difficult to identify, was called the throne of Nahat (Panustus of Byzantium, v. 23), probably owing to the presence of a great sanctuary of the goddess there.

An image of Anahita is said to have existed in the district of the Anazvatatz around the 'Stone of the Blacksmiths,' where, as in Buth, there was a mixed worship of fire and water, along with magical rites (Alisian, Hiskapian, p. 108).

The great festival of Anahit was celebrated, according to Alisian (Ancient Faith, p. 269), on the 15th of Navius with processions and rejoicings. The 18th day of every month was also consecrated to her (Theophilus, 1829, quoted by Alisian, Ancient Faith, p. 143).

(4) Sun and moon. —Moses of Chorene makes repeated allusions to the worship of the sun and moon in Armenia. In oaths the name of the sun was almost invariably invoked (ii. 123, p. 367), and there were also altars and images of the sun and moon (ii. 77). Of what type these images were, and how far they were influenced by Syrian sun-worship, we cannot tell. Agathangelas, in his letter of Diocletian to Tiridates, unconsciously bears witness to the Armenian veneration for the sun, moon, and stars (p. 125). But the oldest witness is Xenophon, who notes that the Armenians sacrificed horses to the sun (Avestash, iv. 3, 35; Weber in his Die kathol. Kirche in Armenien, Freiburg, 1903, p. 28, understands this šmnr as Mithra). The eighth month of the Armenian year and what is more significant, the first day of every month, were consecrated to the sun, and bore its name, while the first day of the Persian month was assigned to Ahrunamada, the eleventh day being given to the sun in the Zoroastrian calendar. The twenty-fourth day of the Armenian month was consecrated to the moon, as was the twelfth in the Avesta system. The Armenians, like the Persians and most of the sun-worshipping peoples of the East, prayed towards the rising sun, a custom which the early Church, especially, adopted, so that to this day the Armenian churches are built and the Armenian dead are buried toward the east, the west being the abode of the devil (see below). As to the moon, Anania Shiragaci says in his Demonstrationes (ed. Patkhuaneh, p. 46), 'The first father beget her the nurse of the plants,' an idea which has its parallel, and probably its source, in the short Mith-yash of the Avesta, particularly in that vegetation grows best in the time of the waxing moon (Yash. vii. 4; al-Birānī, Chronology, p. 210). Ohan Mantaguni (5th cent.) combats the general belief that the moonprospers or mars the plants (Discourses, Venice, 1890, pp. 198-199). The Armenians also shared the superstitions about the eclipse of the sun and moon current among the Persians, who held that these phenomena were caused by two dark bodies, offspring of the primeval ox, revolving between the sun and moon and interminably passing between them and the earth (Daitiša-Denaig, lxxix. 2; Shiikand gomriŋ Vajāt, iv. 40). It was, moreover, a popular belief that a sorcerer could bring the sun or moon down from heaven by witchcraft (Eznik, p. 217), though this does not find a parallel in the extant Zoroastrian writings.

No doubt the Persian worship of the sun and moon found a similar worship of long standing in Armenia, that of the Urants.

* The modern Armenians still speak of an 'evil-star' which causes the eclipses.
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art.), and could do little more than influence it to a certain extent. In this respect, he is necessarily, with some plausibility, that the famous hymn to Vahagn, quoted by Moses of Chorene (i. 31), sounds like a sun-hymn: 'The heavens travelled; the earth travelled; Above the mountains they travelled.
And in the sea
The waves travelled.
From the stem of the reed there rose a smoke;
From the stem of the reed there rose a flame;
F журнал the flame ran fast.
He had fiery hair;
He had fiery eyes;
And his ears were suns.'

Both sun- and moon-worship have left deep traces in the popular beliefs of the present Armenians (see Abegg, Tischter, 'Notes sur la mythologie Arménienne,' in Transact. of 4th Internat. Congress of Orientalists, London, 1803, ii. 823 ff.).

In the Armen. Introd. (pp. 41-49), we meet with a short or tribe called 'the Sons of the Sun,' first mentioned by Grigor Magistros (15th cent.), who says, placing them between the Zoroastrians by the Christians, 'Behold, some of the Persian Magi of the Mage Zoroaster and the sun-worshippers conversed of them, called Sons of the Sun. But they live in Mesopotamia, and call themselves Christians, but we know how vicious and abominably they conduct themselves. In the same way, says Abanok, a son of Abanok, as he relates, a little later: 'The Paganists or Zoroastrians are the tribe of the Sons of the Sun,' he is evidently confusing three distinct things, the Sun-god of the Persians (Neres Shendih, 15th cent.) and the 'Sons of the Sun' we learn that they wished to be received into the Christian Church, and, as far as I know, he is of opinion, they were Armenians both in language and in nationality, who had remained unconverted in the times of Gregory the illuminator, but now abandoned their false faith and their evil ways. Neres gives special instruction about their reception into the Christian Church, about their moral life, and upon giving up their magical practices, especially among women. 'Teach them to abstain,' he writes, 'from mixing impure foods in the food and drink of the Christians for the purposes of their own dishonest love.' Neres also mentions their worship of the sun and their reverence for it.

The next is, later than the last letter to the pope, says: 'At that time (middle of the 15th cent.) there were Sons of the Sun in Manazziert;' and in the same century, Mihitar Aparejan writes: 'There are some Armenians by birth and language who worship the sun, and are called Sons of the Sun. They have neither writing nor literature. Fathers teach children by tradition what they have learned from the Mage Zoroaster, the chief of the fire-temple. Wheresoever the sun goes, they worship him in that direction, and they reverence the poplar, the ily, the cotton plant, and the other plants which turn towards the sun. They make themselves impure in faith, wicked, high and low, sacrilegious. They offer sacrifices for the dead, and they pay taxes to the Armenian priests. Their chief is called Harut and Armud, and twice or oftener every year all of them, men and women, sons and daughters, gather in a very dark pit.' In another place we read:

A woman feels no easing towards the sons of the Sun:
Not towards a Turk or an Armenian:
Whoseover she loves, he is her father.

In the 15th cent., Thomas Mejop'eci tells us that Timurlang came to Marzin (Mesopotamia) and destroyed four villages of the Sons of the Sun—Sudok, Shemok, Safari, and Moxa. 'But by the machinations of the devil they multiplied in Marzin and Amid.'

These quotations are drawn from Allahan's Ancien Faith of the Armenians, and from Grigor Vaztian's art. in Mandar Armensia, 1896, p. 135. Some of them are evidently of little value. Vaztian tries to prove that the Sons of the Sun were not Armenians, because (1) they had no literature, (2) they were neither politically by the Christian Armenians. Moreover, he finds it difficult to identify them with the ancient Zoroastrians, because they had no magi or fire-worship. These conclusions are castigating and critical of the subject. Even Grigor Magistros interposes them, in his albation into the Armenians the Zoroastrians and the Thondracians. They spoke Armenian and called themselves Armenians. If they were not persecuted, this may well be due to the fewness of the Zoroastrians in Armenia. They always shown nothing animosity against its own heroes than against heathenism, even when it was a question of some Zoroastrians. The Tistrya (Zoroastrian) propaganda of the 7th century, in Armenia, was, however, a certain community which had lost its mags and sacred fire. They may possibly have belonged to some districts of the western Armenian nation, or they may have been descendants of Armenian converts during the strong Zoroastrian propaganda of the 7th cent. in Armenia. This, however, should be noted that they have lately been found to have some points of contact with the Yazidis (p. 47).

(5) Tistrya. — Another important yozata of Zoroastrianism is Tistrya (Sirius), the 'bright and glorious star' (Yasna i. 11, xxvii. 2, etc.), who assumed the form of a bull with golden horns (Vendidad xix. 37), and again, as a white horse with yellow ears and golden bridle, fights against the demon Apana (drought) and pours upon the earth the rain and the seeds of all plants (Yasht viii. 18–33; Bundahish ii. 18). He is the chief of all the stars (Yasht viii. 44; Piturc, de Leide et Osiride, 47), or at least of the stars of the East (Bundahish ii. 7); and the eighth Yasht is devoted to his worship. There was also Tir, the genius of the planet Mercury, to whom, according to the Bundahish (v. 1), Tistrya was opposed.

In Armenian mythology also we find a Tir or Tur, who has often been wrongly identified with Tistrya, but who is, in reality, another divinity altogether.

The Armen. Tir (which Jensen, Hittiter und Armenier, pp. 186–187, endeavors to derive from Armenian, ap'thr, 'writer,' 'scribe,' which would be a title of the Bak-Asyri, Naha, who was both the scribe of the gods and the planet Mercury (Orell, AllgemeineReligiongesch., Bonn, 1899, pp. 185–186) is undoubtedly identical with Tir, the son of Abanok. Probably the phoereous compounds as Tiridates and Tiribazus (cf. Noldke, SWAW, phil.-hist. Classe, xci. 417–420; Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg, 1895, p. 325 ff.), and who was widely known and honoured as an independent deity, being probably, if not identified with the planet Mercury, although Tir is not found in Armenian with this meaning.

Both in Cappadocia and in Armenia the fourth month was consecrated to this Tir; and this was also true of the Parsi calendar, although, for theological reasons, the Parsi later made Tir the equivalent of Tishter (Bundahish xxiv. 3, with Aryan 'sii. 8). The Armenian Tir was known as 'the interpreter of dreams,' as the tutelary deity of arts and learning, and as the scribe of Ornizid (Agathangelos, p. 584). Among the Armenians of modern times the writer (very probably Tir) has much to do with human fate and destiny. The writer takes life! is a common improvement.† Tir is, therefore, the Armenian Naba, and there can be little doubt that the description given of him by Agathangelos whose Greek translater equates Tir with Apollo (Lagusare, Zusammenschluss der Handlungen, Leipzig, 1790, p. 327) agrees, in the main, with the general belief among other Oriental nations about Tir. In fact, the planet Mercury also is known among the Persian poets as 'the star of the poet.' The expression 'Scribe of Ornizid' applied to Tir in Agathangelos has a Persian tinge, for the Armenians very seldom used the name Ornizid for their own Arzamaz.†

(6) Mithra. — Last, but by no means least, among the Zoroastrian yozata is Mithra, the genius of the light of the heavens, and the god

- The Zoroastrian calendar also devotes the thirteenth day of each month to Tistrya (Avesta) or Tir (Pahlavi) (cf. Stricker, ii. 18, 19; Yasna xxiv. 4, with Bundahish xxvi. 3). That Tir here refers primarily to the planet Mercury, and not to Tistrya (Sirius), is confirmed by authorities in the Tistrya of the Tirgahin, celebrated on the day Tir of the month of Tirichon (chron. 326–328). 'The name of this day is Tir or Mercury, who is the star of the scribes.' The difficult problem of the replacing of Tir by his opponent Tistrya (cf. Spiegel, Xerces o7epeceret, Leipzig, 1822–1823, iii. Intro. 21–22; Noldke, loc. cit.) is perhaps best explained by Jastrow, op. cit. p. 335: 'Da die Planeten später als feindliche Wesen galten, ward Tir als Sonnengott des 4. Septembertagen durc[t] durch den Tistrya (seiner Gegner) ersetzt; im Altertum hatt Tir als sun genannt. Thau thm Name bildet, heusen.' The derivation of Tir, "Mercury," is uncertain.—Louis H. Gray.

* Cf. also Abgarg on the Grakhr, 'grakhr's writers,' as spirits of disease (op. cit. pp. 122–123). The words Tir and Tur were also used as equivalents of Tir, forming their relation to the deity's name, however, is not quite certain.

† In Egypt this god had his parallel in Thot, the moon-god of Chenen (de Lasansay, l. 207).
of truth and faithfulness, whose praises are especially celebrated in the tenth Yasht. Derzana was the centre of Armenian Mitra-worship, and he also had a famous temple in the sacred village of Bagaran Arik (Agathangelos, p. 593). Although we have no proof whatever that Mithraism had obtained any foothold in Armenia proper, Mhbr, the Armenian Mithra, was especially called the son of Armanaz (Agathangelos, p. 583; cf. Yasht xxv, 173). Although he was not a man of the sun and Vanahagn among the Armenians, he does not seem to have become as prominent in Armenia as in Persia, his place seeming, indeed, to be usurped by Vanagn (see below). Nevertheless, his name occurs frequently as a component part of many proper names of persons, such as Mhhran, Mhhrat (Mithridates), and Mhhratan (Hîshâmân, Armun, Grammatik, i. 52-54), while the Armenian root *man, 'pagan temple, idol, altar,' has also been traced to the same source (cf. Hîshâmân, op. cit. i. 194). The seventh month of the year and the eighth day of each month were his; and in the Zoroastrian calendar the seventh month (the first month of the year) is called "the month of Vanahagn" and is celebrated by the name of the sun. We know nothing, however, of the functions or other duties of the Armenian Mithra.

(c) Fravashis. — Chief among the Zoroastrian fravashis (lower angels), is Verethraghna, the general of the good men, and preserver of the fourteenth yasht. Like Mithra, he is of Indo-Iranian origin. In Pahlavi times his name was whined down to Bohadum, often used by Persian kings as a title. His epithet in Vîrbrduhna is Huzvat. It is also very possible that Vrâmanê, the name of the second son of Gregory the Illuminator, reflects the Parsehian form for Verethraghna. Since Lagarde, there has been a strong tendency to identify the Armenian Vanahagn, part of the god of war and victory (Agathangelos, p. 106), with Verethraghna. According to Armenian phonetic laws, this is quite possible, although the termination -yin and the complete disappearance of both *rs constitute a difficulty. There was, moreover, a noble family called the VahÊvenini (Eliuseps, pp. 70, 127, 160, 173); while the list of the Armenian nobles in Mesrop's Life of St. Nerses gives Vohuveni (p. 33), but further below it adds the Vakhun (p. 34) as a different family. Moses of Chorene (i. 31, ii. 8, 12, 88) knows a priestly family of the name of Vahkuni, whom he makes descendants of Vanahagn. Probably in all these cases the Armenian word is the result of a phonetic substitution of the final syllable of his name was treated as independent.

Although in the ancient Armenian triad of Armanaz, Anahit, and Vanahagn (Agathangelos, p. 106), Vanahagn has the place of Mithra in the Old Persian triad (Art. Sus. a, 5; Ham. 6), he must be interpreted, despite the minor phonetic difficulties already mentioned, from the Avesta Vîrbrduhna. Essentially a deity of victory, the latter fittingly declares: 'I will conquer the malignancies of all the malignants: the malignancies of demons and men, of wizards and witches, of oppressors, kouis, and karopas' (Yasht, xiv. 4), while the very form of his name recalls its Sanskrit equivalent *vîrâruha, the Vedic epithet of Indra as the slayer of the cloud-demon Vîrata. The reflection of his career in the Avesta is seen in the statement that 'Vîrata the victorious is the stimulator of the war-lîke' (Shûmetâ-vîrâruha, xxv. 20), although the Iranian texts preserve no tradition of Vîrata conquering over dragons in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand, in Hellenic times Vanahagn was compared with Herakles, and called the dragon-killer (Yasht, xiv. 4), while the Greek Agathangelos translates Vâhagn as 'Hrâklys,' and, reversing the process, the Armenian version of 2 Mac iv renders 'Hrâklys' by Vâhagn. Ancient Armenians told, moreover, of Vanahagn's stealing straw from Barsham (the Syrian god Baal-Shemun, 'Lord of Heaven'), which he let drop on the way, thus fouling the Milky Way (Anania Shirzwazi, p. 48; cf. Abeghian, 'Armenian Yâzdnâda,' pp. 49-50). The Vanahagn-song, the parallelism of Vanahagn with Herakles, and his relations to Mithra and Barsham, tend to create the presumption that he was also a sun-god. The most famous temple of Vanahagn was in the region of Tarzan (cf. Yâzdnâda, pp. 606-607), where he was also known as the lover of Astûrîk, the Syrian Aphrodite (Agathangelos, p. 607; Moses of Chorene, p. 88).

2. INFERNAL BEINGS. — I. Ahriman. — Ahriman (Armen. Arkuw) is never referred to in connexion with ancient Armenian paganism; but the absence of his name may be easily understood when we remember that, while Christian writers had a reason for arguing against the ancient deities, Ahriman (q.v.) and his retinue naturally coincided with Christian demonology. Other Zoroastrian evil spirits were known among the Armenians, however; and they were included in the sixth archdemon Armun. Besides Arkuw, the forms Haranâmi(1) and Khurânu(1) were also current in Armenia, Haranun being apparently the older (Arsacid) and Arkuw the younger (Sassanian) form (Hîshâmân, op. cit. i. 197-29); so that the pagan Armenians possibly used Haranun to denote the Ahrimân of their religion. Huranâmi is used as an epithet of snakes by Abraham of Zemag, a 5th cent. writer.

2. Demons.—Of the six Zoroastrian archdemons there is no mention. The Asmodœum of the Book of Tobit (3rd etc.) was transliterated by the Armenians as Asmod, which plainly shows that the name suggested nothing familiar to them.† The word der (Avesta dares), 'demon,' was current among the Armenians, although they had also native words like ais. The deos preferred stony places (Moses of Chorene, iii. 53) and ruins (Eznik, p. 89). They appeared as serpents (Faustus of Byzantium, v. 20 and many other hymns; Eznik, p. 98); some of them were corporeal, others incorporeal (ib. p. 97).

The draços were lying, perjurings, harmful spirits, probably believed in by Armenian folk, like the Greek counterparts, the drakloi. What the Avesta says in regard to their third mode of self-propagation—by the semen emitted in the polluion nocturna (Vendidâd xviii. 45-52)—seems to have been a current belief among the Armenians (Eznik, p. 178; Abeghian, Armen. Volksleauwe, pp. 35-36). The yâttu, 'sorcerers' of the Avesta, who were able even to slay men (Vendidâd vii. 3), are well known and much feared among the modern Armenians as tãntûva. The pareidôr (Armen. pârsûk), destructive female demons (cf. Yasna xvi. 8; Yasht viii. 54, xii. 104; Vendidâd i. 9, xi. 9), were also believed in, but Eznik (p. 97) classifies them with such chimaeras as the yakhaparak and hamobrus (see below).

3. MONSTERS AND CHIMAERAS. — Abdâk (Avesta Azi Dahâko) and Visiap, especially the latter, occupied a large place in ancient Armenian superstition; and Moses of Chorene (i. 199) states that he was thought to have been an aration (Vendâd xvi. 600), possibly because of its Armenian worship, and specially this temple, rose to importance in Armenia. The later notable sanctuaries (Agathangelos, p. 34) had established themselves. † It should be noted that the divergences between the Jewish *tântûva and the Avesta *tãntûva ('demoniac man,' or 'demoniac body') show that the usual view that the two are identical is not free from suspicion (cf. Ginsberg in JB ii. 219).—Louis H. Gray.
Aždahak, in Armenian, is the same as Vaisap. The latter word is, it should be noted, a loan-word from the Avesta, 'the monster of the dragon-legend. In a later chapter Moses states that Aždahak was fettered and imprisoned in Mount Demavend by Hruden, escaping only to be re-captured and guarded by his conqueror in a cave near the mountain. In the Zoroastrian legend, Aži Dakhâ, after a reign of 1000 years, was enchanted by Thraetona (Armenian, Hruden; Pahlavi, Frēfrān) under Dimavand, whence he is to arise at the Last Day and be slain by Sāma Keresaspā (Bundahishn xxix. 9; Dāšt-i Dēnīg xxxvii. 97; Dini-â Maínōg-i Khret xxii. 38-39; Dinkert vii. 1, 26). Moses likewise records that Aždahak was kissed by the shovellers, and that from this kiss sprang serpents, which were fed on human flesh. Though the extant Avesta does not note this, Aži Dakhâ there being 'three-mouthed and three-pated' (Yasna ix. 8), the Dāšt-i Dēnīg (loc. cit.) alludes to it in the Avesta dēhō, 'the three-mouthed and three-pated demons and fiends in the shape of serpents are winged.' The legend is further elaborated by Firduswi in the Šāh-Nāma (ed. Vullers-Landauer, pp. 28, 99-30, 144; 35, 12-14), according to which the latter was bestowed by Dībs. The legend of Aži Dakhâ was also treated at length in the twentieth section of the lost Šāh-nāsḵ Nāsk of the Avesta (Dinkert ix. 21).

Aždahak (Eznik, pp. 102-107) were corporeal beings which could appear both as men and as serpents, and could soar in the air by the help of oxen (i). They were fond of carrying the grain away from the threshing-floor, either by assuming the shape of mules and camels, or by real mules and camels of their own. In such cases, the Armenians called 'Kāl! kāl! 'Stop! stop!' (Eznik, p. 103). They also sucked the milk from cows (Vahram Yartab (13th cent.), quoted by Ališan, Avençet Fatih, p. 172) this višops went hunting on horseback; they had houses (Eznik, pp. 104, 107; cf. also Yasht xv. 19, and Darmesteter's note, ad loc., on the palace of Aži Dakhâ). They have both the good and bad attributes (Eznik, p. 104), among whom were Alexander the Great and Artavazd, king of Armenia (p. 105). They sometimes appeared enormous, and compelled men to worship them (p. 103). They entered into human beings; their breath was poisonous (p. 107). There was a whole colony of them at the foot of Masis (Moses of Chorene, i. 30), with whom Vahagn fought (ib. i. 31; Agathangheλς, p. 607), and who later stole the child Artavazd and left a ded in his stead (Moses of Chorene, ii. 1); cf. further, on the višop, Abeghian, op. cit. pp. 78-83.

Closely connected with the višops were the nḥaŋgs (Eznik, pp. 102-107)—a term borrowed from the Pers. višap, 'alligator, crocodile.' They lived chiefly in the rivers (Eznik, p. 106). According to Eznik, both višops and nḥaŋgs appeared in deceptive forms, but the former were 'personal' (spirit-like), while the latter were not so (p. 102), so that he specifically declares, 'There is no personal nḥang' (pp. 103, 107). Although they could assume different forms, they had no body (p. 102). Preferably they appeared as women (Eznik, p. 107), the walls of the house being their eyes, and, catching the swimmer by the feet, dragged him to the bottom (ib.). An unpublished manuscript of the Geography ascribed to the Geography of Moses of Chorene in like manner

The general belief that there were 'hansγs in the Arme, a tributary of the Euphrates, as well as in the Euphrates itself. They were the victims for their lust, and then sucked their blood and left them dead. The Armen. translators use the word nḥang for 'hippopotammas' and 'crocodile.' Another class of fabulous monsters which seem to have a Parthian origin is that of the hambaru. According to von Stackelberg, harnbaru in Persian means 'genius of houses,' but we know little as to how the hambaru were imagined. In the Armen. tr. of the LXX Is 34 the word is used to render epyphes (Vulg. draconum). They were female beings, had a body, and were probably thought to live on land. They were born and they died, says Eznik (p. 97), who mentions them along with yuškaparikes and parikes. The yuškaparikes, or 'three-pated ones,' were seductive, as we know from the poet to render as express of LXX Is 13", lived chiefly in ruined places (Eznik, pp. 97-98), while the parikes, to whom allusion has been made above, were seductive beings, as we know from entering into the water, but also in forests and meadows, as well as on the banks of streams. They are, primarily, water-deities, and correspond closely to the European mermaids, whom they also resemble in their frequent intrigues with mortal lovers. This erotic trait is an evident reminiscence in Armenia of the seductive pairikâs of Zoroastrism (see above; cf. also Abeghian, op. cit. pp. 103-104). Eznik (p. 99) likewise mentions as the corvâqes, as well as the ašëz, were held to be generally invisible, though occasionally they were seen of men (Eznik, p. 99). There are, moreover, other classes of demons in Armenian faith, such as disease-demons (Closely as the above). Add, however, to the parikes, karaqâls (‘wervolves’), als (corresponding roughly to Lith., the ‘evil eye,’ and disease-demons of various sorts (cf. Abeghian, op. cit. pp. 102-110, 116-127). Another clear survival of Armenia, is the horror felt towards snakes, frogs, and ants (Abeghian, op. cit. pp. 30-31; cf. Vendidâd xiv. 5, and Darmesteter's note, ad loc.; Herodotus, i. 140), while the cat is an unclean object, as in Parsi belief (Darmesteter, loc. cit.; ŚBE xvii. 419, where a demoniac father is attributed to it).
cross a hair-bridge; if righteous, it reached the opposite shore in safety; if sinful, it dropped down into the stream of hell-fire. There was a middle place for those that were neither good nor bad (Abeghian, p. 29)."

We find also no trace, however, of *dakh-

s*, or *towers of silence*, or of the custom of exposing bodies. On the contrary, there were great mausoleums for kings in the ancient city of Ani, and graveyards outside the cities. We also learn from the *Khachkar* (Funus) that the Armenian ceremony of the Avesta injunction concerning the exposure of dead bodies; while, according to Herodotus (i. 140), the Persians covered the corpse with wax and then buried it.

The Armenian burial-customs seem to have been more akin to the ancient Babylonian (Jerem. *Hullu und Paraidea bei den Babylonern*, p. 108). The friends and relatives of the deceased came to the ceremony of wailing (Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 13); and at the funerals of the rich, professional scenes were enacted in Androides of Ctesiphon's court on the occasion of the *silken*(. . . .

I. WORSHIP AND CEREMONIAL.—There were probably temple-books which Christianity systematically destroyed. The temples were numerous both in the country and in the cities; and there were also special temple-towns, such as Bagavan and Yashtishah, containing several important sanctuaries. Christianity succeeded both to the wealth and to the tradition belonging to the ancient sacred sites. Of ancient open-air worship we hear nothing, but there were sacred places on mountain tops, like the throne of Ararat the Baptist (the source of the saint's name). Besides the ordinary temples, the Armenians boasted, like other neighbouring and distant nations, seven main sanctuaries (Agathangelos, p. 34), which were often the scenes of great concourses of people gathered there for worship and religious festivities. Treasure-houses were connected with the great sanctuaries (ib. pp. 586, 591, 594; Moses of Chorene, ii. 48; Thoma Artsruni, i. 7), as they now are associated with the churches. Tiridates and Gregory plundered many of these on behalf of the poor and of the Church, during their campaign against the pagan sanctuaries of Armenia; and images and statues of deities were common, at least in later paganism (Agathangelos, loc. cit.; Moses of Chorene, i. 14).

Agathangelos (p. 34) describes the sacrifices of Chosroes after his return from victorious incursions. He commanded to seek the seven great altars of Armenia, and he honoured the sacrifices of his ancestors, the Aracide, with white bullocks, white rams, white horses and mules, with gold and silver offerings, and with the images and silken coverings, with golden wreaths, silver sacrificial basins, desireable vases set with precious stones, splendid garments, and beautiful ornaments. Also he gave a fifth of his booty and great presents to the priests."

In Bayazid (the ancient Bagravand) an old Armenian relief was found with an altar upon which a strange animal stands, and on each side a man clothed in a long tunic. One is beardless, and carries a heavy club. The other has a beard. Their head-gears, Phrygian in character, differ in details. Both of them raise their hands in the attitude of worship (Abeghian, op. cit. p. 161).

The prevalent word for a pagan priest in Armenian, *kurm*, is a loan-word from the Syriac *kamari*, 'priest,' although mag, *magian,* may also have been used. The place of sacrifice was perhaps called *spandaran* (connected with Avesta *spenta*), 'holy'), a word which is now current only in the sense of 'slanderer-house.' This makes it possibly that originally slandering had a sacrificial character. Christian Armenia did not acknowledge human and animal sacrifices which were of a local character, but animal sacrifices survived the fall of paganism (Conybeare in *A.J.H. vii.* 1903, p. 63).

In many of the monasteries with their enlarged and modern monasteries, were also places of religious hospitality, particularly in the country, sacrifices were distributed to strangers (Moses of Chorene, ii. 60). Besides animals, flower-wreaths and green twigs (the *bazar* of the Avesta) were offered (Agathangelos, p. 49), and probably also fruit and money.

The priesthood must have been hereditary in a well-integrated race. There were priestesses, sometimes of royal blood (Moses of Chorene, ii. 53, 55), and the *Vahelnis* are mentioned as a priestly family by Moses of Chorene (ii. 8), while another priestly family was perhaps that of the *Spondanis*. The priests were probably very numerous in temple-towns, and they certainly possessed great wealth and extensive lands and villages, which were later confiscated for the benefit of the Christian Church (Agathangelos, pp. 686 ff., 590, 504, 610). Of native Armenian mungi as a casta...

*Sacrifices were occasions of great rejoicing, and it would seem that not only the flesh of the animals, but also their blood, was consumed (Agathangelos, pp. 72-74; Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 4).
ARMENIA (Christian)

we have no record, although we read of magians (Moses of Chorene, ii. 48). The existence of a pre-Christian Armenian Church has not absolutely certain, although we have the old compound krmannish meaning ‘priestess.’

A critical study of the Armenian Church calendar and church law would be of great value, but could be referred only to the pre-Christian ritual. During Lent, for example, the morning service is opened with an abjuration of the devil and a formula, which is recited while the whole congregation turn their backs to the altar and look towards the west, with arms raising rigidly at the sides. Although the abjuration is usual in the baptism of all ritualistic churches, this particular form may well have been derived from the pre-Christian country. In addition the Armenians considered the west as the abode of the devils, for Enmik says in his Glossary (iii. 213): ‘Honey is sweet, but it harms a diseased body. Good counsel and rebuke are useful, but they do not benefit those who have set their faces westward.’

The old Armenian calendar also bears traces of ancient Persian influence. 27° (Tir), Mekehan (Mitira), Ahekan (Ataras), and Hrotie (Pahlavi Frawarxangan) are common also to the Persian year (cf. art. CALENDAR [Persian]). The other months of the ancient Armenian calendar have names of Aramazd and perhaps also of Zartosht (Georgeon) origin (Hagopian, ‘Armenian Months,’ in Benssener, 1900; Gray, ‘On certain Persian and Armenian Month-Names as influenced by the Calendar’, Journal of Hellenistic History, 1895). The names of the days of the month, as given by Shah Tehrpupe (Alisian, op. cit. p. 143), have but few points of contact with the Zoroastrian (Yasa xxvi. 3-8; Sirisc A.-i.; Xandakhissi xxvii. 24; Soginox-lamagust xxii.-xxiii.; al-Biruni, Chronology, p. 58).

The Armenians shared with the Persians some of the characteristic superstitions and usages of the Avesta. One of them is the evil eye (Vendidad xxvi. 18-33, 36). In Moses of Chorene, ii. 47, we read that king Ervand had so powerful an evil eye that he could break stones asunder by looking fixedly at them. The general belief is that people upon whom the evil eye is cast isine away without knowing the cause of their ailment, and nothing is safe from it. There are special prayers and ceremonies to break the spell of the evil eye (Alisian, op. cit. p. 385; Abbeagh, op. cit. p. 372). The noblemen of Armenia have the same abhorrence for parings of nails and hair as the Avesta (cf. Vendidad, xviii.); nor may fire and water be defiled (Abbeagh, op. cit. pp. 57-59). These superstitions, like many other beliefs noted above, were probably imported in ancient times. Among the greatest requirements of the Avesta we find next-of-kin marriages (cf. Justi in Grundriss der iran. Philologie, ii. 484-487; Jackson, ib. 682, and the references there given). The only well-known instance of this in Armenia is the marriage of Tiranez III. with his sister Erato, a few years before the Christian era, although it seems to have been frequent among the nobles (Moses of Chorene, iii. 20; Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 4).

V. CONCLUSIONS.—Our study suggests the following conclusions: (1) Great as is the mass of Zoroastrian material in Armenian paganism, it has also serious gaps. Was it ever complete? (2) We find the existing material in a quite uncertain shape. The substantial deviations from Zoroastrianism are considerable, and in the case of Anahit and in the worship of fire and water. The Zoroastrian angels are full-legged deities in Armenian paganism; but primitive traits are not lacking in the case of Vahagn. (3) As before, the name Arta.

There is no trace of a highly developed system of theology, ritual and legalistic observance, as in Zoroastrianism. Abstract beings, the personif-

ations of ideas, virtues, and vices, are quite different. We find no theologian, not even some information regarding of the heavenly army, no developed dualistic caste of magi, and no widely spread fire-altars.

(4) There is no record of any Zoroastrian propaganda in Armenia, or of any religious fellowship between Zoroastrians and Armenians; therefore persecuted Christian Armenia, about A.D. 450, they said nothing about a return to the ancient faith, nor did the Armenians ever call their Zoroastrian neighbors home. It seems that Zoroastrianism gradually penetrated Armenia under the Achemenian kings and under the Arsacids, but we have no exact knowledge as to when or how. (6) The study here presented must not be considered as an attempt to reconstruct the Zoroastrianism, or the world of minor spirits contained other non-Zoroastrian names and beliefs which have been omitted; but the old religion of Armenia was mainly Iranian, and may be described as Zoroastrianism of a corrupt type.

It is probable that the ancient Armenians themselves conceived their paganism as consisting of three chief deities: Aramazd, as chief god; Anahit, as chief and favourite goddess; and Vahagn, as the national god of war and Lereism: the sun and moon; this is the model of Tir as the god of war, and Enmik of the moon. The relation to learning and eloquence has a Greek flavour. The old religion of Armenia was a combination of a lower god such as Anahit or Vahagn with Syrian Astarik (Venus), and the Syrian Barshah (Baal-Itin). Among the Persians, the Baals of the Alexandrian times, perhaps Doppelganger of some of the native deities, whether they formed a group, Baals-Chai, Baals-Naha, corresponding to Aramazd-Anahit-Vahagn, as Jensen (Hist. Ittirunden Armenien, p. 121 E.) suggests, is a less plausible hypothesis. At all events it seems as if separate deities, so that Astarik could become the patron of Vahagn and have a temple in the sacred town of Kharput, where Anahit also had a sanctuary. After Alexander, and especially in Roman times, the Armenians came under strongly Hellenistic influences, and began to seek parallels between the Greek and their native deities. It would also seem that during this period the worship of the sun and the moon became somewhat neglected. Otherwise, we cannot understand why Agathangelyos moves so little of them. The ancient Armenians were also very much given to divination and witchcraft. (Moses of Chorene, i. 20, ii. 60; Gion Mantsung, op. cit. xxvii.; Alisian, op. cit. pp. 392-400).


M.H. AXANIAN.

ARMENIA (Christian).—I. THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY. —The material of Armenia is rich in information regarding the introduction of Christianity into the country.
In particular, it is said to have been preached by Apostles or disciples of Apostles, such as St. Bartholomew and St. Thaddaeus. But it has been proved that these legends did not appear till late in the literature of Armenia, and that they were borrowed largely from the works of the Church fathers, which certainly penetrated to Armenia, as elsewhere, by means of the living voice. The Apostles and their successors had early formed the habit of visiting the Churches founded by them; and the teaching of the Church fathers was conveyed to them through the Christian communities long before written documents came into use; but the names of these first preachers have not come down to us with any certainty. Yet, however meagre the information furnished by history may be, we are quite entitled to maintain that Christianity reached Armenia through Antioch, before the time of Gregory the Illuminator. The first Christian documents that the Armenians made use of were written in Aramaic, and this language was used in the Armenian liturgy till the reform of Gregory the Illuminator. After Antioch we might mention Edessa and Nisibis as centres from which Christianity spread into the different provinces of the Armenia.

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II. EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN ARMENIA.

St. Gregory the Illuminator. — The Illuminator belonged to the royal race of the Arsacids. When quite young he escaped the massacre of his family (A.D. 298), and took refuge in Roman territory. He studied at Cæsarea, and returned to Armenia when the kingdom was re-established under Tiridates II. (A.D. 261). After being persecuted for his faith, he attained to honour, and baptized the king and a large number of his subjects. He went again to Cæsarea, where he was consecrated bishop by Bishop Leontius, thus forming the link of spiritual connexion between the Cappadocian metropole and the young Armenian Churches. When he was made bishop, Gregory fixed his residence at Yashkis, where he built a church and an episcopal palace built there. He substituted Armenian for Greek as the language of the liturgy, in order to have easier access to the masses of the people, and created twelve episcopal sees on the head of which he placed a bishop consecrated by converted pagan priests. He instituted ecclesiastical offices, making them hereditary in the sacerdotal families, and he created in his own family the supreme office of Catholicos. At first this title belonged only to the principal bishop of the country; later it came to mean an independent patriarch. The Gregorian and national Armenian Church, founded afterwards, lived its own autonomous life, while recognizing for some years a sort of supremacy in the mother Church of Cæsarea.

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III. THE GREGORIAN ARMENIAN CHURCH.

1. Doctrine. — The doctrine in the Armenian Church is identical with the pseudo-Athanasian Creed which was introduced into Armenia by the Syrians, and in the 6th cent. took the place of the Nicene Creed. In the 14th cent. another creed was much in use in the Armenian Church. It was a compilation of formulas borrowed from various creeds, and was current until the middle of the 19th century. The religious heads of the Armenian Church at Constantinople at that period presented to Pius IV. by Agbar, the Ambassador of the Catholicos Michael of Etchmiadzin (1562-1563); that of the Catholicos Azariah of Sis (1583); that addressed in 1671 by David, the Armenian archbishop of Isfahan, to Louis XIV.; those addressed to the same king by Stephen and James, the Armenian archbishops at Constantinople (1761), and by Gaspar, the Armenian bishop of Cairo. On the other hand, the Roman Curia imposed on the Armenian Church two professions of faith: (1) the constitution of Eugenius IV., Exuvitate Deo; (2) the creed of Urban VIII., intended for all the Christians of the East.


The following are the chief points of doctrine on which the creed of the Armenian Church differs from that of other Christian communities. As regards the Procession of the Holy Spirit, with much hesitation and even much indifferance, the Gregorians profess that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and reject the Filioque. The Armenians reject the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon relative to the Incarnation; they call themselves Monophysites, admitting only one nature in Christ. The Gregorians, in reiterating the Triasgion, retain the addition qui crucifixus ex pro nobis, while some Catholic Armenians have rejected it. The Gregorians deny purgatory, but they pray for the dead like the Catholics, concurring to this day after Easter, the Transfiguration, the Assumption, the Exaltation of the Cross, and the day of the holy Vardanians.

There is diversity of opinion among the Armenian doctors regarding the primacy of the Pope. The patriarchs, being equal in power, are co-ordinate the one with the other, and not subordinate to a superior patriarch. The Churches were founded by the Apostles and their disciples. These were sent by Jesus Christ, not by Peter; thus nothing enjoins the primacy of the Pope as a fundamental dogma of the Christian Church. The Armenians baptize by immersion, repeated at the name of each of the Divine Persons; hence a triple immersion. The anointing is with holy oil, and the person baptized receives the name of the saint whose festival is celebrated on the day of the baptism. Only the priest can baptize, and baptism may be administered even to a child already dead. Confirmation follows very soon after baptism. The anointing is done on the forehead, the eyes, the nostrils, the ears, the mouth, the shoulders, the breast, the hands, and the feet. Each part is accompanied by a special formula. The Armenians make use of unleavened bread and of wine unmixed with water as elements for the Eucharist. They make it a condition of the occasion of the great festivals, preferably at Epiphany or at Easter. They admit in theory the sacrament of Extreme Unction, but they never
administer it. The Gregorians have a hierarchy of orders carefully organized, including the office of proctor and reader; then the inferior orders of porter, reader, exorcist, and candle-lighter; and the superior orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The consecration of bishops is reserved for the Catholics; the Catholics. Marriage is permitted to the inferior clergy, rigorous celibacy being enjoined only on the vestabed and the bishops. Women are not excluded from the functions of the deacon. In Armenia, the Catholic Armenians write to priests are generally married; elsewhere they observe more freely the law of celibacy, which is not obligatory on them. When a priest has to say Mass, he passes the preceding night in the church. When a priest who is already married has received ordination, he spends forty days in the church; then there is a social repeat, during which the wife of the priest sits on a stool, and keeps her mouth, her eyes, and her ears shut, as a sign of the service which she exercises with regard to the functions of her husband.

**Literature**—Galasso, Consiliato Ecclesiae Armenarum cum Romana, (Rome, 1843); G. Avvedichian, Dissertazione sopra la processione dello Spirito Santo dei clero di Endebok (Venice, 1852); A. Fichard, La chiese e le cerimonie bizantine (Paris, 1891); E. Azarian, Eclesiastico tradito de romanique pontifici primitivi, juridictione et infraortali magistriario (Rome, 1895); E. Azarian, Historia Apostolica e lezioni laterane unione sacri cum Ecclesia romana in concilio Florentino (Venice, 1635); I. Ehi yo yevans, Ordinamenti e cerimonie di l'Apostoli Armenia (Venice, 1576); Petit, fasc. vii. col. 1950-1955. 2. Councils.—Besides the councils common to Christianity, the Armenian Church has national councils, of which the following are the most important: adding the traditional accounts relative to the first councils, the authenticity of which is more than doubtful, we must mention the Council of Yashishat (c. 365 A.D.), held under Nerses I. The relations were laid down regarding the laws of marriage, fasting, hospitals, and the schools where the young were taught Greek and Syriac. The laws for the monastic orders were there determined. Later, Salak is said to have promulgated in A.D. 426, at a Council of Varashapat, a certain number of rules intended to regulate the observance of festivals, funeral feasts, and the conduct of the clergy and priests. The canons of the Council of Shahahivan (A.D. 456) have for their special aim the refutation of the heresies which invaded Armenian Christianity and threatened to extinguish it. This was also the aim of the Council of Yashishat (A.D. 449). At the Council of Varashapat (A.D. 641) the Armenians made common cause with the Georgians and the Albanians in condemning the Council of Chalcedon; and this decision was maintained and affirmed still more definitely at the Council of Tvin (A.D. 529), where the two festivals of Christmas and Epiphany were fixed for the 6th of January. In A.D. 596 another Council of Tvin condemned the Chalcedon decrees. At the Council of Karin (c. 633 A.D.), Heraclius summoned the Greeks and Armenians to a synod against the Nestorians, two nations proclaimed; the festivals of Christmas and Epiphany were fixed for different days, and the formula qui crucifex es pro nobis was removed from the Triasgion. Another Council of Tvin (A.D. 641) condemned once more the Council of Chalcedon. John of Odzn, who is said to have summoned the Council of Manakert about A.D. 719, gathered into a volume the canons of the Fathers and councils previous to the 6th century. About A.D. 770 the Synod of Partav fixed the books of the Old Testament which the Armenians regarded as authentic, and made rules relating to certain devotional practices. At the Council of Shirakavan, held in A.D. 862, the Armenians accepted the decrees of the Chalcedon Council. The figures of the councils of Manakert, Aziz, and the others of their fifty canons, and made peace with the Greeks. In the reign of Manuel Comnenus, several attempts were made to bring about a union between the Greeks and the Armenians. They resulted in the Council of Vla (A.D. 1179), at which Nerses of Lamborn delivered a discourse on conciliation which is still famous. At the Council of Tarsus (A.D. 1196), the Armenian Church took issue with the Greeks, who had issued a discourse with a view to the union. The Council of Sis (A.D. 1243) laid down rules regarding the election and nomination of priests, bishops, etc.; the Councils of A.D. 1307 and 1316 ratified the preceding ones, and the Armenians of Sis took part in their discussion with a view to the union. The Council of Armenian Church at this time. In A.D. 1439 the Armenians took part in the Council of Florence. Along with these principal councils there were a number of special councils and synods, for the decrees of which we refer our readers to the works which deal specially with them. 3. Festivals.—The Armenian Church celebrates on the Church, the day after to the commemoration of the dead. The day before Christmas the poor boys of a village or town go from door to door, or from terrace to terrace, holding in their hands lanterns made from gourds, sing a Christmas carol, and receive fruit and cakes as a reward. The festival of the Transfiguration (Vesoratten) is the called the Festival of Roses, and is the last one of the year. On the day preceding this festival, the commemoration of the Tabernacle of the Jews is held. On that day people sprinkle each other with water when they meet in the streets; and in certain provinces of Armenia pigeons are set free, either in recollection of the Deluge, or as a symbol of Astik, the Armenian Venus. On the day before the Assumption, the vision of Gregory of Nin is commemorated. According to the canons of the Armenian Church, the priests are allowed to receive as offerings the skin and the right shoulder of the animals sacrificed in the churches on the days of the great festivals, and in memory of the souls of the dead, or in honour of some great saint. Other festivals play an important part in the religious life of Armenia. The day before the Ascension is called the Festival of Crib (Pavstes), when the figures of Christ and the Virgin are put in the courts of the churches, and the people dance round them, jump over them, and so on. The festival of Vintas (Pate) is one of the principal Armenian festivals, and is devoted to the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin. It begins on the day before Ascension Thursday, and lasts till the
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Sunday of Pentecost. The day before Ascension the young girls of the village meet together and choose several of their number to organize the festival. The members of this committee take a pitcher made of baked clay, fill it with water drawn from seven different wells, and place the month of the pitcher with flowers gathered from seven fields; then each of the girls throws some object into it (bracelet, ring, button, bead from a rosary, etc.), wishing at the same time some good wish to be fulfilled. They then have to shut their eyes while throwing the object into the pitcher and meditate deeply on their wish. On the Wednesday or Thursday night they hide the pitcher in the corner of a garden in the open air, to expose it to the influence of the stars, and they watch that it is not taken by the boys, who prowl about there all night, and try to discover it and carry it off. If the young men succeed in taking it, they give it back to the girls only in exchange for a large quantity of eggs and olive oil, which they have to offer. If, on the other hand, the young men do not succeed in getting possession of the pitcher, the girls sing songs in which they acclaim Theodore of Leipsig (A. Tchobanian, Armeniens, pp. 57-59; M. Abeghian, Armenischer Volksliede, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 62-66).

Marriage, baptism, and burial are family festivals which are the occasion of special ceremonies and always accompanied by refreshments.

(a) Marriage.—Among the Armenians, children are betrothed from their earliest youth, sometimes when only three years old, sometimes as soon as the first signs of puberty are discovered. The parents of the boy then go to the house of the girl, who, with two old women and a priest, present to the infant maiden a ring from the future bridegroom. The boy is then brought, and the priest reads a portion of the Scripture, and blesses the parties. The parents of the girl make the priest a present, in accordance with their means, refreshments and bon-bons bought by the company, and this constitutes the ceremonies of the betrothals. Should the betrothals take place during the infancy of the contracting parties, the boy may claim his bride, he must every year, from the day he gives the ring, send his mistress at Easter a new dress, etc. (Jones, Finger-ring Lore, historical, legendary, anecdotal, London, 1877, p. 312 f.).

(b) Baptism.—A short time after the birth of a child, the parents and the godfather carry it to church. They stop at the entrance, and the priest recites some prayers, after which they go into the church itself. They sit on the same two chairs, an even number, during the two days of the child’s life, and the godfather makes confession. Then the infant’s clothes are taken off, and he is immersed three times, his head turned towards the west, his feet towards the east, and his face towards the sky. After the baptismal water the priest anoints the child’s head several times with holy oil, and clothes him in a linen robe. The child is then made to adore the Cross, and is taken home in state.

(c) Burial.—The day before that on which the body is to be carried to the church, the relatives, neighbours, and friends of the deceased meet in the house, each bringing a lamp with three wicks, which they arrange, all lighted, round the coffin, and then they begin to sing in turn some funeral hymns. On All Souls’ Days (Christmas, Easter, Assumption, Transfiguration, Invention of the Cross) the families invite a popular poet to sing over the grave at the cemetery the praises of the person who has just died (A. Tchobanian, op. cit., p. 119). For some days after the funeral ceremony the priest goes to visit the relatives of the deceased; then on the Saturday of this week of mourning the relatives and friends meet and participate in a social repast, the remains of which are distributed among the poor.

4. Saints of the Armenian Church.—A glance at the Armenian liturgy will show that the Armenian Church has adopted a large number of the saints of the Greek and Latin Churches. It has, besides, its national saints, for whom it has naturally a peculiar veneration. The principal of these are St. Echmiadzin and St. Grigor, who lived in Rome to avoid the carnal desires of the Emperor, and took refuge in Armenia, where their blood was shed for the cause of the gospel; the saintly translators, Moses of Chorene, David the Philosopher, Eznik of Kolb, Elinous the Vartabed, St. Mesrop; and St. Sahak, St. Leo, St. Nerses Simonhali, St. Nerses of Lambrorn, St. Gregory the Illuminator, and St. Nerses I. the Great, St. Vardan is the national saint, and patrie por excellence. When Armenia was struggling in the 6th cent. against Persia and the introduction of Mazdaism, Vardan Mamikonian became the leader of the national spirit, and in the struggle of Armenian Christianity against the Zoroastrian religion. He perished at the battle of Avarair; but the agitation for independence started by him continued for many years. St. Surkis (Surgs or Sargis) is the saintly prisoner, captives, those with difficulties to face, and especially by young girls in order to obtain a handsome sweetheart. If it snows at the festival of St. Jacob or St. James, it is said that the heard of the saint is falling on the earth. St. Karapet (John the Baptist) is regarded in Armenia as the most influential of the saints. His seat is at Mush, where his reliques are found in the church named after him, which is one of the principal places of pilgrimage of the Armenians. Women are forbidden to enter the enclosure within which is the tomb of the saint, because it was women, Herodias and Salome, who caused John the Baptist to be beheaded. Young girls give a needle to friends going to kiss the tomb, begging them to rub it against the tombstone, so that they may be able with this sanctified needle to produce marvellous embroidery. Young women cannot go into the tomb unless they make a vow never to marry. Those who have made this vow are allowed to sing with the choir during Mass (A. Tchobanian, Chants populaires arméniens, p. 149, n. 1). According to John Mamikonian, the story is told of a young girl who was determined to enter the sanctuary was almost immediately smitten by Heaven as a pun-
ishment for her presumption (V. Langlois, Collec-
tion des historiens anci. et mod. de l'Arménie, 1, 348, R. 3622) by the patronage of the lords (trouvères), who go on pilgrimage to ask him to heighten their poetic imagination.

LITERATURE.—H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia, Travels and Studies in the Troad, Asia Minor, A. Tchobanian, Des Trouvères et
Arméniens (Paris, 1906); "ZemlQ de Flagu" and 'Jean Manukian" in V. Langlois, Collection des historiens anci. et mod. de l'A-
rménie (Paris, 1867), i.

5. Sects.—Armenian Christianity, in the course of the centuries, has had to struggle against the assaults of different sects and heresies in order to maintain its homogeneity. Nestorius, Marcionism, and Manichaeism, for ex-
ample, were successfully introduced into Armenia in the 3rd cent.; Marcionism also crept into the Armenian Church and was refuted by Eznik (Des Wardarot Eznik von Kolb, edit. die Schrift, tr. by J. Michael Schmid, Vienna, 1900, p. 172). About the same time are found traces of the Borborini and the Messalians, of which sects the Paulicians seem to be a con-
tinuation through the Middle Ages. Mention is made also of the existence of Adoptionist churches as early as the 3rd century. The most important sect of the Middle Ages was that of the Paulicians, famous for their struggle against the worship of images. It has been established by Conybeare that a Paulician Adoptionist doctrine stated that Jesus was born a man, and that He became Christ at the moment of His baptism; but they did not regard Him as equal to God the Father. The Paulicians practised adult baptism. The Thibar- drians, a sect also, founded about A.D. 820 by Subat, rejected infant baptism, the worship of the saints, of the Virgin and of images, purgatory and the hierarchy. There still exist in the Caucasus some adherents of this sect. The Arevordians ("Sons of the Sun") are met with in the 12th cent.; their doctrine recalls the old ideas of Armenian paganism.

LITERATURE.—Nestori Cyprianus opera omnia, ed. J. Cappelletti (Venice, 1835); Dominus Joanni Orsiensi philosophi Arméniarum catholicae operis, ed. J. B. Anchor (Venice, 1854); Karapet Per-Merktschian, Die Paulusbruder im heidnischen Kaiserreich und verwandte ketterische Erbuchtungen in Armenien (Leipzig, 1903); "Die Thibarder in unsern 'Tagen' in Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte (1905); F. C. Conybeare, The Key of Truth, a Manual of the Paulician Church of Ar-

6. Superstitions and Peculiarities.—The Armenians, although Christians, have, like other Christians, certain popular superstitions which have passed down through the ages. The peasant women believe that there exist three spirits of childbirth—the spirits of the evenings of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The first two are virgins and sisters, and the third is their young brother. If the wives have not spent the evenings of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday with their husbands, these spirits aid them in childbirth. The Sunday spirit remains near the door of the birth-chamber and fulfills all his sisters' orders; he carries water and eggs, makes the fire, etc. The two sisters take the child, bathe it and prepare the omelet for the mother; and sometimes they present a gift to the newly-born child. But these spirits are also vindictive; and when a woman does not respect them, they avenge themselves by tormenting her, and sometimes by killing the baby (Conybeare, The Apostolic Traditions populaire, x, [1856], 2). Each child has from its birth a guardian angel who protects him against evil spirits. This angel's duty is to cut the child's nails and amuse him with the golden apple which he holds in his hand. With the child's growth, this guardian angel goes back to heaven. The child smiles to him and stretches out his little arms (ib. x. 4). The Armenian peasants believe also that spirits of dise-
s are external. They are small in stature and wear triangular hats; and they hold in their hands a white, a red, and a black branch. If they strike any one with the white branch, he will fall ill, but will soon recover; if it is with the red, he will have to stay in bed for a long time; but if it is with the black, then it is all over with him, and nothing will cure him. The spirits have books in which are written the names of the persons who will die or fall ill, and these are burnt at certain times of the year, and not the spirits act according to these books. The people believe also that there is a spirit called the 'Writer' (Grod), who writes men's names and the date of their death in a book called the 'book of the non-Christian part of the universe.'

The deva are tyrants possessing seven heads. They can throw the largest rocks a great distance. Their wrestling is like the shock of mountains, which causes lava to pour forth. The female deva is about the size of a hill; she throws back her left breast over her right shoulder, and her right breast over her left shoulder. The deva prefer to dwell in very thick forests or deep caverns. They can be very rich in gold and silver, and possess horses of fire which enable them to cover great distances in the twinkling of an eye. Devas covet the company of young women of the human race, to whom they grant everything they ask. They are believed to have drowned Jesus, to have asked with the devas in order to get back the women, who show the men how to carry out ruses by which they may become the masters of the devas, who are good and evil spirits. There is a good spirit (ib. x. 193-196; Griekor Chalatians, Mären und Sagen, Leipzig, 1887, pp. xiv-xv). The witches are old women who have a tail which is not visible during infancy, but which develops with age. They can speak with any wish, enter anywhere, and cross the world in a few minutes. They mount on earthen jars, take in their hands a serpent which serves as a whip, and, flying to the seventh heaven, pass over all the universe. They act chiefly in love intrigues. Their ordinary business is to enchant the heart of a young man or woman, carry off a young girl in spite of her parents, and kill the irreconcilable rival or make him fall asleep (ib. x. 189). There are also good spirits disposed, with the aid of supernatural powers, to render service to human beings (G. Chalatians, Mären und Sagen, p. xxxii; F. Macler, Contes arméniens, Paris, 1898). They are almost always disposed to protect them against the evil eye, slander, the anger of enemies, against sorcerers and enchanters, false love, and the bite of serpents, to conciliate lords, kings, generals, and the great, and to exorcize demons and other impure beings. These rolls of prayers are called kiprianos, or rather girpar-
aron, because they include prayers attributed to St. Cyrilian. They are generally ornamented with vignettes, which belong to somewhat rudimentary art, but are very much used by the people (see 'Amulette' and 'Cyriamans-Buch' in P. Jacobus Dashian, Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mekitaristenbibliothek zu Wien, Vienna, 1892; Macke, Nachtr. 179-179).

LITERATURE.—M. Abeghian, Armenischer Volksbrauch (Leipzig, 1899); G. Chalatians, Märchen und Sagen (Leipzig, 1897); H. von Heister, Märchen aus den Buckelstern und Siebenbürgeren Armenter (Hamburg, 1895); A. G. Seklo-
bianian, The Armenian Legends and Fairy Stories told in Armenia (Cleveland, Ohio, 1895).

IV. ARMENIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OR AR-
MEKINIAN CATHOLICS.—There have been in almost all times Armenians who recognized more or less the supremacy of Rome. But it was recognized
only in a sporadic and casual way until the time of the Crusades, when the Armenians of the kingdom of Cilicia, or Lesser Armenia, were in constant contact with the Crusaders, and consequently with the Roman Curia. Later, in the 14th cent., Dominican missionaries carried the influence of community of faith and disciples in Armenia. These were the class of native missionaries known as 'Uniters' (unifores), and had as their first superior John of Kerri (or of Khana). He had a tradition of witnessing by suffering, denouncing the heretics of Bologna, who was sent to Armenia by Pope John XXII. in 1318 (Macler, No. 149). Subsequently, especially in the 17th cent., other orders established missions among the Armenians, particularly among the Armenian of Persia. In the second half of the 16th cent., Isfahan, the Jesuits at Isfahan, Julfa, Erivan, etc. The French Lazarists settled at Tauris and at Isfahan. Soon all the communities extended their ramifications into all the principal Armenian centres of the East—Isfahan, Orm-Sher, Banderabas, Hamadan, Shamakia, Erzerum, Trebizond, etc.

Until the middle of the 18th cent., Catholic Armenia was divided along the lines of an autonomous community; now they have a hierarchy of their own, a recognized religious autonomy, and a patriachi who resides at Constantinople. These results have sprung from the disensions which occurred between 1736 and 1740 in connexion with the cathedral of Sis in Cilicia. The Catholicos of Sis was deposed, and he retired to Lebanon, where he founded the convent of Bzommar and a new religious order. This new state of things caused intestine quarrels between the Catholic and the Gregorian Armenians. We may note especially the quarrel of the Hassunists and the publication of the Bull Recercamus.

REFERENCES.–Galano, Consilium Ecclesiae armenae cum romanis (Rome, 1599); E. Scroppo, L'Empire ottoman au point de vue politique vers la seconde moitié du xve siècle (Florence, 1875); A. Balgy, Histoire doctrinale catholique d'Armenie (Vienna, 1858); A. Bore, L'Arménie (Paris, 1889); L. Alisian, Scripta, contre l'Arménie (Venice, 1869), an art. devoted to the 'Unit Brethren' in the cantons of Erivan; de Damas, Oeuv de l'Arménie (Paris, 1833); J. B. Pilot, Les Missions catholiques au xve siècle (Paris, 1900); H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia, Travels and Studies (London, 1901); Petit, fasc. vii. S. Weber, Die katholische Kirche in Armenien (Freiburg, 1903). For the disputes which have arisen over the subject of Arzvakan and Aghtamar see Bibliographie analogie des ouvrages de M. Marie-Felicien Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1857); Daskian, Catal. der arm. Missionsliteratur in Turz, Christentumsh., zu Wiens, 1885; F. Macler, Catal. des manuscrits armén. et. gr. de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1903).

VI. ARMENIAN MISSIONS.–The work of the Protestant missions among the Armenians dates from the beginning of the 19th cent. It was especially prosperous from the day on which the Sublime Porte granted independence to the Protestant community. The Protestant missions in Armenia belong, on the one hand, to the Missionary Societies of England and America, and, on the other, to those of Basel. They have stations in the most important centres of Turkey in Asia, and some in Persia (Tauris, Teheran, Isfahan), and in Russia (Shusha, Tiflis). There are nearly 200 pupils in the Robert College at Constantinople; the college at Scutari is reserved for girls. Literature.—E. Plonnet, Mission armenienne, au point de vue politique vers la seconde moitié du xve siècle (Florence, 1875), pp. 79-93; H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia, Travels and Studies (London, 1901); Petit, fasc. vii, col. 1920.

VI. MUSLIMAN ARMENIANS.–The attachment of the Armenians to Christianity is well known, and there were always abroad their religious feelings in them in the place of nationality. In spite of this love of their religion, some Armenians, persecuted by the Musulmans, have adopted Muhammadanism. The Mohammedan mission of Hamshen, to the east of Trebizond, after some bloody massacres, accepted in thousands the law of Islam. They are therefore Turks, but they speak a dialect which betrays their Armenian origin. The Kurds, it is said, are ancient Armenians who have passed under the law of Islam.

About 1761, a certain Chalabli, who was very fanatical, associated himself with the Persian Musulmans, and conceived the plan of massacre of the Armenians if they would not be converted to Muhammadanism. He tortured them first, cutting off their ears so that they might not hear the prayers they were singing in church, then expelled them, compelling them to speak their mother language, and putting out their eyes to strike fear into the other Christians. Chalabli inflicted these tortures on the poor, and granted honours and titles to the rich to impose silence on them. By this means thousands of Armenian families became Musulmans, especially in the province of Oudi. In this province above all, the Muhammadians destroyed the churches and Christian sanctuaries, so that the Christians might more quickly forget their original religion. In the province of Oudi many names recall their Armenian origin; at Gis is found a much venerated sanctuary of St. Eliseus. The Musulmans have adopted, as well as the Christians, the pilgrimages to it, light candles, and address very fervent prayers to the saint; and in several villages in the neighbourhood of this sanctuary the Musulman Armenians swear by St. Eliseus. They have preserved some of the Christian customs. For example, when a mother is putting her child to sleep, she makes the sign of the cross over it, and murmurs the name of Jesus. When the paste is prepared, a young Armenia-Musulman wife makes a cross on it with her fore-arm before putting it into the oven. The Armeno-Musulman villagers of the province of Oudi are very bigoted and very suspicious; they distrust all foreigners, and never speak of matters of religion.

In Lasistan, also, several Armenian villages have become converted to Islam, from fear of tortures and massacres. There are found among them the same traces of Christianity as among their brothers of Oudi and elsewhere.

LITERATURE.–Aghamian, erkir ic dersitek (Tiflis, 1903); Loys, Calendar for 1906 (Tiflis, 1904), pp. 191-196 (both in Armenian).

VII. ARMENIAN COLONIES.–There are Armenian colonies spread over all parts of the world; for example, in Europe: Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Russia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Transylvania, Roumania, Lower Danube, Macedonia, Greece, Palatinate, France, Germany, Spain, India, China, etc.; in Africa: Egypt, Ethiopia; in America: United States; the English and Dutch Indies, Batavia, etc. These colonists generally lose their nationality, and adopt that of the country in which they are living; but they remain faithful to their religion, which is now the bond of the Armenian nation, since they no longer have a political autonomy.

LITERATURE.—L. Alisian, Sitacan (Venice, 1893).

FREDERIC MACLER.

ARMINIANISM.—I. Occasion of Arminianism.—Arminianism was a revolt against certain aspects of Calvinism, of far-reaching importance in the history of the Reformed Theology. It took place in the dawn of the 17th century. Against the Catholic absolutism of the external Church, Calvinism had set the absolutism of the eternal decrees. The situation was rigid with a new dogmatism. A recoil was inevitable. Many symptoms of dissent were manifest before Arminianism arose as a definite reaction. After Calvin's death, the more rigorous discipline, including the Beza, asserted that the Divine decree to salvation, being antecedent to the Fall, required for its
accomplishment the decree to sin. Sin was ordained not as an end, but as a means; it is here because there was something that God could not accomplish without it. What is first in the Divine intention is last in the Divine execution.* The primal purpose was the decree to save. But if man was not saved, he is lost. Herein lies the Fall was decreed as a consequence of a decreed salvation. Those who held this position were Supralapsarians. It is doubtful whether Calvin himself held it. More moderate exponents of Calvin's doctrine connected themselves with the permission of God, instead of with His forordination. The Divine decree takes the existence of sin for granted, deals with man as fallen, and elects or rejects him for reasons profoundly indifferent to human judgment. This was the Infralapsarian position. An unequal rivalry between the exponents of these two schools was the immediate occasion of the rise of Arminianism. In Holland, which, in the 17th cent., owing largely to the immigration from France of Protestant theologians of distinction, had become, more than Switzerland, the centre of theological activity, the extreme views of the Supralapsarians found much favour. An acute and impassioned discussion was directed against them by James Arminius (Jacobus Arminius or Jakob Harmensen or Van Hermans; also known as Vetteraquins, from Vetter Armus or Oudewater, the name of his house). Arminius, who was born in 1560 and died in 1609, was a scholar of considerable reputation. He had studied at Leyden, resided at Geneva, and travelled in Italy; he was a learned and popular preacher at Amsterdam, with a pastoral career marked by fidelity and heroism. He eventually he became, in 1603, professor of theology at Leyden. Even his enemies testified to his blameless and noble character. He was a consummate controversialist and a lucid expositor. He took a valuable part in the controversies with Jacobus Arminius embracing the tenets he had undertaken to refute. He clearly perceived that the doctrine of the absolute decrees involved God as the author of sin; that it unworthily restrained His grace; and, leaving the truths without hope, condemned them for believing that for them there was no salvation either intended or provided in Christ. He saw, moreover, that it gave to those who believed themselves to be the elect a false security based upon no sufficient ethical principle. Arminius' conversion was succeeded by cogent criticism; and criticism by prolonged controversies, during which he was led by successive and careful stages to a luminous and impressive constructive exposition of those theological positions antagonistic to Calvinism which have since been associated with his name. Though it is probable that Arminius himself was less Arminian than his followers, he was the most distinguished of these. Episcopius (his successor at Leyden), Uyttenbogaert (his close friend), Limborch and Grotius, who most ably elaborated his positions—all men of great talents—owed to him the results which the early death of Arminius probably prevented him from reaching. Arminianism spread amongst the clergy. Political differences and difficulties confused the purely doctrinal issue. Great statesmen, like Olden Barneveld, like La Fontaine, like Pococke, like Erasmus, were either Arminians or of the schools of thought·

* Camb. Mod. Hist. ii. 717.

Republicanism, as Calvinists preferred Supralapsarianism and Maurice, Prince of Orange. The martyrs for Arminianism probably suffered for political rather than for doctrinal heresies. From the beginning the Arminians were greatly outnumbered by their opponents. Their main strength lay in this, the genius and nature of their case. Logically they were victors; ecclesiastically and politically they were vanquished. With their defeat came many disabilities and some temporary persecution.

2. Doctrinal positions.—The creed of the Arminians was set forth in the Five Articles of the Remonstrance addressed in 1610 to the States-General of Holland and West Friesland, from which fact its practitioners received the name of Remonstrants. The articles were drawn up by Uyttenbogaert and signed by forty-six ministers. The Remonstrance is first negative, stating the five Calvinistic articles in order to reject them, and then positive, stating the five points of the Arminian position. Briefly summarized, the following are their positions. The first asserts conditional election, or election dependent on the foreknowledge of God by faith in the elect and of the unbelief in them that reprobate. The second advocates the doctrine of double predestination. The third asserts that the grace of God is indispensable in every step of the spiritual life, but that it is not actually efficient, for all. The third asserts the inability of man to exercise saving faith, or to accomplish anything really good without regeneration by the Holy Spirit. The fourth declares that the grace of God is indispensable in every step of the spiritual life, but that it is not irrevocable. The fifth asserts that the grace of God is sufficient for continual victory over temptation and sin; but the necessity of the final perseverance of all believers is left doubtful. This last article was afterwards so modified by the followers of Arminius as to assert the possibility of falling from grace.

Gomarus, the university colleague of Arminius, but his chief antagonist in personal controversy, now engineered a counter-Remonstrance drawn up in less moderate terms. Negotiations for peace failed. An embittered controversy became involved with political intrigue. The famous Synod of Dort was assembled (1618–9) more to exercise ecclesiastical than political control over its opponents. The Arminian theologians were excluded, and the Synod constituted itself accuser and judge. The Arminian articles were condemned, their preachers deposed, and relics removed. The Synod promulgated five heads of doctrine of its own, which present Calvinism in its unadulterated but not in its extreme form.

Within the Arminian system processes of development set in, all moving in the direction of liberalism and comprehension. These will be noted in their place. Our present interest is with the leading principles of Arminianism. These are: (a) the universality of the benefit of the Atonement; (b) a restored freedom of the human will as an element in the Divine decrees and in opposition to the assertion of the absolute sovereignty of God. Apart from these and kindred questions involved in the problem of predestination, Arminianism has no definite theological distinctness. It attempts no fresh statement of the doctrines of God and man. These were accepted as they stood in the recognized creeds and confessions of Christendom; and its general tenets were the general tenets of orthodox Protestant Churches. But its specific contribution was of sufficient importance to rank it amongst the few really outstanding and permanent developments in theological thought. It is one of the three fundamental theological lines of the 17th century—definition and discussion—God, Man, and the essential re-
lations between them—are represented in the three great controversies of historical theology by the names of Athanasius, Augustine, and Arminius. Athanasius represents the movement which gave specific definition to the Church's doctrine of the Divine nature. Augustine stands as the great exponent of the moral nature of the race. Arminius found his place as the interpreter of the ethical relations between God and man. His system recognized and expounded the devotional side of the Church which the Church had long accepted as established positions, but which her theologians had never satisfactorily related. Calvin had revised Athanasianism, and had treated the ethical issues. He made much of God, as Pelagius had made too much of man. Both gave isolation and distance to terms that could be completed only in mutual relations. Neither provided a scheme of reconciliation. The aim of Arminius was to express with dialectic vigour the only dogmatic position consistent with the necessary relations between God and man. This relation within the sphere of the provision and administration of redemption provided the point of departure which he developed by the system of Calvin. The mission of Arminianism was to show how God could be what the Church taught; He was, and man what the Church declared him to be, in one and the same time. The mode of re-adjustment of the disturbed relations of man to God by justification was the central point of Protestant theology generally; the announcement and the ethical interpretation of the significance of mutual relations between God and man in that adjustment was the contribution to theology offered by Arminianism. Its system is a via media; it strove to avoid sources of inevitable and historical error arising from the extremes of the Pelagian and Calvinistic systems. The exaltation of the Divine agency to the complete suppression of the human in that adjustment issued in simple Determinism; the exaltation of the human in complete suppression of the Divine in the same sphere led to the extreme positions of Pelagianism. Arminianism claimed to have stated, for the first time, with scientific care and precision and收拾 qualified judgment of God and man in which their harmony and mutual recognition could be stated as a working principle, verifiable and verified by experience.

To appreciate the theological value of Arminianism, it is important to review and interpret the points that differentiate it from Calvinism. To estimate its influence philosophically, it is needful to state and illustrate these two great principles—its ethical recognition of justice, and the emphasis it lays upon the human in the redemptive relations between God and man.

3. Criticism of Calvinism. Arminianism regarded the Calvinistic position as open to attack on two sides—the side of God and the side of man. Its treatment of these was considered to be disproportionate and ethically unfair. The sphere in which God exercised His will was the soul of man. That will, therefore, concerned man and his acts. If such acts were performed solely by human will, God had so determined, two consequences followed:—the acts would reveal the quality of the will, and man would not be consciously free; he would know himself to be a moral creature rather than an agent. The criticism was urged therefore as much in the interest of man and of morality as of theology. In fact, Arminianism was at the bottom an attempt to formulate a protest against Calvinism from an ethical standpoint. It used much circum-

Amer. Meth. Q. Rev. (1857) 246. 

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spection in the attempt. It carefully rejected, with Calvinists alike, the pagan heaven, which had lingered in the old Church, and the doctrine of reliance placed upon human nature alone. But it renewed the sense of reality to human responsibility, and emphasized the moral conditions of grace. In its moral determination of things it sought to give psychological consistency, especially by its great doctrine of prevenient grace, to the common Protestant principle that man is entirely dependent, in all that concerns his salvation, upon the grace of God. The doctrine, created by Arminianism, was to re-state what was regarded as the primitive and Scriptural view, held by the Church before Augustine, concerning the relation between God and man in the work of salvation; and in this view the sole responsibility of man for his own damnation was evident. The criticism of Calvinism, therefore, found centres of attack in the following five points:—

(1) Predestination. This the Calvinist held to be absolute and unconditioned. The decree to elect was without foresight of faith or of good works. In its operation the Divine will was unmoved from without, moved only from within, either by the grace or by the necessity of Divine nature. The decree to reprobation was conditioned by no specific demerit of the reprobate. He was not distinguished in it or by his personal sin. His reprobation was simply because of sinfulness of nature or habitation or choice, which, being universal in his case, involved all men in equal guilt and penalty. No ethical difference was discernible between elect and reprobate. The Arminian criticism insisted on the ethical inconsistency of this view. The principle of the election of grace is maintained, the Divine will is absolutely supreme. But its supremacy is moral. God is not more bound to punish than to forgive. The Divine decree, whether elective or repugnatory, is conditional throughout. God elected to salvation or to reprobation only those whose faith or final disbelief He foresaw. The Divine foreknowledge logically precedes the Divine volitions; it is not an inference from them; it is a determination of them; it is not merely a foreknowledge but a foreknowledge which determines. But it is a Divine determination, according to the election of grace, of the nature of the present time.

(2) Atonement. The Calvinist held the Atonement to be strictly judicial. Its relation to the non-elect was incidental; its intention was for the elect alone. For them its efficacy was absolute. It so satisfied Divine justice on their behalf that they could not fail to be saved. For were any lost, the penalty of the law would be fully satisfied, but their souls would be left to be judged by the law according to the decree of their sins; their souls would be forever in the darts of hell; and the satisfaction would be made as a matter of justice. The law, existing, would demand and receive satisfaction. God, emphasizing the love rather than the justice of God as honoured in the Atonement, the death of Christ is not the act of a creditor, but a sacrifice that is sufficient by God the Father for a judicial penalty. The Act of Jesus was sufficient as an atonement, not as a mediation of atonement by a mediator, who would be sufficient by God the Father. If the judicial justice of God, demanding satisfaction, would be satisfied by the person of Jesus, without the suffering of Christ, it would be necessary that God should suffer, that He should become sin. 

The character of Arminian theology is illustrated in one of its most important writings, the Treatise of Grotius on the Satisfaction of Christ, written in opposition to Socinianism. He develops the doctrine towards an issue not strictly in harmony with the position of Arminius, by stating what is known as the Governmental Theology, which aimed at mediating between the rigorous Anselmic view of a satisfaction which is the substitution of a strict equivalent for the penalty due to sin and the Socinian rejection of all vicarious intervention. They agree that the atoning reparation satisfied not the rigorous exaction of Divine justice, but the just demands of God, emphasizing the love rather than the justice of God as honored in the Atonement. The death of Christ is not the act of a creditor, but a sacrifice that is sufficient by God the Father for a judicial penalty. Grotius emphasized the relation of God to man, and it is the satisfaction of God made known by the act of Jesus that is in view, which overcame the Arminian conception of the wrath of God as His goodness regulated by wisdom. He regarded the motive of the Divine government as the desire and provision for the happi-
ness of the governed. In this rectorial relation the ruler has a right to require the obedience of the ruled, by virtue of which the penalty was appointed is otherwise attained. This end is the preservation of order and the prevention of future transgressions. The design of the penalty was, in the end, attained, but impressively so what sin deserves and what the penalty would be for sin, the transgression of the law. The punishment of the Lawgiver’s law of sin. It is not actual punishment, but rather the effect of it. As it is not the literal punishment, so it is not in the other conditions of the case, the bestowing pardon, that the penalty is remitted. In the light of the Calvinistic view of the universe—the natural moral theory as it is, and the surrender of the theocratic law. But the Arminianism of Limborch laid greater stress on the inalienable right of God’s grace, and they hold this doctrine in relation to Episcopacy, maintaining His truth to man and the freedom of his own will, by reaching a penalty to His own purpose; as the commitment to God, it held to the imputed Arminian position by regarding the sacrifice of Christ as a price; because God is willing so to regard it. Limborch is a closer representative of Arminianism. He asserted that Christ suffered as a Divinely appointed sacrifice, and reconciled God to man as if the sinner had suffered himself. Arminianism generally reconceives the comprehensive theory of exact and mutual compensation, since some perish for whom Christ died.

(3) Depravity.—The Calvinist held this to be total, involving bondage of the will and inability to any spiritual good. By the Fall the nature of man was perverted at its inception, and original holiness and righteousness changed into absolute depravity. No distinction was made between imputed guilt and inherent depravity. Arminianism held that depravity was a bias, which led the will to its own destruction; and its own desire through the choice of faith or unbelief. The Adamic unity of the race was preserved, but its inherited tendencies to evil were met and neutralised by the free and universal grace communicated to the race through the second Adam. Absolute reprobation cannot therefore be based upon the doctrine of original sin. Arminianism denied that the sin of Adam is imputed to his posterity in the sense of a guilt, and unchangeably adhered to the theory of imputation. It was, not the solitary, is yet the primary cause of salvation. The free gift of grace to the whole race in Christ is the foundation of the entire Arminian system. Its greatest contribution to the discussion of sin was the decisive assertion of the doctrine of prevenient grace, due to the universal diffusion of the influences of the Holy Spirit, and consequently the acceptance of the law by every agent of those who strove after natural uprightness. Grace, therefore, though not the solitary, is yet the primary cause of salvation. To this primary cause is due the co-operation of freewill; for upon its stimulus by grace prevenient depravity, the co-operation of the will with grace efficient.

Later Arminianism declined in some degree from this position. Less exacting views of the original state of man were current. To preserve intact the original freedom of the will, the conception of a primitive state of perfect holiness was discredited. A state of primitive innocence must have been allied with primitive ignorance. It was also doubted whether immortality originally belonged to the nature of man. With milder views of original sin greater stress was laid on the physical impurity of human nature; it was also denied that its corruption had in it the true characteristics of sin. The implications to evil inherited from Adam are not in themselves blameworthy; they are only different in degree from the same state of children. It is only the tendency that becomes real guilt. The ‘innate liberty of the human will’ was regarded as an act of itself with the liberty of its will. The notoriety of Methodism to Reformed is evident, holding that whatever power there is in the human will—in its own self—is the line which constitutes real guilt. It is the liberty which reckoned with righteousness, even before it can produce its first act towards good works. (2) There was the definite insistence in Methodism that the possibility, as well as the possibility of entire sanctification. This teaching formulates and urges the most fully accepted by Methodism. It protests against the distinct imputation of the absolute obdurate and the liberal Grace, to the state of man, whilst it clings to the imputation of Christ’s righteousness individually. The Methodists believe the entire sanctification is quite in harmony with the main contents of which Arminianism demanded. No amount remains in man to return to God. The co-operation of grace is of no effect. The Augustinian idea of ‘co-operation’ is rejected in favour of the co-ordinating of the universe of grace with the universality of redemption. No man is found in a state of separation from God. He who has Christ, whom he wholly devoid of the grace of God. The virtues of unredeemed grace to the Spirit, and the whole of the Spirit’s gifts. Such virtues are a universal experience of the race. If Adam brought a universal condemnation and death upon all things and beings upon all general justification and universal seed of life.

(4) Conversion.—Both Calvinist and Arminian regard this as the work of the Holy Spirit. But Calvinism maintained the grace of God to be irresistible. The calling of God was both effectual and efficacious, and to the immediate operation of the Spirit of God upon the soul it was conditioned that the Divine action was mediating through the truth, and thus moral and persuasive, as distinguished from physical and necessary, of the grace, which is effective to the processes of repentance and of faith, may finally resists. The firm maintenance of universal redemption by Arminianism naturally affected its theory of justification at many points. Calvinist in Christ held to a certain number of moral standards generally, that Christ’s obedience is the only meritorious cause of justification, and faith its sole instrumental cause, and that good works have no kind of merit, Arminianism did not distinguish between the active and passive obedience of Christ. Gradually also it denied the direct imputation of Christ’s righteousness. Faith came to be regarded as justifying, not as an instrument limiting the soul to Christ, but as an imperfect righteousness, which is imputed to men as if it were perfect. Whilst repudiating the view that works merit salvation, the Arminians asserted that the faith which justifies is regarded by God as a faith which includes the position both of Arminius himself and of his followers. It is allied with a tendency, distinctly marked, to define faith in terms of intellectual assent rather than as trust. It became a simple and the doctrine of faith and the works of the religion. The influence of grace was by no means merely of a moral nature. It brought in and accompanied the word of God. Its influence therefore, whilst supernatural in its character, was in its mode of operation the new law—the law of grace, according to which the legal righteousness for ever impossible to man finds a human substitute in an evangelical righteousness accepted of God, though imperfect, for Christ’s sake. The title denotes the perilous tendency, which Christianity and Arminianism did not escape, of the notion that Christ has lowered the demands and standard of the moral law.

Methodist Arminianism met these tendencies in two ways:

1. It declared that, though God requires faith, it is also His gift. He does in Christ pardon the imperfection of the good work wrought by faith, but He does not require it as perfect so far as concerns our justification. This would be the imputation of righteousness to the believer himself. It is the faith of the ungodly which is reckoned for righteousness, even before it can produce its first act towards good works. (2) There was the definite insistence in Methodist theology upon the necessity, as well as the possibility of entire sanctification. This teaching formulates and urges the most fully accepted by Methodism. It protests against the distinct imputation of the absolute obdurate and the liberal Grace, to the state of man, whilst it clings to the imputation of Christ’s righteousness individually. The Methodists believe the entire sanctification is quite in harmony with the main contents of which Arminianism demanded. No amount remains in man to return to God. The co-operation of grace is of no effect. The Augustinian idea of ‘co-operation’ is rejected in favour of the co-ordinating of the universe of grace with the universality of redemption. No man is found in a state of separation from God. He who has Christ, whom he wholly devoid of the grace of God. The virtues of unredeemed grace to the Spirit, and the whole of the Spirit’s gifts. Such virtues are a universal experience of the race. If Adam brought a universal condemnation and death upon all things and beings upon all general justification and universal seed of life.
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love, and to evangelical perfection. Arminius writes: 'While no believer can perform the whole of the precepts of Christ in this life, I never denied it; but always left it as a matter to be decided' (Works, i. 669). The vital question of the atonement of Christ was, in part, determined by the English Platonists, who prepared the way for the Methodistic modification of doctrine on this subject, which was both an act of grace, directly administered by the Holy Spirit, in response to faith—a faith working by love, and retained by constant union through faith with the living Christ (see above).

(5) Final Perseverance.—The Calvinist held the indefectibility of the saints. Men unconditionally elected, absolutely purchased by the death of Christ, and irresistibly called out of their depravity and lost estate by the direct operation of the Holy Spirit, could not possibly fall from grace. The Arminian criticism hesitated at first to meet this position by a direct negative. But such a position was speedily seen to be inevitable. And, as a result of its other doctrinal positions, the possibility of a true believer falling from grace was declared. This found warrant also and verification in examples and personal experiences that could not easily be mistaken. Moreover, as the Arminians could not with the authority of the Symbolical documents, it was easy to assert that the Calvinistic position professed not so much as to be based upon direct Scripture support as to rest upon the secondary principle of the Covenant of Redemption.

The provisions of this imaginary covenant between the Father and the Son, before time began, in respect of the certain number to be redeemed and saved, was the beginning of the Arminian position, had produced the idea of a fixed and unalterable division of mankind. This canon every Scripture must be made to conform. It was early shown that no Scripture evidence of such an unconditional covenant existed. It was less difficult still to urge against it the criticism that its ethical issues provided reasons against its provisions.

Theologically, Arminianism is a mediating system throughout. Its most characteristic feature is conditionalism. Absolutism is its persistent opposite; moderation, the mark of its method. The failure to appreciate this position accounts for the frequent misapprehensions or misunderstanding of Arminianism, and for the natural ease with which its deliberately balanced judgment has declined, in the hands of some of its exponents, towards theological positions with which it had no true affinity. These have been chiefly Socinianism and Pelagianism—systems due to an over-emphasis upon the human. Much that in certain periods passed for Arminianism was really a modification of one or other of these systems, which a true Arminian judiciously repudiates. In Holland, Arminianism, gliding by almost imperceptible degrees, ultimately reached a position with little to distinguish it from Socinianism. In England, where there was a presence of Arminian thought long before the time of Arminius and his system, its principles found an interesting development, and their profession an unusual environment. The influence was seen in the ambiguity or comprehensiveness of the Articles of the English Church. Latimer and Hooper, Andrews and Hooker might with propriety have been called Arminians, if Arminianism as a system had been in the ordinary mediate teaching by Baro, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, gave rise to the pamphlets of Arminius, which became a political question, with the singular result that, through the influence of Land and Juxon, it became allied with the side of the King, whilst it was the Calvinists, with the distinguished exception of John Goodwin, one of the ablest defenders of Arminianism, who stood for the Parliament. But the Arminianism of Laud was the Dutch Arminianism. Arminius would have denounced its sacramentalism as superstition. With the issues of the Gallican, Arminianism suffered eclipse, but was able to rest upon its emphasis upon the justification by Arminius and the Arminian principle persisted mainly as a negation of Calvinism. Cudworth, Jeremy Taylor, Tillotson, Chillingworth, Stillingfleet, Burnet, Pearsall Whitley, and others, down to Copleston and Whately, were Arminian theologians of eminence in the Church of England. The positive temper of Arminianism, however, suffered under their treatment of the system. Its fine balance between Calvinism and Pelagianism was lost. It was blended with tendencies to Lattitudinarianism and Rationalism; and became a negative rather than a constructive or mediating system. It was from this setting, however, of Arminianism in a non-juristic and atmosphere, that the restored Arminianism of Arminius, with its emphasis on the grace of God, emerged into strength in England in the Evangelical Revival of the 18th century. It became of a sturdy Arminian stock of this type. And probably the ablest expositions in English of the Arminian system are to be found in the writings of John Wesley, John Fletcher, Richard Watson, and William Bot Pope, the Wesleyan theologians. Methodists throughout the world, with the exception of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, who represent the Calvinistic attitude of Whitefield, who withdrew from co-operation with the Wesleys on this ground, are convinced Arminians, who profess to adhere to the original Arminianism of Arminius and his followers of the earlier type before it approximated to the rationalistic temper of Socinians or Latitudinarians, or was merged in the prevailing tendencies of Restoration theology or American Unitarianism. The Wesleyan type of Arminianism, with its Evangelical note, is at present the most influential. It has the political privileges of the British Empire and America, and is based upon the conviction that the Calvinistic positions are incompatible with Divine equity and human freedom, whilst its loyalty to the doctrines of grace is the best vindication of Arminianism from the common charge of Pelagianism and Socinianism. Lack- ing the doctrinal loyalty and the Evangelical vitality of the Arminianism of Methodism, Dutch Arminianism is a dwindling force. The inclination towards freedom of speculation, the rejection of all creeds and confessions, a preference to moral to doctrinal teaching, Arian views respecting the Trinity, the virtual rejection of the doctrines of Original Sin and imputed righteousness, and the depreciation of the spiritual value of the Sacraments, have resulted in the gradual reduction of Arminianism in Holland to a negligible theological quantity, and to the dimensions of an insignificant sect, numbering only some twenty congregations.

4. Underlying principles.—The supreme principle of Arminianism is conditionalism. It provides a philosophy of freedom between Predestination and Fatalism. As an active criticism of Calvinism it is based upon two positions—the restless and dominant demand for equity in the Divine procedure, on the one hand, and such a reference to the constitution of man's
nature as will harmonize with the obvious facts of his history and experience, on the other. It sought to construct a system which should be dominantly ethical and human throughout. It sought to create, before that, the laws consistently condition the mannerly activities of the Divine will, and set human limits to the Divine action. The Calvinistic conception of justly was preserved after the fall in original the rights of God; Arminianism so construed justice as to place over against these the rights of man. Sin, it declared, had not so transformed human nature that man had become a mere vessel of evil, the property of that creature who was, because of guilt he had inherited, or saved by a grace which operated without rational distinctions and without regard to foreseen faith or good works. In equity the worst criminal had his rights. A fair trial before a fair tribunal was one which sin did not invalidate. The consideration of these rights did not cease because the judge was God, and the accused, or even the condemned, was man. The Creator owed something to the creature He had fashioned, because of the manner of His fashioning; and these obligations did not cease because the first man had sinned. In a perfectly real sense sin had really increased the obligation of God to be just. If it follows that God had stated it must be, and what Calvinism had maintained it was, then it would be truer to the facts it involved to speak of it as a radical wrong from which man unjustly suffered. The race had not been con- suited by the first man; in no true sense was he the representative of the individual members of the race; for they had no voice in his appointment, and no veto upon his acts. By every law of justice, therefore, evil, it urged that it was difficult to conceive anything more nearly approaching infinite injustice than allowing such a relation, of itself, to involve millions of men of every age and in every age in eternal death. If all had sinned, all had been right to be considered as objects of commiseration rather than persons to be blamed for what they had suffered, since they suffered as the consequence of the first man's sin, altogether apart from their own voluntary acts of kindred disobedience. And although Arminianism retained the federal principle, and held that the federal relationship had resulted in a weakened will for the individual, and had afflicted him with a bias towards evil, it urged that it was difficult to conceive anything more nearly approaching infinite injustice than allowing such a relation, of itself, to involve millions of men of every age and in every age in eternal death. If all had sinned, all had been right to be considered as objects of commiseration rather than persons to be blamed for what they had suffered, since they suffered as the consequence of the first man's sin, altogether apart from their own voluntary acts of kindred disobedience. The introduction into these relations of the Arminian principles resulted in a criticism that seemed irresistible; for the moment the idea of equity was admitted to a place in the consideration of the relations of man and God, the old absolute unconditionalism became untenable. If justice reigned, and its prin- ciples were common to God and man, it meant that God must be just to man, even though man was disobedient to God; and justice could not tolerate the condemnation of man for a sin which was committed without his personal knowledge or responsibility, any more than it could tolerate of a salvation which had no regard for the personal will or choice of its recipient.

Arminianism was always most successful when its argument proceeded upon principles supplied by the moral consciousness of man. This recognition of the value of the testimony and of the entire content of human consciousness was the correlate in Arminian doctrine of equity; its exposition of the idea of man provided the foundation of its two main principles. It regarded man as free and rational; sin had not destroyed either his reason or his freedom. By the one he had the ability to believe, by the other the ability to choose. Even if the racial connexion had weakened or perverted these faculties in the individual, the result was not incapacity to act, because the racial connexion with the second Head was intact and operative in the community. From that and the doctrine of the grace. In justice, therefore, God must deal with man as possessed of such abilities. On their co-operation with the Divine activity the results in this new dispensation would be. The human will of man was regarded asconditioning the ab- solute will of God. In the realm of nature His physical attributes ruled; His omnipotence was unconditioned. In the realm of mind and will His love and moral attributes ruled, and their rule was conditioned. Man was not a part of physical nature merely, or a mechanism involved in the impersonal or unmotivated motion of non-moral crea- tures. His destiny could not therefore be deduced by logical processes from the premise that God is the Sovereign Will, which can do as it chooses; for He has chosen to create man free and re- sponsible; and His attitude and conduct towards man will consequently be conditioned by the nature He has made. It has been His good pleasure to create man moral, it will not be His will to deal with him as if He were merely physical. If Creator and creature are alike moral in character, if it is possible for either to be during the conditioned and necessitated action on the other, are both ex- cluded. By His own voluntary act God has limited the range and exercise of His physical attributes, and so the terms which express His relations to man must be those of reason and freedom, not those of will and necessity. Arminianism offers no disparagement to grace in general, and deepens the emphasis on prevenient grace in particular. But whilst in holding fast to the absolute idea of God in opposition to all 'idolatry of the creature,' the centre of gravity of the Arminian system is found in the sphere of anthropology. Its doctrine of man probably differentiates it more definitely from Calvinism than its doctrine of God.*

5. Theological and philosophical influences.—The twofold emphasis of Arminianism on the moral and human elements in its system de- clares the sphere and defines the source of the modifying influences it exerted on subsequent theological and philosophical thought. These influences were essentially mediating; and they were mostly indirect rather than direct. They influenced theological speculations chiefly through theology. But the leading principles of Arminianism were potential in both spheres, in the succeeding periods of intellectual revival. It is well to keep in mind the fact that, in the history of European thought, the 16th cent. was great in theology rather than in philosophy, and that the 17th was great in philo- sophy rather than in theology. But without the religious thought of the earlier century, the later would have been without its problems, and there- fore without its thinkers. The pre-eminence of the one in religion involved the pre-eminence of the other in philosophy. It was a phase of theology upon philosophy, and, later still, upon more distinctly ethical thinking. Arminianism had a considerable share. Although questions directly upon ultimate philosophical and religious principles were, on the whole, not in the spirit of the age of Arminianism, yet Arminianism, as more generally true to the whole of the facts of existing problems, was distinctly more opened to the thought and spirit than Calvinism. By its underlying prin- ciples of equity and freedom it was more perfectly fitted than its rival system for a period of intel- lectual transition. It became the form of Re-
formation theology which most easily allied itself with the advance of knowledge and with the humanism of the new learning. The Cartesian philosophy, which was bringing about a gradual transformation of theological views, especially in the Netherlands, where already a liberal spirit was showing itself in general uneasiness under the yoke of the Symbolical documents, found especial favour with the Arminians. They had also among their ranks many eminent men, who were progressive to establish a new thought outside a distinctly theological circle, who exerted a beneficial reaction upon Protestant theology by their thorough scientific attainments and the mildness and breadth of their views. Arminianism stood generally for the strengthening of the scientific temper and for the principle of moderation, which represented dawning methods of far-reaching importance in the intellectual life of the modern nations. On the other hand, this attitude favored the growing tendency towards Rationalism and Latitudinarianism into which Arminian theology frequently drifted. But that this drift represented any necessary effect of the Arminian movement is disputed by many, who assign it to the system of thought which lay at the theological sources of the great Methodist revival in the United Kingdom and America during the 18th cent., whose leading restatements in modern theology, in its purest form, and vitalized it with the warmth of religious emotion and the joyous assurance of the Evangelical spirit. Arminianism in the glow of the spiritual enthusiasm of the early Methodist evangelists has been truly described as 'Arminianism on fire.'

The Arminians were the fathers of toleration. Amongst its earliest representatives are found stalwart advocates of religious freedom, who were willing to suffer for that cause. Within the sphere of opinion Calvinism did not spontaneously incline to toleration; it was inflexibly dogmatic; its instincts and ideals were aristocratic rather than democratic in relation to ethical authority. It is curious to note, however, in a manner more purely political, that an interesting reversal of the natural order of the two systems occurs. As in England the Landian were Arminian, and the Parlia-mentarians were Calvinistic; so, however, to be true in the seventeenth century, the La-ter were Calvinistic, and the Jesuits Arminian. The natural tendencies of Arminianism to toleration may be instructively traced in the Latitudinarian teaching of the Cambridge Platonists, who were drawn from the Arminian party; in the modern Latitudinarian scholar, particularly by those of Episcopists. They pleaded for liberty of conscience, and studied to assert and examine the principles of religion and morality in a philosophical method; they de-clared equally against superstition on the one hand and enthusiasm on the other. Moderation was the first law. They were conspicuous for their advocacy of freedom of inquiry, their tolera-tion of divergencies of opinion in non-essentials, their genial temper in controversy, their effort to bring about a reconciliation between theology and philosophy, their recognition of religion as less a matter of law than of faith, and their strong purpose to establish a rational the-overy, which should avail as a reply to the ath-iestic polemic. Arminianism, however, made common cause with all religious parties in resisting the dogmatism of the philosophes. Modern rationalism, which was declaring open war against the belief in the positive authority of Revelation. And the association of Arminianism with Deism and Natu-ralism, because of a supposed common funda-mental principle and the spirit which may be regarded as an unwarranted exaggeration of the Arminian emphasis on the human. Arminianism could be under no necessity to deny or deprecate the supernatural. By the time the age of specu-lative criticism and of the antagonism between faith and knowledge was reached, Arminianism as a distinctive doctrinal position had been estab-lished on the ground of its contribution to Sy-tematic Theology. Its influence on such later controversies is only indirect. That the influence was real cannot well be doubted, because of the emphasis on moderation and the more genuine religious character of the pastoral and moral theology by Arminianism. Whether its influence, through its demand for the recognition of the authority of reason in the theological sphere, affected the philosophical thinking which resulted in the rationalism of Kant, or in its reaction in the subjective theories of Herder, or in the the-oology of Jacobbi or Schleiermacher, it is difficult to say. Certainly Kant's doctrine of the Practical Reason, with its claim for the recognition of the ethical constitution of human nature, was developed in obvious harmony with the Arminian emphasis upon the authority of the moral consciousness as a factor in the interpretation of the relation of God to man. Schleiermacher's Arminianism, which depended had definite relation to Calvinism. Only in the place he gives to religious feeling is affinity with the Arminian principles likely to show itself.

With the distinct problems of modern speculative thought—creationism, immanence, mind and matter—Arminianism, like the other Protestant the-oologies, had comparatively little concern. The theistic position of the Cartesian act, the creative intentions, was generally accepted; there was no suffi-cient evidence, from the scientific study of nature, to suggest irreconcilable differences from the tradi-tional view. In one point, however, Arminianism was peculiar. It laid the greatest stress on creation being the work of the Father as distinct from the equal creative activity of the three Persons in the Trinity. The movement of Arminian thought was set in a framework of political, social, and eco-nomic changes which cannot be dissociated from its influences without missing their complete signifi-cance; but these are obviously beyond the scope of this article. One fact of importance ought, however, to be noted. When the transition from the 'natural rights' and the distinction between jus naturale and jus gentium, which had been raised by the philosophers and jurists of antiquity, passed, as a result of the Renaissance, from the region of academic speculation into legal polities, the transition was accomplished through an Arminian channel. Grotius was the first to start the question of the distinction between natural and conventional rights, and was thus the father of the modern exponents of the 'Philosophy of Law.' How profound was the in-fluence of this transition upon the course and char-acter of modern systems of Ethics will be obvious. It is here that we come into the presence of one of the less appreciated, but influential services render-ed by the Arminian definition and advocacy of its fundamental principles—equality and human freedom. These principles represent the prevail-ing tendency of the leading ethical theories of the present. Without them the advance beyond the ethics of Scholasticism would have been im-possible. Calvinism missed them, and, in doing so, missed the opportunity and the possibility of becoming the basis of an intellectual statement of ethical obligation satisfactory to the modern mind. Although the Calvinistic concept of the Church, as being based upon the individual rather than upon the traditional group, may be different from that of Rome, the Calvinistic ethics is, nevertheless, based upon outward authority—
the authorship of a truly organized Church and of the Scriptures truly interpreted by such a Church. This position was not accidental; it was of set purpose. Calvin deliberately subordinated ethics to dogmatics. From the Protestant point of view this was fundamentally reactionary; it was Scholastic in method and aim. The dual ethics, and the only ethics consistent with the essential Protestant principle, must be based upon the inward compulsion of conscience, not upon any external authority delegated as a result only in casuistry. This was the Roman method and practice. The ethics of Thomas Aquinas and of Ignatius Loyola expounds a closed system given in the teachings of the Church; the ethics of Calvinism expounds a closed system given in the written Word. 'For true ethical development there is no more room in logical Calvinism than in logical Romanism.'* Ethically, Calvinism and Jesuitism have a common foundation in that they depend upon external standards and sanctions. On this account Calvinism has not, as a matter of history, contributed to the development of ethical theory in any degree commensurate with its magnitude. It has been frequently remarked that, as an inspiration to high ethical endeavour, Calvinism has produced types of sacrificial devotion to right conduct which have frequently touched a lofty heroism in the lives both of individuals and of churches which have been dominant. Yet it must be acknowledged that the influence of Calvinism, as a system, in the philosophical re-construction of modern ethics has been reactionary. But on the other hand, of the fundamental principles of Arminianism has wrought harmoniously with the processes of ethical development, which are based upon the manifold ideals and constraints of the moral consciousness of the individual. It was the plain of the aggrieved moral nature, quite as much as the philosophic intellect, that was articulate in the Arminian protest. The deterministic depreciation of the rights of human nature to the value of a mechanical movement in the presence of the Divine will was the ethical weakness of Calvinism in which Arminianism found its advantage. This stress on the place and functions of human nature in the interpretation of, and operation with, the Divine mind was the distinction consistently maintained between the rival systems.

Arminianism was the medium by which the humanistic spirit of the Renaissance was transmuted into the theological and ecclesiastical sphere. Its great men — Grotius, Episcopius, Limборch, Brandt, Le Clerc—are all men of literary faculty and humanistic temper. In Calvinism the spirit is more distinctly speculative and scholastic, and the intellect deductive and constructive. Its great men—Calvin, Zanchius, Gomarus, Twisse, Rutherford—are all men of speculative genius. It thus easily happened that the tendencies of Arminianism were often—and sometimes rightly—suspected of affinity with Pelagian and Socinian views. These affinities were strengthened by the mingling with the Arminians of Socinian scholars returning from exile; and in many cases Arminianism merged its identity in these phases of thought. It is well known that the exaggeration of Subordinationism by the Remonstrant divines, especially by that of Samuel, grafted by subtle degrees into the Socinian position. They denied the asety of the Son, which Calvin had taught. His subordination to the Father as the Spirit is subordinated both to the Son and the Father, which is a doctrine. But, though the Divine nature belongs to the Son and

* Hibbert Journ., Oct. 1907, p. 159.
speculative treatment of theology, and, through the writings of Grothus and Episcopal, issued in methods of theological discussion which gradually extended to the whole Evangelical Church.

The Arminian effort to meet the idolatry of Scripture by the exaltation of the moral consciousness occasioned the charge against Arminians of laxity in views of inspiration. Their position was confused with the Socinian method of subordinating the authority of Scripture to other revelatory claims; interpretation depend upon the so-called truths of reason. Here again, however, pure Arminianism is the mediating position. Whilst disagreeing with Luther's positioning that reason is blind in spiritual things, it resisted the Socinian extreme, as it resisted the rigid and narrow adherence to the letter of Scripture which marked later Protestant theologies. Some of the later Arminians added the canon that Scripture cannot contradict reason. The general position, however, was that reason must be followed in interpretation; that the foundation of religion, on its intellectual side, should be in personal thought and investigation; that personalism, the twin sister of free will, is the proper or sufficient ground of belief; and that every passage of Scripture must be considered separately and in its historical setting and limits. These methods, and especially the methods of right treatment of the text and substance of Scripture was a precursor of the methods of careful exegetical study now current, and of their issue in the restoration to authority of Biblical as distinguished from Systematic and Dogmatic Theology.

The reaction from the hardening processes of the Lutheran and Calvinistic divines upon the views, generous for their time, of Luther and Calvin, was initiated by the Armenian writers, who reserved the direct action of the Holy Spirit for matters of faith, and left historical research and the memory of human writers to their fallible functions. Arminianism was initiated by the free and fallible interpretation which have proved a basis and authority for the methods now known as the Higher Criticism. Sanctions were also provided for the science and practice of Textual Criticism through the access afforded by Armenian principles to an enlargement of the freedom of inquiry into the preservation and historical growth of the received texts of the OT and NT.

The Armenian principle of human freedom and personal responsibility, with the humanitarian spirit they tended to evoke, gave a new impulse to the awakening movement towards Foreign Missions, which succeeded the era of rationalistic influence in the Protestant Churches. If the Atonement was universal, and the salvation of the whole race possible, then the sense of responsibility for making known the conditions of salvation to the race was deepened, and a note of urgency was added to the mission for the expansion of Christianity. Moreover, the weak place in the great Protestant confessions had been the anthropological. One of the many effects of this deficiency was seen in the judgment of the Church in respect to the nature and history of the races of mankind, and upon their religious possibilities, which has since broken the American results of the kindred sciences of Anthropology and Comparative Religion. And the system, amongst the Protestant theologies, least discredited by the light, is Arminianism.

Reference must be made finally to a great service Arminianism has rendered to the liberal thought generally. This is discovered in the subtle influence it has exerted in the gradual softening and humanizing of the harsher forms of theological definition. As a separate and separable system, either ecclesiologically, or from all logical, its reign was brief; as a genial and vitalizing influence, suffusing itself through all the discussions of the relation of God to man, its authority is unceasing. It has wrought, and is working, to make man see that his. secret and unacknowledged, towards the approximation of the position of modern theology respecting Predestination to that which was held by Catholic Christendom before the age and teaching of Augustine. Substantially the Churches of East and West were united, before his time, in holding the primitive and Scriptural view of the relations between God and man in the work of salvation, and of the sole responsibility of man for his own damnation, or for the want of God's will to prevent it from Arminianism to restore. How far the disturbance of the thought of the Church on these relations, brought about by the revived and intensified Augustinianism, and everafter the views opposed to it, as addressed by the influence of Arminianism, is at present only partially discernible. It is, however, certain that it has greatly modified the specific views which were the objects of its struggle, and for which the Arminianism was held in opposition to, and rejected by Calvinistic theologians; it has also become a dominant factor in the current re-statement, to the present generation, of the doctrines of grace. The reduction of the area of Calvinistic influence, and its partial disintegration, necessitated a re-arrangement of the doctrine of grace. But of those which may be regarded as theological and ethical, the active principles upon which Arminianism insisted have been prime causes.

In France an early and interesting illustration of the modifying influence of Arminianism occurred in the theology of the school of Saumur, associated particularly with the name of Amyraut (see AMYRAUTISM), and later with that of Pajon. Amyraut endeavored to mitigate the harsh reprobation of the Calvinistic doctrine of election by his theory of hypothetic universal grace, which was substantially equivalent to a doctrine of universal atonement. God, in some proper sense, wills or desires that all men should repent and be saved. In case all should repent, no purpose of God would stand in the way of their salvation. But the indispensable means of repentance—regeneration, following election—is not be allowed upon them. In the order of nature, the decree of election follows the decree providing the atonement. The main peculiarity of Pajon's attempt to blunt the edge of Calvinistic particularism was his conception of regeneration: the Holy Spirit uses the truth of the Gospel as its instrument in effecting the antecedent intellectual change; but He also uses all the circumstances
an providential environment of the individual. To this aggregate of objective influence, which is not the same in different individuals, regeneration, where it takes place, is due. It is the act of God because the antecedent circumstances are the effect of God's ordering, and are adapted by Him to produce the results the Pajonius aroused widespread interest in the French Church.

In Germany the strength of Lutheran influence was already in sympathy with the Arminian movement. Its influence was silent, though in the bosom of the Reformed Church itself; and by the time of the Wollian movement, the Reformed dogmatics were moving from the doctrine of the absolute decrees. Amongst the English-speaking peoples, in addition to the influences, already referred to, which strongly modified the theology of the great school of Anglican divines, the influence of Butler became a powerful ally of Arminianism. His doctrine of probation was not the Calvinistic doctrine of the probation of the race, but the Arminian insistence on the probation of the individual in his unshared and unshareable responsibility.

The antithetical revival Arminianism became aggressive. Associated with the renewed vitality of personal godliness, the Arminian theology, carried by singers and preachers, passed swiftly across the Atlantic, and accompanied the earliest settlers who moved towards the west, across the continent. In the newer British Colonies at the Antipodes a similar influence has wrought, until, at the present day, Arminianism, as understood and taught by Methodist preachers, dominates what is probably the largest Protestant Church in the world, reckoning some thirty millions of adherents. In America the matchless intellectual gifts of Jonathan Edwards were consecrated to the task of checking and devitalizing the forces of Arminian doctrine. But the ultimate results were disappointing to Calvinistic theologians. The New England theology, where it has not passed under Unitarian influences, has revealed a persistent modification of the Calvinistic position. The distinctively Calvinistic formulations of faith in Great Britain and America have undergone revision, mostly at those precise points which were the objective of the Arminian attack.

The siren song in general tended to forsake the harshness and absolutism of doctrinal statement, without surrendering the deeper significance of the ultimate supremacy of the Divine will. And this position was the original idea and ideal of Arminianism. There is a deep and almost universal dissatisfaction with the declaration and issues of a limited Atonement, which was a main element in the Arminian objection to Calvinism; and a strong conviction prevails that the salvation of the non-elect is an object of sincere desire to the mind of God. Yet it will be obvious that it is not the doctrine of Predestination per se, in which Calvinism has enclosed its a realm of nature and providence in a network of teleology, that excites the strongest repugnance to the system against which Arminianism rose to protest.* For Determinism in philosophy and Selection in biological science are still acceptable and popular equivalents for Election in the realm of grace. Differentiation is a basal principle in each of these spheres; but differentiation involves inequality; and inequality involves preference; for it is the differentiation of objective influence that still acceptable, as individuals are concerned. Biology posits differences in the single cell. Psychological ethics starts the career of individual character with differences ad initium. Popular inferences assume that the difference between Cain and Abel, between Esau and Jacob, is an illustration of the same principle that differentiates the hawk from the dove or the hart from the swine. It is rather towards the Calvinistic eschatology that the antithesis is most keenly felt, as an assurance of injustice and cruelty which this element in the Calvinistic system wore to the early Arminians, it wears to the modern mind. The humanity of God has become an element in the standard of judgment applied to the Divine activity. Fatherhood has dispossessed Sovereignty. Immanence has modified transcendence. When to such tendencies is added the momentum of the critical and unbridled spirit, it becomes manifest, which including the human spirit, whilst yielding reverent allegiance to the mystery and reality of the Divine Sovereignty.

LITERATURE.—(4) FOR LIFE AND TIMES OF ARMINIUS:—His funeral oration by his friend, Petrus Bertius, was printed at Leyden in one quarto vol. 1631 (Eng. tr. by Nichols, vols. i. in 1659 and ii. in 1659 by J. Nichols; and vol. iii. in 1759 by Wm. Nichols; later edition, in 3 vols., in 1730, by W. H. Bagnall, in 1833); Acta synodi nationalis Dordrecht (Dort, 1610); Acta et scripta synodalia Dordrechti (Harderwyck, 1620); Schaff, Creeds of Christendom (New York, 1877), vol. iii. 500—977; Uttenbogaert, Kerckeleijcke Historie (Rotterdam, 1647); Gerhard Brandt, Historia Reformationis (Amsterdam, 1675; 3rd ed., 1683) by Chamberlayne, 4 vols. 1720; Limborch, Historia Fidei Sacri (Amsterdam, 1702), which includes his Origine et Progressu Controversiarum, etc., appended to later edition of his Theologia Christiana, 1714; Episcopii, Instytut, Theol. Syst. For valuable lists of literature see Uttenbogaert, Bibliotheca Theologica in Remonstrantium (Amsterdam, 1729).

(5) FOR PERIOD OF CONTROVERSIES:—Writings of Arminist (mostly occasional treatises drawn from him by controver- 

ties) and Arminians collected and published at Leyden in one quarto vol. 1631 (Eng. tr. by Nichols, vol. i. in 1659 and ii. in 1659 by J. Nichols; and vol. iii. in 1759 by Wm. Nichols; later edition, in 3 vols., in 1730, by W. H. Bagnall, in 1833); Acta synodi nationalis Dortrechti (Dort, 1610); Acta et scripta synodalia Dordrechti (Harderwyck, 1620); Schaff, Creeds of Christendom (New York, 1877), vol. iii. 500—977; Uttenbogaert, Kerckeleijcke Historie (Rotterdam, 1647); Gerhard Brandt, Historia Reformationis (Amsterdam, 1675; 3rd ed., 1683) by Chamberlayne, 4 vols. 1720; Limborch, Historia Fidei Sacri (Amsterdam, 1702), which includes his Origine et Progressu Controversiarum, etc., appended to later edition of his Theologia Christiana, 1714; Episcopii, Instytut, Theol. Syst. For valuable lists of literature see Uttenbogaert, Bibliotheca Theologica in Remonstrantium (Amsterdam, 1729).


FREDERICK PLATT.

ARNAULT, ARNAUDULISMS.—See Port Royal.
ART.


Note on Painting (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 821.


Ægean.—See ÆGIAN RELIGION.

American (L. H. GERV), p. 825.

Assyrian (E. CHALD), p. 832.

Buddhist.—See Temples (Buddhist), and the articles on Burma, Central Asia, Ceylon, China, India, Japan, Java, Siam, Tibet.

Celtic (G. BALDWIN BROWN), p. 837.

Chinese.—See China.


Egyptian (W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE), p. 861.

Etruscan and Early Italic (G. KARO), p. 863.

Greek and Roman (E. A. GARDNER), p. 866.

The religious art of savage and barbarian races constitutes a field of inquiry the limits of which are exceedingly difficult to trace with any accuracy. There seems to be no doubt that among some tribes religion dominates almost the whole of individual as well as of social life. The Pueblo Indians in Arizona and New Mexico may be quoted as an example of such thoroughly religious peoples. The better the customs of these Indians have become known, the more evident it has become that even the apparently most trivial actions are to them associated with religious feelings and ideas. From birth to death the Pueblo Indian is, passively or actively, partaking in an almost continuous act of religious worship. In the artproductions of this tribe the religious purposes are naturally apt to become almost exclusively predominaent.

It is true that the Pueblo tribes appear to be quite exceptional in their inclination towards pious practices. But if the word 'religion' be taken in its widest sense, including magical ideas and superstitious beliefs, there might easily be found many other tribes among whom religion exercises an all-predominating influence on art production. And the field of religious art becomes further widened if, as has been done by several authors, traditionalism is included under the head of religion. Among almost all uncivilized nations, everything that has been transmitted from the ancestors to descendants is treated with a respect which closely resembles religious feeling. And in art, even if the products we meet with be of recent origin, the methods employed in production have almost everywhere been transmitted from earlier generations.

It is only natural, therefore, that several authors should have been led to consider all ethnic art as essentially religious. This opinion is represented by some of the most eminent German ethnologists. According to Dr. Gerland, the distinguished continuator of WALTZ'S Anthropologie der Naturvölker, dances, pantomimes, and dramas, however meaningless they may now appear, have always originally been connected with religious ceremonies. The articles of dress and ornament with which primitive man decorates his body are, by ethnologists of this school, interpreted by preference as savage or religious symbols. And in works of art, such as rock paintings and engravings, the sacred and serious meaning has been taken for granted.

According to this line of thought, however, a reaction has set in among other German ethnologists. In his remarkable essay on petroglyphs (Etnographische Parallelen) Andree has branded as a learned bias the general tendency to look for such sacred meaning in all ancient drawings, many of which may have had their origin simply in the impulse of the idle hand to scratch lines and figures on inviting surfaces. Other ethnologists have pointed out how easily the simplest dances and songs are to be explained as outbirths of an emotional pressure, which in itself exercised a tie with religious feeling. And it has been urged that the religious sanction, which traditionalism confers upon all ancient customs, does not in itself give us any information as to the real origin of these customs.

However sound in its principle, the reaction against the religious interpretation may, nevertheless, easily lead to a too radical scepticism. The case of the carved ornaments of the Hervey Islanders is most instructive in this respect. Notwithstanding the deriding strictures originally passed, in the name of common sense, on the symbolic interpretations of Stolpe and Read, an unbiased examination can lead only to the conclusion that, in these apparently meaningless figures we really meet with a symbolic art which is full of religious significance (Stolpe in Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Literary and Scientific. Soc., 1891).

By such examples it is proved beyond question how impossible it is to uphold any a priori assertions as to the religious or non-religious character of primitive works of art. In order to estimate whether or not a religious influence has been operative, it is necessary to examine in detail and from a philosophical point of view the artistic productions of all tribes of mankind. Such an examination is as yet been undertaken with regard to only a few tribes: the Hervey Islanders, the inhabitants of the Torres Strait regions, the Dayaks of Borneo, the Pueblo Indians, and some others. In an article for an Encyclopaedia, there could in no case be any question of endeavouring to supplement these gaps in our knowledge. The only thing therefore that can safely be done is to interpret, at the risk of incompleteness, such works and manifestations alone as display their religious character on the surface. And it will be necessary, in order to keep the survey within reasonable limits, to exclude all works the origin of which is to be found in an exclusively magical purpose. Thus the various kinds of dramatic rain-making rituals, and the magically-medical cures, although generally executed by the religious profession, will not be treated of in this connexion (see MAGIC).
ing dervishes and of many other well-known sects, might be quoted in proof of the fact that, among civilized as well as among barbarous peoples, a highly strung emotional state, even if produced by purely physical agency, is considered as a religious feeling. And it is significant that the only form of art which manifests that has been observed among the lowest of all savages—the wood Veddas of Ceylon—consists of an exalted dance, which has justly been compared with the attitudes of the Silurian deer and with the performances of the howling dervishes. As to the exact purpose of this ceremony, travellers do not all agree. Some take it to be intended as a kind of propitiation, addressed to the divinity of the arrow—an arrow being always stuck in the earth in the centre of the dancers. According to others, the dance might be explained as a kind of thanksgiving; others again see in it a rite, aiming at the expulsion of demons. But however much these interpretations may differ, the religious character of the ceremony has been taken for granted by almost all the different authorities. And their descriptions of the 'arrow dance' coincide in all the principal points with those of E. Schmidt, Naturwiss. Forsch. auf Ceylon, iii.; Emerson Ten- nant, Ceylon; Hoffmeister, Travels; Deschamps, *Au Pays des Veddas*; Schmidt, Ceylon).

The participants in the dance are all men. At first they move about without touching each other. Every dancer turns round on one foot, whilst performing some spasmodic movements with the free leg. The arm descends in circles in the air, and the head is thrown backwards and forwards, and at the same time the long, entangled hair stand out like a brush from the crown. The music is a simple melody, which is sung, or rather howled out, by the dancers. A man is marked by strokes of the hand on the nude belly. All this is begun in a state of quiescence. But gradually the time grows quicker, the movements become more violent, and the howling louder. Thus the dancers work themselves up to the utmost frenzy, and finally, one after another, fall to the ground in exhaustion. Some of them lie on their backs 'as stiff as a fallen tree,' whilst others, continuing the howling, tremble in convulsive vibrations.

This 'arrow-dance' is typical of a large class of dance-performances, examples of which are met with amongst most of the lower races, sometimes as mere amusements, but more often as religious rites. As is employed in the exaltation and the convulsions may, indeed, be more complicated than those resorted to by the Veddas. Thus, among some North American Indian tribes (cf. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes, v.*) the dancers prepare themselves for their performance by some days of fasting, and increase their state of exaltation during the dance by partaking of drugs or inhaling poisonous smoke. The clappings on the nude belly are, at higher stages of culture, replaced by the sound of some instruments capable of a greater suggestive power. But the spirit of the performance is none the less the same all over the world. Whether the dancers belong to the Ainu, to some of the aboriginal tribes of India (Aquis, Kurs, Santals), or to some South- or West-African race (Basutos, Tshi- speaking peoples on the Gold Coast), their chief objective is still to throw themselves, by violent movements and sounds, into a state of exaltation, which borders upon, or really passes over into, insensibility and unconsciousness; and it is the same endeavour which characterizes the celebrated performances of the tribes of Northern Asia (cf. e.g. Radloff, *Sibirian*: Mikhailovski in *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxiv. 62, 126).

In the shamans' rites, however, we meet with one important feature that is not represented in the Veddas' dance. In this example, the frantic scenes seem to be over at the moment unconsciousness is attained. In the higher developments of the arrow-dance type, however, it is from this moment that the real performance begins. And what follows, far more than the dance itself, is apt to give a religious character to the rite.

It is well known that on the lower stages of culture human beings are possessed by some divinity, and are consistently treated with a kind of religious respect. It is only natural that the same attitude should be upheld in those cases where the mental disorder is acute instead of chronic. And the shamanistic psychosis is the more liable to be interpreted in a supernatural way, since the shaman, in accordance with the traditionally-fixed programme of their performances, invariably astonish the bystanders by jugglery and feats of insensibility, such as cutting fire, lacerating themselves with knives and needles, etc., made possible by their exalted and anesthetic state (see SITAMANISM). The sudden change in their attitude and the apparently supernatural power he exhibits, must necessarily lead the primitive spectators to the inference that a divine personality has taken hold of the shaman, while he is making war on his own divinity, in order to confirm the spectators in this belief. He delivers oracular utterances in a mystic voice, which is taken to be the voice of the god, or he keeps up long dialogues with the divinity, who is supposed to be visible to him, but is audible only to the bystanders. We have not in this connexion to decide whether these representations are wholly fraudulent, or whether they may have their origin in some visual and auditory hallucinations of the shamans. The important fact, from our point of view, is that in either case the orgiastic and, so to say, lyrical dance, which forms the beginning of the shaman performance, has passed over into something which, in its effect, if not in its intention, is to be considered as a work of dramatic art.

2. Pictorial art.—In these dramatic representations we meet with an expression of the belief that which may partially have escaped notice in the facts of shamanistic possession—that the priests are, or may for a time become, inhabited by the divinity. If, as primitive peoples seem to believe, he must do so in order to work as a kind of 'god-box' (to use the picturesque expression of the Polynesians), then it is evident that the actions he is representing must impress his pious spectators as an eminently religious drama. But even if there had been no belief in a particular class of 'god-boxes,' dramatic representation would still have acquired a religious importance, on the ground of the belief in the magical effects which imitations of things and movements are supposed to exercise upon the things and movements that have been imitated. According to this belief, the god may be conjured to take up his abode in the body of the performer, who imitates what are believed to be his appearance, movements, and behaviour. And the artistic production, which has been called into existence by this principle of sympathetic magic, does not restrict itself to the department of dramatic art. It has attained importance within the domain of pictorial imitation.

The transition from dramatic to pictorial art is marked by those masks which, in many tribes, such as the American, are worn by the dancers in religious dances (cf. Boas, *Dall, Woldt, on the Bellacoolas*; Haddon and Cod-
rington on the Melanesians). The effect produced on the spectators by these painted faces is partially dependent upon the dramatic acting—the singing and the movements—of the performers. But the masks themselves have no doubt, and to awak

And among all primitive tribes they are regarded as sacred things, scarcely less holy than the religious paintings and statues venerated by more developed nations. And the religious status which the primitives ascribe to images, one scarcely meets with any pictorial representations of the deity. This, probably, has less to do with the technical inability of the lowest savages than with the deficient anthropomorphism in their notions of the deity. Where a god is imagined as some vague and formless being, certain rude and shapeless fetishes may be considered as satisfactory representations or vehicles of the Divine power. But as soon as a god has taken on the form of animal or man, pictorial art will be resorted to as a means of facilitating—by virtue of sympathetic magic—communications between man and the divinity.

The images and statues of primitive man must not be confounded with the attitude towards the deity in any resemblance to those pictorial representations of which bar-

barous—or sometimes even civilized—men avail themselves in order to bring about some effects of magic or illusion. It seems, on the contrary, as if such representations were always aimed at in the idols and ancestral statues of the lowest savages. And what we know about the way in which these statues are made gives us reason to believe that their supposed efficacy rests only partially upon their resemblance to nature. But, as the wood deity from his original home to their towns and villages, they construct a wooden doll of branches taken from the tree in which he is supposed to live. The god, is, no doubt, believed to feel a special temptation to attack his abstracted image in the idol made in his own likeness; but it is evident that the material link established by the choice of the wood is thought of as being of no less, perhaps even of greater, importance than the resemblance (cf. Ellis, "Ethnology," p. 278; Tylor, "Primit. Sacr.," p. 84).

When the personality to be represented is not a nature god but an ancestor, it is still easier to bring about a material connexion between him and the god. The divine spirit—by the religious masks often consist of a part of a human skull which has been painted in glaring colours. And among Melanesian, Malay, and West African tribes the skull of the dead is often inserted in the head of the statues which are made in their likeness (De Clerq in Schimeltz, New Guinea; Brenner, "Kannibalen Sumatra"). When the cannibals of Sumatra prepare their celebrated richly-sculptured magical staffs, they always enclose in the head of the uppermost figure of the staff the brain of a young boy, who has been killed for the purpose (Brenner, i.e., cf. also the author's "Origins of Art," p. 210). It is probable that whatever power such images are believed to possess is given to them chiefly by their material contents. The worship and respect shown to the statues are developed out of a worship of skulls, and the statues themselves have originally been considered, not as imitations of the body, but as having some part of the body itself. The more, however, the form of these receptacles has been elaborated, the more there must also arise a subjective illusion, which in itself serves as an excuse for the human image in connexion with the imitated reality. The crude character of savage statutory is no obstacle to such an illusion, as in primitive peoples the want of technical ability is counterbalanced by a naive suggestibility. And as soon, on the other hand, as the image itself—as image—has acquired a magical or religious efficacy, there will also appear an effort on the part of the artist to heighten the suggestive effect by increasing the likeness and the resemblance of the statues. Thus superstitions and religious motives will tend gradually to increase the artistic value of the religious images. And the religious status which the Melanesian assigns to the idols of the West African Negroes, for instance, probably owes something of their wild and fantastic likeness to an attempt to awaken as intense an impression as possible of the divine powers which they are intended to represent. At a somewhat higher stage of development, on the other hand, as, for instance, among the Pueblo Indians, religious motives tend to restrain the impression of pictorial representation within some traditionally-fixed limits.

However crude and simple an idol may be, it will none the less, by virtue of its mere existence, bring about some important changes in man's attitude towards the deity in nature. The West African Tshi, who has originally been considered as distant or vaguely localized, becomes concentrated in an approachable vehicle. The pious adorer thus acquire a fixed object for their worship. And the deity is, in a manner of speaking, carried into the environment. Thus, around the idol, there naturally arises a temple.

Among the lowest savage tribes these temples have no qualities entitling them to be enumerated among works of art. But at a somewhat higher stage of development, the house of the god is often decorated in a most gorgeous way. The ancestral houses—which are temples in the literal sense of the word—display the wooden deity, the ancestor, and Melanesian and Melanesian tribes, a wealth of ornamental art (see Temples). (See further, "Note on the Use of Painting in Primitive Religion," following this article).

3. Propitiation in art. In order completely to explain the motives which have led to these architectural constructions and decorations, it is not sufficient to appeal to those philosophical and superstitious ideas which have hitherto been mentioned. In the first place, attention has been hitherto given to man's endeavour to create, by dramatic or pictorial art, a representation of the god—a receptacle, so to say, of the god, or to bring the god into relations with the divinity. Alongside of this endeavour, however, there can always be observed another tendency, which has been of scarcely less importance for the history of art—the effort to flatter and propitiate the divinity. This effort has naturally become more and more marked the more the idea of God has become localized, fixed, and vivified through artistic representation. Thus the ornamental art which is lavished on the decoration of primitive temples may in most cases be interpreted as homage to the god who is believed to inhabit the temple or to visit it. But the tendency to flatter and propitiate is by no means dependent upon the definite idea of a god as conceived by man, but is also the result of the general tendency to show something of the god's image—sacrifice—with the exception, perhaps, of the sacrificial vessels, which, in virtue of their religious purpose, may be elaborated and decorated with a
greater care than ordinary vessels. On the other hand, the dramatic and poetic forms of sacrifice—prayer and homage—afford us an ample store of examples which exactly fall within the scope of the present article.

A kind of sacrificial purpose may indeed be discovered even in those shamanistic dances which to the superficial observer appear to have their only motive in the desire to bring about a state of exaltation. As every effort is taken to be agreeable to the dancers, who may in many cases nourish a hope of softening the hard heart of their god by their violent exertions. And this seems the more probable since the dances are often connected with self-tortures, e.g. defilements, vomiting of disgusting things, etc. But, on the other hand, these feats of endurance may as well be explained either as a means of imposing upon the spectators, or as immediate results—allegorical to the self-woundings of hysterical and hystero-epileptic patients—of the pathological insensibility which has been brought about by the exaltation.

It is easier by far to interpret those less exalted dances, and even dramatic performances which tend only to provoke, or to exalt, the passions. For the purposes of explanation it is advantageous to make a distinction between those artistic manifestations through which the interest and amusements of the spectators are for the most part what is called the pious or loving appearance, or the divine spectator, and those manifestations in which the expression of man's own feelings of thankfulness or happiness appears to be the chief motive. It is to be remembered that these two classes of religious art, for our present purpose, may, from different views and interpretations, be very often blended together.

The most instructive examples of the first class are to be found among the melodramatic representations given at the ancient Roman games, and at the harangues of the orator. The spirit of the dead man is considered to be a divinity, these performances are undeniable of a religious character. But as, on the other hand, the deceased are believed to preserve all be tastes, if not the like of the living, or the living mind, an aesthetic pleasure, the funeral dramas and dances may often fulfill a magical purpose.

In some cases the dances and songs aim at a stimulation of the spirit, which certainly needs an increase of force in order to surmount all the hardships and the weary wanderings of its transitional life. In other cases, funeral art is evidently intended to produce some terrifying effects upon the invisible enemies of the dead, who are believed to endeavor to possess themselves of his body. Sometimes one may even believe that the survivors try to frighten the spirit itself away from their homes by terrifying dances and pantomimes. Even in this case, however, it is probable in the endeavor to exert a sympathetic influence upon the combatants which the deceased has to undergo before he can attain his peace and rest, that survivors hold magic war-dramas (e.g. show feuds and battles over his grave) as means of peace.

When—as has probably been the case in some tribes—the cult of some individual ancestor is transformed into a cult of a general divinity, and, in some cases, is, it is probable in the endeavor to exert a sympathetic influence upon the combatants which the deceased has to undergo before he can attain his peace and rest, that survivors hold magic war-dramas (e.g. show a terrible battle) over his grave.

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tions as, for instance, the great Kachina dance of the Zuni Indians, this didactic tendency seems to be especially prominent. In masquerades of the type represented by the Mumbo Jumbo dance in Central Africa and the ‘Kinas’ of the Fue-
gians, we meet with the moral, or pseudo-moral, motive of terrorizing women and children into submission, the images and connotations with which the gods. Finally, in the dramas, songs, and dances at the initiation of boys and girls into maturity, magical, didactic, and moralizing pur-
poses have all combined to create the most mar-
velous of all the religious manifestations which are to be met with in the department of primitive art. It is true that the instruction conferred at these ceremonies refers chiefly to practical utility. But even among primitives to a low degree of development, as the Australian aborigines, religious and, one might say, philosophical doctrines are expounded to the young men. Thus in a kind of miracle play, to which some curious analogies have been found among the Fijians and the East Africans, the old men exact before the boys a representation of death and resurrection. Although less elaborate in dramatic detail and stage-management, the fragmentary dramas in which the American Indian shamans-participating in the so-called ‘sacred dances’—are represented are recalled to life present us a scarcely less in-
teresting illustration of the same great thought. There are indeed, especially in this last example, good reasons for regarding these ritualized death and resurrection performances as a result, in a magical way, some kind of spiritual re-
generation in the novices on whose behalf the drama is performed. But while admitting this, we must not forget that that same endeavour to elucidate the doctrines of the priest-
hood may be combined with the magical rite in question. And similarly with regard to analogous ceremonies in other tribes, we feel justified in assuming as a fact the didactic purpose. As the more the dogmatic system becomes fixed and elaborated, the greater need will there ensue of affording these doctrines a clear expression in the objective forms of art.

It is evident that poetry more than any other art is fitted to serve such a purpose. And, in fact, among several tribes at the stage of higher savagery and barbarism there have been found some effort to combine poetry with the songs. Thus, while the songs, however, will be more properly treated of under the headings MYTHOLOGY, CHARMS, and HYMNS.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned above, the following books may be consulted with advantage:

Workmanship of the Motu Race, Dunedin, 1894; A. R. Mein, Die bildenden Künste bei den Dayaks auf Borno, Vienna, 1899.


YAHNE HIRK.

NOTE ON THE USE OF PAINTING IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION.—Besides the realistic and sym-
bolic representation of his divinities or of his religious conceptions and aspirations by means of various art methods—images or statues, carvings, sacred dances, sacred hymns and chants—painting has been brought into close connexion with the religious ceremony by primitive or savage man, as well as by his more civilized successor. The purpose of this note will be sufficiently fulfilled by reference to such painting in the Stone Age, among the rudest savages, and with a semi-barbaric people. In all

alike the ends aimed at are precisely the same as those intended by the image or carving—the obtaining of power over the deities. The vivid depiction of the worshipful object or person so that the worshipper, by means of the picture or symbol, may have his religious sense re-awakened, or may also be brought into contact with the divinity: the notions, then, represented are those which have been referred to—that of the Paleolithic cave-artists—the paintings are not those of divini-
ties but of animals. Even if these had no totemistic significance, the ceremonies played a highly important part in the magic-religious ceremonies which, as hypothesis, were performed before them.

Within recent years, French archaeologists have discovered the existence of engravings and paint-
ings of animals on the walls of caverns in Perigord and the Pyrenees. Similar paintings were, almost simultaneously, found in grottoes at Altamira in Spain. They are executed on rocks in the darkest part of the caves, far from the entrance. Artificial light must therefore have been employed in de-
signing them, as is proved by the discovery of a stone lamp ornamented with an incised figure of a reindeer, and thus dating from the Reindeer age of the Palaeolithic epoch. There are also incised engravings with which the great Glyptic period of Quaternary times terminated. Probably these wall engravings and paintings belong to this closing period also. The animals represented are mam-
moth, reindeer, horse, ibex, etc. Some of these are engraved; others, besides being engraved, have the outlines filled in with reddish-brown colour, or, in some cases, bluish-
black, exactly as totemic grave-posts used by the American Indians have incised figures painted over with vermilion; in others the engraving lines are accentuated by a thin band of colour. Frequently a design is outlined in black, and the surface covered with red ochre. We are yet ignorant how the colour was applied; it may have been daubed on by means of some primitive brush, or blown from the mouth, as is the case with some Australian rock-paintings. The interest of these paintings, for us, consists in the theory regarding their pur-
pose enunciated by a French savant, M. Salomon Reinach. He notes regarding these paintings as well as Quaternary art in general, that motifs borrowed from the animal world are the most numerous, and that among them are those which form the food supply of a nation of hunters and fishers. They are desirable animals; others, not represented, e.g. the lion, tiger, jackal, etc., are undesirable, and this, he believes, is not the result of chance. Among modern savages it is not uncommon to find that the image of a creature or object is held to give its author a prise over the object or creature through a process of mimetic magic. Hence many savages object to be drawn or painted. In the same way pantomimic and dramatic exhibitions have for their purpose the actual result of what is thus imitated symbolically (rain-making, animal-dances). Among the Central Austalian, in order to cause a multiplication of such a totem-animal as the witchetty-grub, the members of this totem clan assemble before a rocky wall on which are painted great representations of the grub, and throw them over or from the being repre-
sent. In the same way pantomimic and narrative performances have for their purpose the actual result of what is thus imitated symbolically (rain-making, animal-dances). Among the Central Austalian, in order to cause a multiplication of such a totem-animal as the witchetty-grub, the members of this totem clan assemble before a rocky wall on which are painted great representations of the grub, and throw them over or from the being repre-

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character, are painted on rocks, and are told to women and children.

M. Reinaich notes the fact that the Quaternary paintings are executed on the walls of caves far from the entrance and at the end of corridors difficult of access, as if with a view to secrecy. Not only so, but the caves are in total darkness, and, as has been said, the paintings must have been executed in an atmosphere of artificial light. Hence the impossibility of assuming that they were executed for more pleasure. They must have had a religio-magical character, and their painting is the result of left spirit channel practices, the multiplication of the game on which depended the existence of the clan or tribe. Ceremonies, in which the adults alone took part, were performed with that end in the darkest part of the cavern, entrance to which was forbidden to the profane. These paintings formed the object of the cult, addressed not to the individuals represented, but to the species, over which the worshippers had influence by reason of the individual being thus depicted. The animals, as a result of these ceremonies, would multiply and would frequent the neighbourhood. The various sculptures and engravings of the Reindeer age may have had such a purpose also, with the objects depicted by the cavetman doubly played their part in magical and totemistic ceremonies, as M. Bernardin had already suggested in 1876 (Revue Socio-scientifique, Feb. 1876). Thus the art of the period was neither a luxury nor an amusement, but the expression of a rite yet intense religion, based upon magico-religious practices having for their object the attainment of the food supply. While we cannot admit that Paleolithic man's artistic powers were used only for the beauties of his designs, and the care in reproducing exactly what he saw, suggesting the artist pure and simple—it could not fail that they should be frequently employed in such ways as M. Reinaich has suggested. Everywhere else this has occurred, and art has been freely enlisted in the service of both religion and magic.

In the times of transition to the Neolithic age, through the hiatus art production of the earlier period is unknown, art was again used in the cult. This, already shown by the symbolic engravings and markings on rocks, megalithic monuments, etc., is further evidenced by the painted pebbles found by M. Piette at Mas d'Azil. Some of the designs represent numbers, others are alphabetic forms corresponding to the letters of the later Aegae and Cypriote syllabaries; others are picture-graphs, with or without a symbolic meaning. It is in these last that we may find the use of paintings as an accessory to the cult. Among them are the cross by itself or within a circle, a circle with a central dot (solar symbols, some of which occur as engravings on the megalithic monuments of the Neolithic age), the serpent, tree, etc. All are painted with peroxide of iron upon white pebbles. Later, the carved symbols of the Neo-lithic, like the symbolic figures (divinities) on the walls of the grottoes of La Marne, etc., show traces of having been covered with colour, like the carved images of later ages.

For the cave paintings see L'Anthropologie, 1890; Revue mensuelle de l'École d'anthrop., 1903. M. Reinaich's paper will be found in L'Anth., 1895, p. 257. See also his Story of Art translated, etc., by M. Piette's daughter. The same are described in L'Anth., vi. 385, xiv. 464 f. For the symbolic engravings of La Marne, see Cortialhac, La France préhistorique, 240 ff.:

Some Australian instances of the use of painting for magico-religious purposes have already been referred to. Among the Northern tribes of Central Australia similar paintings are used in the totemic ceremonies. The men of the Thalaunna or Black Snake totem, when they perform the Intichiuma rites for the purpose of increasing the number of this snake species, paint partly symbolic and partly initative designs, painted with red ochre and other coloured earths and charcoal. These depict the mythic history of the ancestral snake, which is also dramatically represented (Spencer-Gillen, Northern Tribes, of C. A. 965 ff.). Similar ground paintings are also used by the Ybirra. These totem ceremonies. Each one represents, or rather was associated with, the various spots at which the animal stood up, performed ceremonies, and was initiated. In this case the paintings are entirely symbolic, and consist of concentric circles and curved lines outlined in white dots on a ground of red or yellow ochre, painted on the surface of the earth previously prepared for the purpose. Spencer and Gillen describe at some length the sacred rock-drawings of the Central Australian tribes. These, which are usually executed in red ochre, are mainly conventional geometrical designs, all of which, however, have a definite meaning to the natives who use them. They are seen only by men who have been initiated, and are painted on the rocks near the place where the sacred churingas of the clan are kept. The same churingas and paintings on the ground or on trees are also found in connexion with the bora, or sacred initiatory ceremonies, and are shown only to the initiated. Sometimes gigantic figures of divine beings—Reinaich, Guarnaschally, etc.—are outlined in the turf or formed out of a heap of earth; in other cases sacred figures are cut in the bark of trees. Similar figures are also painted with red ochre and pipe-clay on trees, or on slabs of bark, which are then hung up on or rested against the trees. The rock-paintings, which may or may not have a religious or mythic significance, are either stencilled by the object to be depicted being placed against the rock, which is moistened and on which the colour is blown or applied with a kind of brush; or painted in outline, the inner space being sometimes filled in with the same colour, or shaded by strokes of some different colour.

With the symbolism of the painted pebbles of Mas d'Azil may be compared the designs painted or inscribed on Australian churinga. The churinga is a piece of wood or stone of long oval shape, supposed to have been bequeathed to a clan as a symbol for the purpose of re-incarnation, entered the body of a woman. The child thus born becomes the owner of the churinga, which is deposited, along with those of the other members of his totem clan, in a sacred place. The design has in each case a distinctive meaning, connected with the totem-beliefs of the people, and generally illustrating some incident of the mythic history of the totem ancestor. Among the designs are concentric circles and circles, parallel lines, etc. These exactly resemble designs painted on the pebbles, which also resemble the churinga in shape, as well as those incised on the megalithic monuments of the Neolithic age. It has been suggested that the Azilian pebbles may have been the churinga of a pre-historic totemic people (A. B. Cook, L'Anthropologie, xiv. 650). In any case, the analogy of Australian sacred art shows that they had religious value.


Among the more cultural tribes of Central Australia—Zunis, Papuans, South Californians, and Navahos—a curious kind of painting is used as an adjunct to certain religious ceremonies whose purpose is usually the healing of disease, and which are characterized by great elaborateness.
and length. As practised among the Navaho Indians, the ceremony continues for nine days, and is conducted by a theurgist and several assistants. Every part of the ritual has a special significance, and must be performed with the like devotion to the ritual as to the physical, lest fatal consequences should ensue from the least infringement of it. Several persons personate the gods and goddesses and take part in the ceremonies; each day's proceedings includes the belief, according to the so-called divine, to the gods, singing of sacred chants, and prayers, and the whole ends with an elaborate dance. The whole ceremony is known as yebitchai, a word meaning 'giant's uncle,' and, as in several Australian mysteries, it is used to awe children, who, on the eighth day, are initiated into the ceremony, and discover that the men personating the gods are their fellow-tribesmen. The paintings are made with dry sand and pigments of various colours sprinkled on a ground of yellow sand with the thumb and forefinger of the operator. The colours used are yellow, red, white, black, and a blue prepared from a mixture of charcoal with white, red, and yellow earths. All the paintings, as they are produced, are made according to instructions given by the gods, as the Navaho myth of 'The Floating Logs' relates. All the paintings represent gods and goddesses, usually about three feet in height, and dressed in a somewhat conventional manner. Face, arms, and legs are carefully done; the body is long and narrow; each divinity is usually depicted with various emblems; a god is denoted by a round head, a goddess by a rectangular head. Considering the method in which the colours are employed, the resulting picture is a marvellous piece of art work, full of minute details, while many of their lines in the dress and sash decorations are copied from actual divinities of the gods. The first painting is made on the fifth day of the ceremony, and represents three divinities; in the painting of the sixth day, there are four pairs of divinities, male and female, each sitting on the limb of a cross, with their appropriate emblems; outside the painting are four gods, one on each side, and the whole is surrounded by the rainbow goddess. The seventh day's painting represents fourteen divinities in two rows, again surrounded by the rainbow goddess. Twelve divinities are shown in the eighth day's painting; in their midst is a huge picture of a corn-stalk, the main subsistence of life; a square base and triangle represent clouds, and the roots of the stalk; the rainbow goddess again surrounds this picture. A detailed account of this last picture will show its symbolic nature. The divinities are the Zenichi, who live in a rock, represented by a long black parallelogram. Those parts of their bodies and faces which are painted red, denote red corn; black signifies black clouds. Zigzag lines on the bodies mean lightning; certain black lines round the head, zigzagged with white, are cloud baskets holding red corn.

All these paintings are arranged on the floor of a medicine-lodge in which are assembled the invalid, the theurgist and his assistants, and certain privy red spirits, and the sick man is seated on the central figure of each painting, having previously sprinkled the design with sacred meal. Several ceremonies, chants, and prayers follow, during which one of the representatives of the divinities touches the foot, heart, and head of each figure respectively with his right hand, each time touching the corresponding parts of the invalid's body. This appears to be the vital part of the ceremony, in which all those divinities are in relation with the gods through their pictures and by their representative, thus transferring their power to him so that his disease may be overcome. This seems to be certain, as, before the pictures are obliterated at the end of the day's proceedings, the people crowd round to touch them, and then, having inhaled a breath over their hands, rub their bodies with the like fluid. Of any maldy, moral or physical, by the divine incantation and the sacred pictures thus exercise the quasi-sacramental power of the idol, fetish, or symbolic image, wherever found. Being like the gods, and made, as is supposed, to divine directly to the gods, are all the power of the gods themselves. So the colours used in other American Indian ceremonies are believed to have been originally given by the divine munitions (see BE, Fourteenth Annual Report, p. 91).

James Stevenson, Ceremonial of Hopi-Indian Wiracochas and Mystical Sand Paintings of the Navajo Indians, with Illustrations of the paintings, in BE, Eighth Annual Report, 1891.

Reference may also be briefly made to: (1) Zuni religious paintings on vessels, representing the Creation and other myths current among the people. The colours themselves are symbolic (see Cushing, Study of Pueblo Pottery, 1886; J. W. Fewkes, Journal of American Ethnology, ii. 1886.—(2) Painting or tatting the body (a) for magical purposes, as among the Araucan hill tribes and Burenses (St. John, AI A ii. 250; Symes, Embassies to Patagonia, p. 200, and others); (b) with totem designs, as the tribes of Malacca (Haddon, Ethn. fo. Art, p. 521); (c) on the occasion of certain ceremonial occasions, e.g., with the Avardians, the Giffen, etc. (see Grosse, Vom Standesleben, etc.); (d) for mourning.—(3) Painting the bodies or skeletons of the dead, usually with red, but occasionally (Andaman Islanders) with other colours—customary in the Pacific Islands. —(4) Painting pots, etc. (see W. Gushing, A Survey of Pictorial Art, etc.). (5) The use of pictographs to illustrate chants used in religious mysteries and as mnemonic symbols among the American Indians (BE, Fourteenth Report, p. 103); see also Taticee, Totemism.

These various examples show that, like every other branch of art, painting, realistic or symbolic, has been used by men to set forth his religious beliefs, to represent or symbolize his divinities, or in accordance with his religio-magical theory of the universe, to gratify his wishes, to act as a protection, or to transfer the power of the person or object depicted to himself. 'Art for art sake' was not unknown to primitive and savage man, but on the whole he made it subservient to a useful purpose, e.g. in bringing it under the sway of religion. It is thus search, excitement to say, as Greese does (Ausentigen der Kunst), that the art of primitive peoples is not connected with religion. Whatever be its origin, whether arising from some instinctive impulse to imitate the things man saw around him, or from some other tendency itself to enhance and satisfy man's needs. At the same time, the purely aesthetic pleasure on the part of the artist in making an artistic object or design which was to be used for religious or other purposes must not be overlooked.

Literature.—In addition to works cited throughout this article, see Andree, Ethnologische Parallelad, 1891; Him, Origins of Art, 1899.

ART (Primitive and Savage). — Before the acquisition of the art of writing by any people, the only method of recording fact or idea is by word of mouth; but the benefit of some kind of graphic representation. The carving or drawing may be intended to be realistic, though, even so, the realism may be imperfect; but one frequently finds that a signification of a thing can better express the purpose of a representation of the whole object. Thus, an animal may be indicated by a lim, a zigzag may stand for the wings of an insect, bird, or bat; in other words, a convention may be employed, so that other objects, either an object is decorated with conventional designs, these may be so remote in form from their original that they are usually described as 'geometric,' and
consequently they stand the chance of no further interest being taken in them; whereas, if information be obtained from the designers, it is nearly always found that they have a significance that cannot be discovered by inspection alone. Experience has proved that designs which have frequently been regarded as merely decorative have an origin and a natural interest predicated for them. Hence, the futility of an endeavour to elucidate the significance of designs without an adequate investigation in the field.

Apart from the foregoing and the utilization of decorative art as an exhibition of wealth or for social distinction, we find that magic and religion have exercised an influence over the artistic impulse; nor is this surprising, considering the vast importance they play in the life, thought, and feeling of mankind. From the nature of the case that aspect of sympathetic magic known as 'homoeopathic' lends itself to artistic treatment rather than does the 'contagious.' The representation of an object is as effectual as the object itself; and as there is virtue in words and power in a name, so there is efficacy in a pictograph, which, after all, is no more graphic as opposed to an oral or written expression. According to von den Steinen (Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasilien, 1894), certain designs on a Bakairi paddle represent the sanitary conditions existing within the meshes of a net; and the author believes that the object of this decoration is simply to bring fish close to the paddle so that they may be caught in the fisherman's net. Many other examples may be cited, but the most elaborate examples are those recorded by Vaughan-Stevens from the Semang and Sakai of the Malay Peninsula. These are hunting jungle-folk who undoubtedly come under the classification of savages. The English reader will find the fullest account of their extraordinary designs in Skeat and Blagden's Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula. There has been a good deal of uncertainty concerning the bona fides of Vaughan-Stevens, but these authors are inclined to credit in the main the explanations given by him of the engravings on combs and bamboos which he undoubtedly collected from the natives. Some of the Sakai bamboo designs represent diseases, and the whole design on a bamboo is intended as a prophylactic against a specific disease. One bamboo design represents the swellings caused by the stings of scorpions and by allied insects, while other creatures also are engraved together with an Argus pheasant. The significance of this bamboo is that, as the Argus pheasant feeds on centipedes and scorpions, it help is applied against striking the bamboo against the ground. The decoration of one bamboo is a charm for rain; one is a pictographic formula to enable a man who wishes to build a house to find easily the necessary materials; one is supposed to protect the harvest and the plantations round the house from injurious animals; another helps women to catch fish, and also protects them from poisonous ones. The Semang women possess numerous combs, which are decorated with various designs, each of which is a prophylactic against a particular disease. When a woman goes into the jungle, she inserts at least eight of the combs horizontally in her hair, so that the disease-bearing wind-demon, who is the emissary of Kari, the thunder-god, on meeting the protecting pattern may fall to the ground; but should the woman not wear a comb with the appropriate pattern, the disease is supposed to settle on her, and thus a pictorial history of everyday use are decorated with crosses, and

Dakotas, the most famous of the 'winter counts,' as they are termed, indicate the most salient incident of the previous year, and are pictorial histories painted which in this case extended for about seventy years (Mallery, Fourth and Tenth Ann. Rep. Bureau Eth.). The pictorial blazings or notice boards of the Alaskans gave definite information to their people, and have been described.

The materials used among these primitive peoples are very limited, and are nearly always found to be obtained from the nearest source. The Bamboos, combs, or spindle-cases are sometimes corded, or braided with various patterns, and are used for baskets. Artistic representation may be for the purpose of depicting objects, or for recording events, or for giving information, as in the case of much of the interesting graphic art of the Eskimos, or of the ruder attempts of certain Siberian tribes. Probably to this category belongs the pictorial art of the ancient peoples of Europe, which was painted in caves or engraved on bone the animals that were daily before their eyes, as did the Bushmen of recent times; but the latter frequently depended on hunting scenes, and even fights with Zulus. The pictographs on the buffaloes robes of the
groups of five knobs or two intersecting squares; all these indicate the five fingers or finger-tips, which are so often among the motifs to ward off the harmful gaze of those who possess an evil eye. Similar designs and representations of eyes, often as triangles, decorate saddle-cloths, pottery, money-boxes, leather pouches, etc., and are emboidered on the bark-cloth or robes of some peoples, so that at all times and from all points they, their animals, and their personal effects may be protected from premeditated or casual harm.

Professor Maspero says of the decorative art of Ancient Egypt, 'it is not merely to delight the eye. Applied to a piece of furniture, a coffin, a house, a temple, decoration possessed a certain magical property, of which the power was determined by each word inscribed or spoken at the moment of consecration. Every object, therefore, was an amulet as well as an ornament' (quoted by Goodyear, The Architectural Record, iii.). The lotus is the parent, vogue of this single motif; it is to be found in a great number and variety of ornament-forms than any other motif known. It was the most conspicuous and beautiful flower known to the Egyptians, and its intrinsic decorative value, as well as its impalpable use in their mythology, it was in constant and universal use as a symbol and amulet, both in its natural or concrete form, and in decorative representations of the flower. Whether or not its secret powers are to be ascribed to the lotus from the outset its decorative use as an ornament, it underwent the operation of that universal law by which ornament forms lose in time their original significance and receive new and diverse applications. Hamlin also states that symbolism alone does not sufficiently account for the fact that four-fifths, perhaps nine-tenths, of the ornamental patterns of Egyptian art are based upon the lotus; the real reason for the extraordinary vogue of this motif is to be found in the decorative possibilities of the type itself. The lotus seems to have been symbolic of the sun. It was also largely employed in funeral rites, and as a sacred emblem; and it was portrayed in a reproductive power. As the intensely religious mind of the ancient Egyptians was permeated with the problems of death and elevated by the prospect of immortality, it is not surprising that the flower which symbolized the resurrection should be depicted in such profusion in their tombs and elsewhere. How the Greek artists borrowed this motive and transfigured it, how it was still further modified by the Romans, and how it spread to the British Islands through Celtic and Scandinavian channels, has been described by Goodyear (Architectural Record, ii. iv., The Grammar of the Lotus'), Hamlin (loc. cit.), Cope (Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland, 1894-1895), and Haddon (Evolution in Art).

Whereas, for our present purpose, magic may be regarded as a direct action by means of which men endeavours to accomplish his desire, religion is the recognition of some outside power or entity who can give aid directly or indirectly, or with whom an emotional relationship has been established. It is the recognition of a power or entity to distinguish between magic and religion. In a paper on the decorative art and symbolism of the Arapahos, who are typical Plains Indians of the W. Algonquin linguistic stock, Kroeber informs us (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. xviii. pt. 1 [1902]) that the closeeness of the connexion between the symbolism and the religious life of the Indians cannot well be overlooked, and that by a white man. Apart from the decorative symbolisms on ceremonial objects of Brit. New. and the considerable number of objects are decorated according to dreams or visions. Finally, 'all symbolism, even when decorative and unconnected with any cere-

While totemism is largely a social factor, it has a religious aspect which is often not far removed from magic. When a people is in the totemic stage, the human members of the kin or clan are prone not only to carry about with them portions or emblems of their totem, but to mark their body by paint, scarification, or tattoo with realistic or conventional representations of their totem. Not only so, but they may decorate their personal belongings with their totem (cf. Spencer and Gillen's Native Tribes, and Northern Tribes, and the Reports of the Ethn. Exp. to Torres Straits, vols. 15.) The ways in which Brit. New. peoples frequently engrave on bamboo, tobacco pipes, drums, and other objects, representations of their respective totems; almost without exception the latter are animals. Not only the totem animals are pictured, but in a few instances others as well, of which there is no evidence that they ever were totemic. In this case it would seem that the habit of animal-drawing has been extended from totems to a few other forms. On the adjacent mainland of New Guinea we find plant totemous forms, more especially birds, frequent in decorati-

Throughout the greater part of America the belief in guardian spirits has lead to representations of the manitou, wakudi, okki, sitia, naugual, or by whatever name it may be termed. More especially is this the case along the North American channel, where blankets, boxes, hats, spoons, pipes, as well as the so-called 'totem posts,' are decorated or carved with representations of the guardian spirit of the owner or of his ancestors. These highly esteemed and jealously guarded crests and emblems originated among the Salish, according to Hill-Tout (Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada, sect. ii. 1901), from two sources. The crest springs from pictographic or ideographic symbols, which are not always the word sitia or 'dream-totem'). The totemic (sic) symbols are insignia are symbolic records of some event or adventure more or less mythic in the life of the owner or of his ancestors from whom he inherited them. In neither case do they regard themselves
as descendants of their 'totems.' Speaking of the more northern of the North Pacific group of peoples, Boas says (Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus. 1893–1897) that 'every North American man acquires a guardian spirit, but he may acquire only such as belongs to his clan; thus a person may have the general crest of his clan, and besides use as his personal crest such guardian spirit as he chooses. This explains the great multiplicity of combinations of crests on the carvings of these people.

Totemism frequently gives way also before an ancestor- or a hero-cult, and thus the human form most frequently in religious art. In the Papuan Gulf district the great bulk of decorated objects are ornamented with representations, sometimes highly conventionalized or degraded, of the human face (cf. Dec. Art Brit. New Guinea). In this district, at the initiation ceremonies, masks are worn to simulate the ancestral gods, and bullroarers are whirled; these and other ceremonial objects, as well as the carved wooden belts that only warriors may wear, are decorated with figures or forms of the same anthropomorphized ancestors. It is highly significant that this is the only region of British New Guinea where 'gods' have been evolved (Holmes, JAF xxxii. 428 ff.); and at the same time it shows that the district where the human face enters at all prominently into the decorative art of the natives, but here the human face is the dominant motive. It is worthy of note that, while animal forms are common in the art of the adjacent west and east coast of British New Guinea, where totemism is rife, and the human face in the Gulf district where there are 'gods,' in the central district, where, so far as is known, there is no religion, there is no decorative art. The decorative art is devoid of animal or human representations, and is characterized by 'geometric' designs. While an ancestor-cult may develop into the worship of gods, the same result may be arrived at by other roads. In Torres Straits a hero-cult, presumably introduced from New Guinea, had invaded the original totemism, and we can trace the amalgamation of the old cult with the new, and its final disappearance and replacement by the higher religion. In the same way we have a change of confusion of the totem animal with the human hero. In the ritual this was symbolized by the wearing of masks of animal form, or of part animal and part human form; and the mask was also in the Papuan Gulf district, and occasionally these masks are represented pictorially. There does not appear to be any record of a totem animal actually becoming metamorphosed into human form. It may have occurred, but, judging from the Papuan evidence, it is more probable that a substitution took place owing to contact with an ancestor- or hero-cult, and during the transition the demi-god would partake of his double ancestry. In this way we can explain the beast-headed divinities of ancient Egypt. That a part of the religion of ancient Greece had its origin in totemism may be admitted. The ox, the mouse, wild beasts and birds, and similar associates of the Olympian hierarchy, whatever they were to the enlightened pagans who endeavoured to rationalize and even to spiritualize them, are to us milestones which mark the road traversed by Hellenic religion; the Egyptian had been on it an earlier phase. When the gods had been evolved, it was very important for men to retain the remembrance of those family ties between them and mankind which were in danger of being lost through the length to which they were drawn and the degree of attenuation which consequently ensued. The statements of tradition as to the descent of mortals from gods are re-inforced by the representations of artists of the unlettered races, just as they are enshrined in the written cosmogonies of more cultured folk, the main difference being that anybody may understand the one if he knows the written letters, whereas the other is practically a pictograph, and requires the interpretation of the natives who have the traditional knowledge of the symbols. We are probably justified in assuming that very early in time the current story is not the more backward peoples) of carving or painting the pedigree of the man from the god, of the human from the divine, as at a still earlier time the reverse process had taken place. Gill says (Jottings from the Pacific, 223). Several investigators have studied the peculiar wood-carving of the Hervey Islanders (Haddon, Evolution in Art), and many of the designs can be shown to be modifications of the human figure. Stolpe says: 'Ancestor-worship is a characteristic feature of Polynesian religion. The souls of the departed become the guardian spirits of the survivors. Their worship is demanded in a double form ... It appears to me that the peculiarly hafted stone adzes of the Hervey Islands have a religious significance, that they are especially connected with ancestor-worship, and that they were probably the symbolic form in which this worship was once formed (Tennent 1890, 222, 234). Colley March first suggested that the carved shafts of the sacred paddles and adzes were pedigree-sticks, the patterns being 'the multitudinous human links between the divine natures and the human beings of the living tribe' (JAF xxii. 324). This seems to be a probable explanation of these beautiful carvings, which thus illustrate the origin of man from his god, and his continued connexion with and dependence upon him. What can religious art teach us? Sport.

Symbolism is a universal method of religious expression, and most of the decoration in connexion with shrines and altars has this significance. Primitively this was entirely the case, as may be seen from the researches of Cushing, Pawkes, Voth, Stevenson, and others on the religion and ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona (4, 15, 21, and 23 REW; Field Columb. Mus., Anth. Ser. iii.; Journ. Am. Eth. and Arch. i.–iv.; Am. Anthropologist, and JAFL, various vols.). The sand-paintings, decorated tablets, and other ornamented ceremonial objects appear to be not merely representations of the desires of the priests, but objects for religious purposes, and their attributes, but many may be regarded as actual pictorial prayers. The Huichol of Mexico also spends a great part of his life at ceremonies and feasts, many of which are for making rain. Very important in the religious life of the Huichols is the use of the hikuri, a small cactus known in the south-western United States as 'mescal buttons.' The plant is considered as the votive bowl of the god of fire, who is the principal god of the Huichols, and it has to be procured every year, or there will be no rain. Hence conventional representations of this stimulating, colour-vision-producing plant are placed on ceremonial objects or painted on the face. There are numerous other gods. Religious feeling pervades the thoughts of the Huichol so completely that every bit of decoration he puts on the most trivial of his everyday garments or utensils is a request for some benefit, a prayer for good, a warning against evil, or an expression of adoration of some deity. As Lummis says (Unknown Mexico, 1905, ii. 204 ff.), the people always carry their prayers and devotional sentiments with them in visible form. They know that the gods, much as they are considered as rain-serpents, are in themselves praying for rain and for the results of rain, namely, good crops, health, and life; and the designs on these objects may imitate the markings on the backs of the real reptiles. Of
similar significance are patterns composed of representatives of conventionalized or vestigial double water-gourds, or of the fire-steel which represents the great god, or of the toto flower which grows during the wet, corn-producing season, to which these forms were a prayer as well as a symbol for corn. The eye is the symbol of the power of seeing and understanding unknown things, and "god's eyes" are commonly combined with other designs in woven patterns, in ornamentation, in jewellery and mosaics, which may be taken up in the order named.

1. Weaving.—The art of weaving is found among many North American Indian tribes, particularly in the south and west, although some, such as the Athapascan, are unacquainted with it. The material for the loom is very divergent in character. The Mennonian, an Algonquian stock, form their thread from the inner bark of young basswood sprouts, while the Indians of the western tribes use cotton, and the Kwaikinitos of the northwest coast employ wool, hair, and even birds' feathers. The fabrics produced by the looms of the Western American Indians are woven with extreme closeness, and the colours are very gaudy, although the blankets for ordinary use are dark blue and white, or black and white, or are even left the natural colour of the wool. The figures, both in the Navaho blankets and in the closely related Hopi work, are frequently elaborate, and the effect is pleasing. It is among these two tribes, indeed, that weaving is best developed in North America. The native colours of the Navahos, who are noted for their personal adornments, are orange, brown, or red, yellow, and black, but here, as in the Orient, chemical dyes have largely impaired the excellence of native workmanship. Most of the weaving is done by women, who make up their designs with the deliberation of artists, and write down designs with the precision of mathematical equations, as they go along, occasionally tracing model patterns in the sand. Considerable symbolism attaches to the designs. The square with four knit corners represents the four quarters of heaven and the four winds, thus corresponding to the design of the swastika in America; while the four-cross is a symbol of protection and a prayer to the Great Spirit. A spiral is said to typify the paralled soul and a double spiral the struggles of the soul. The colours, in like manner, have a religious significance; so that black is the symbol of water (also indicated by wavy lines), or the female principle, and red the sign of fire, the male element. The Chilkat blankets of the Tlingit, the Seal coast, woven in elaborate and artistic figures, with a warp of cedar-bark twine and a woof of mountain-coat wool, are also important in this connexion. The designs on these blankets are a prayer as well as a (ritualistic) a prayer. The Antillean were also acquainted with weaving, and even made cotton puppets in which the bones of the body were the hollows for the fingers, and the latter carried, as already noted, to its highest perfection among the Aztecs.

2. Basketry.—Like weaving, basketry is largely the work of women among the American Indians. Its forms are classified by Mason ('Aboriginal American Basketry,' in Report of the United States National Museum for 1895, pp. 222-253) into
woven and coiled. The former is subdivided into checker-work, twill, and wicker-work, wrapped and twined, the latter further occurring as plain twined, twilled twined, crossed or divided warp with twined work, bird-cage weaving, and various forms of three-strand twining. Coiled basketry includes, the following being without foundation, simple interlocking coils with foundation, single-rod foundation, two-rod foundation, rod-and-split foundation, three-rod foundation, split foundation, ground foundation (in which the button stitch and other bunches are used), and the bolt-hole stitch). The forms of American baskets are equally various, ranging from flat trays, as among the Tulares of Central California or the Hopi food trays, which are little more than woven mats, to the elaborate water jugs of the same Hopis. The baskets are richly adorned with shells, beads, feathers, and the like, as well as coloured with dyes and painting, and interwoven with materials of different colours.

Basketry is used in America for the most varied purposes, as for transportation, cradles (especially on the Pacific coast), armour (as among the Massawomeeks of Chesapeake Bay), clothing (particularly the basket hats of the Hidatsa, Flathead and Hupas of the west coast), preparing and serving food, building (as among the Pomois of northeastern California), furniture, trapping, general receptacles, and in burial. Baskets likewise play an important part in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, as in the basket-dance, the same tribe also including among its masks some made of basketry. The decoration on North American basketry is reduced by Mason (op. cit. p. 235) to the following \( \text{sd}\) : lines in ornament, squares or rectangles, rhomboidal figures, triangles, polygonal elements, and complex patterns. Here the type of weaving adopted necessarily conditions the general style of decoration, the simplest being that obtained from checker-work, and perhaps the highest being such coiled basketry as that of the Salishans and Tulares. The decoration thus obtained may be heightened by the use of colours and by the addition of feather-work, bead-work, shell-work, and the like. But to convey an idea of the vast variety of design and colour of American Indian basketry without several hundred illustrations would be impossible, and reference can therefore only be made to the works of Mason already cited and to the bibliography given by him (op. cit. pp. 545-548), as well as to his Indian Basketry (2 vols., London, 1905).

Conclusion. The first utensil for holding water, grains, etc., at least in some cases, was the gourd, which was often slung in basketry for convenience, or reinforced with reeds or grasses, later still with earth or clay. It is not impossible that when these clay-covered gourds were left in the sun, the gourds were found to crack, while the clay became hardened. For a time pottery was accordingly made by covering gourds and basketry with clay, the former being destroyed by heat, and the latter retaining, in its hardened form, its original shape and the markings of its former mould. Still later, the mould was no longer used, since clay containing sand or particles of shell could easily be forced into the fine interstices and be baked to the requisite firmness. It is significant, in this connexion, that the Navahos still term earthenware pots \textit{kle-it-tse}, or mud baskets, thus recognizing the fact that the potter must know the science of the development of basketry. In the further course of development, resinous gums were put on the
clay vessels while still hot, thus forming a glaze which enabled the otherwise porous receptacles to hold liquids. As pottery gradually evolved, moulds were dug in the ground, and clay ovens were constructed in the style of the Mississippian. The potter's wheel, noted above, also finds its application in pottery, as among the Hopis, who both coil ropes of damp clay around a wicker nucleus and construct similar vessels by hand-moulding. In both the Mississippi and the French traditions, as well as in the latter, the use of a grid, usually of sticks, to assist in the shaping of the vessel, renders the pattern of the basket shell on which they were constructed. There is, however, no decisive evidence that the potter's wheel was known in aboriginal America.

Pottery was primarily used for storing, cooking, and transporting food and water, later being used in religious ceremonial, and formed into various fancy figures, as masks, gaming implements, and even toys. Burial urns are also found in the Mississippi and the French traditions, as well as in the latter, and are particularly among the Iroquois. In general, it may be said that the pottery of North America decreases steadily, in both quality and quantity, as one goes toward the north, until among the Pueblo Indians it is represented only by lines from the rudest description. The farther south one proceeds, on the other hand, the more abundant and excellent the pottery becomes, thus further exemplifying the fact that the clay vessels of Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru stood at the acme of all pre-Columbian American civilization. Pottery is a characteristic, moreover, of a sedentary people, and would thus find less use among the comparatively nomadic stocks and tribes of the northern parts of the American continent.

The shapes of the pottery of North America are numerous and, in many cases, artistic. Vases, dishes, and cups occur with especial frequency, and plain or with handles, the vases being both completely open and partially covered at the top. Bottles have also been found, as in Arkansas, and early writers on America relate that they saw earthenware drums in use, being now represented in part by the earthenware rattles used in the ritual, as by the Pueblo tribes. At least one case of earthenware burial-caskets is known from Tennessee, and funeral jars with obvious death-masks are also known in the West. The anthropological value of the latter form of pottery needs no comment. Frequent and most interesting forms of pottery are the figurines of fish, turtles, birds, and animals. It is noteworthy that these figurines are restricted to Pueblo Indians, who, indeed, represent the zenith of American pottery north of Mexico. It would be impossible within reasonable limits to give any detailed account of the forms of either construction or decoration of American pottery, whether in the northern or the southern continent. In the most primitive specimens of North American pottery there were merely the marks of the wicker mould. The early occurances in the hillsides of Mexico, as might be expected from their form and model of construction (see above), a direct imitation of the patterns of the basketwork vessels. With further progress the impressed molder by traction of the fingers of the designer gradually came to have required modifications, which resulted in producing artistic patterns of more or less regularity. The rope coils, at first pinched involuntarily, were later purposely thrust into the clay. Just as potter's marks are employed, pointed ones for incising and gouges for scraping, as well as many varieties of stamps for impressing designs upon the clay before baking. Examples of fictile ware have been found, especially in Arkansas, engraved after being burned first, with designs of true artistic merit. The most common mode of decorating pottery, however, was to give the vessel a wash of fine clay, which was painted in various colours and designs, before it was fired. Many of the designs are so numerous as to scarcely admit of classification; but as the material of baskets led most easily to the production of right-angled decoration, so in the pottery circles and curves form a prominent feature. At the same time, angular designs are not uncommon, doubtless derived from basket patterns; and both angular and curved decorations appear with great frequency on one and the same specimen. While many of the patterns are purely utilitarian, representing rain, sun, animals, and with the exception of sex symbols, at least in many cases, to be simply decorative, other figures on Pueblo pottery possessed religious symbolism. The three 'lines of life' occur, for instance, on a bowl from Chevlon, which site also shows raincloud symbols on another bowl. The raincloud symbol, indeed, is well-nigh as important on Pueblo pottery as in the ritual of the Hopis and kindred tribes. The chief raincloud symbol in the modern Hopi ritual are the rectangle (usually appearing as a stepped trind), the semicircle (also usually in trials) and the triangle. These symbols occur frequently in ancient Pueblo pottery, as on a food bowl from the Pueblo Bonito, and on another bowl from Homolovi the sveastiko (typifying the four cardinal points), on a red ground, is surrounded by a slat-coloured margin, each arm of the sveastiko pointing to straight red lines representing rain, and the triangular portion being occupied by three wavy red lines each. These few examples may serve to indicate the wealth of symbolism which may be traced on Pueblo pottery. Nor must it be forgotten that many designs which at first blush seem merely decorative are in reality fraught with deep religious symbolism. Here, in connexion with the pictures of birds and other living creatures, the investigator will do well to look at the work of Mr. J. W. Fewkes: 'In all these representations of mythical animals the imagination had full sway. It was not the bird with which the artist was familiar through observation, but a monstrous creation of fancy, distorted by imagination — real only in legends — that the potter painted on the vessels. Hence, we cannot hope to identify them, unless we are familiar with the mythology of the painters, much of which has perished. The comparatively large number of birds on the ancient pottery indicates a rich pantheon of bird gods, and it is instructive to note, in passing, that personations of birds play important parts in the modern ceremonial economy, which have introduced most of the symbols from the south' (22 REDW, pt. 1, p. 146 ff.).

Numerous specimens of pottery have also been found in Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, St. Kitts, Guadeloupe, Trinidad, etc. This is, in general, a coarse, unpainted, and rude. The most usual decorations are incised lines or relief figures, the former being preferably lines (especially parallels), triangles, spirals (rare), and circles. There are no traces that the figures on either painting or relief on the pottery of Porto Rico and Santo Domingo is distinctly characterized by an indentation of the extremity of each line in rectilinear decoration by "a shallow pit that
The totem-poles of these tribes are most elaborate, and are sometimes covered almost to their full height, which frequently reaches 50 feet, with representations of totemic animals, birds, or fish. In addition to the totem-poles, the posts of the houses on the north-west coast are usually elaborately carved, and both they and the totem-poles are gaudily painted in red, yellow, black, and other primary colours. Here, too, belong the wooden masks of the same tribes, which, like the totem-poles and masks of the rafter of the house, have religious significance, and suggest in design the basketry of the region and the Chilkat blankets. The Haida canoes are also elaborated, carved, and decorated with totemic and other religious designs. The Pueblo Indians, so advanced in other respects, were singularly deficient in carving and sculpture, and there is a wide extent of territory from the Haidas to the Aztecs (except for a few stone whale-killer figurines among the Santa Barbara Indians of the southern California coast) before any real examples of these arts are found. It is only among the Aztecs, Toltecs, Zapotecs, and Mayas, moreover, that the forms and variety of design and treatment is actually to be artistic. The elaboration of the Aztec calendar stone and of the sculptures of Palenque, Chiriqui, and Copan are unsurpassed in any part of the American continent, being far superior even to Peruvian work when unadorned. The most important of the latter class are those which represent the head only; and while many are evidently conventional, others are plainly intended for portraits, and are thus found as for a study of ancient Peruvian physiognomy. Groups were also represented; and fidelity to nature, which was the aim of the ancient potters of Peru, was increased by making some of their vessels a kind of mechanical toy, which could give a sound imitating the cry of the animal or bird represented, similar figurines also being found in Central, and even in North America. A noteworthy form of Peruvian pottery was the water-jar, an article of prime importance in so arid a country. The chief forms of this are the twin bottle, and it has been suggested that one reason for the intricate shape of many Peruvian jars was the desire to prevent insects, etc., from entering their openings. The interior of the pottery was often painted or engraved just as it was drying, after the clay itself had first been mixed with powdered ashes, carbon, or graphite, while in more common ware polished straw was applied. The decoration found on the interior, partly conventional, although important exceptions are not lacking. The symbolism, which may well have existed, is not as yet worked out.

4. Carving and sculpture.—The carving and sculpture of the American Indians are still more limited than pottery in territory. This is but natural, in consideration of the fact that wood and stone are far less tractable substances than clay or the potter's wheel. Excepting on the north-west coast, sculptured figures are rare, although a few rough heads have been found as far east as New Jersey. Among the so-called 'mound-builders,' the Ohioans, the type attains a considerable degree of artistic development, and among the Eskimos rude stone carvings on ivory, copied in the scrimshaws of the whalers, frequently represent the forms of animals and other objects with remarkable fidelity. In the Mississippi valley common shaper among the Indians have been discovered, which, in some cases, are curiously similar to Aztec work. Rude shell masks are also found, some as far east as Virginia. The most important specimens are the North American Indian carving, how- ever, are found on the north-west coast, such as the Haidas, Thlinkets, and Kwakiutls, who are also skilful engravers on slate and metal.
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Their use is entirely problematical (cf. Fewkes, op. cit., pp. 167–172); but similar objects have been found in Totomac ruins in eastern Mexico. They are accordingly the typical ‘sacrificial yokes,’ which he seems inclined to regard as fertility symbols (cf. the more conventional view advanced, perhaps incorrectly, by the現代 European painters of the nineteenth century, see above, p. 336). At all events, the problem of the real meaning of these ‘collars,’ which measure as high as 19 by 17 in., can as yet scarcely be said to be solved.

Turning to South America, one finds rough carvings on trees among the Indians of Central Brazil, while their chairs are made in the shape of birds, and they have vessels in the form of various birds, bats, fishes, and tortoises. On the other hand, art consists only in scratching natural objects roughly on gourds and making rude topographical scenes (Grubb, Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, London, 1894, p. 29). Among the most remarkable sculptures, if such they may be called, of the South American Indians are those of the natives of Guiana. One of the most typical of these is on Temehri Iesk in the Corentyn river, and measures 13 feet in length by 14 feet in width. There are a number of figures of men, monkeys, snakes, and the like, and also has simple combinations of two or three curved lines. The figures are in all cases extremely rude, and those of less importance are sometimes painted instead of carved. Some of these carvings are of comparatively recent date, for one at Ibia de Pedra in the Rio Negro represents a Spanish galley (cf. Im Thurn, Among the Peruvians, London, 1885, pp. 301–410). The sculptures of the ancient Peruvians, although naturally superior to any others of the South American continent, were, as already noted, far inferior to the work of the Aztecs and their neighbours. Expert cyclonearch architects, though they were, they were but indifferent sculptors, and even the few specimens of wood carving which are still extant are but rough work. Like the Central Brazilian Indians, the Peruvians paid considerable attention to their chairs, and specimens have been preserved which are supported by figures of some artistic merit. Chairs of similar form are also found in Nicaragua and Porto Rico. A few admirable granite heads have been discovered in the Pou de Pedras, and the fountain of Quomancha is, at least at first sight, a remarkable work of art. Nevertheless, the rudeness of the head of a porphyry idol, now at Collo-Collo, and the shapelessness of the granite statues of Tiahuanaco, when contrasted with the Maya sculptures of Copan, bespeak most clearly the inferiority of the Peruvians in this form of art. The elaborate sculptures on the buildings, moreover, are far less frequent than among the Aztecs and their congeners.

5. Painting.—This art, at least in its crude forms, doubtless prevailed through most of the North American continent; but scenes and figures are nowhere found among the Indians of the West. The tribes of the north-west coast, where, as just noted, carving in wood is relatively highly developed, paint their totem-poles, canoes, chests, boxes, and other objects in cloudy colours, while the Hopis and other Pueblo peoples are also acquainted with this art, as is shown by the masks, often of leather or basketry, and garments used in the performances of the great winter festivals. In like manner, much of the pottery discovered in the ‘elid-dwellings’ is painted, frequently in conventional designs of pleasing effect and with the general systems of symbolism noted above (p. 829). Among the Aztecs and related peoples the manuscripts still extant are painted with considerable skill, but with the high colouring characteristic of so much of early art (really grey and brown), and to these more than any for the4038. It has been developed as compared with their achievements in other departments of art. Their representations of the human form, however, as is clear from their vase-paintings, were far superior to those of the Aztecs, and the same statement holds true in general with regard to all ancient Peruvian painting. The problem of symbolism here, as elsewhere throughout America, must be solved together with the interpretation of the pottery, basketry, and kindred arts. Outside the empire of the Incas painting seems scarcely to occur in South America. It must be borne in mind, however, that painting is pro-eminently a medium of art which requires a considerable degree of civilization before it can be acquired with any measure of real merit. It is less utilitarian even than carving in wood or sculpture, and, in its execution, it is still more tardy in development as compared with weaving, basketry, and pottery, and for a like reason.

Certain special forms of painting among the American Indians call for notice in this connexion. Of these the first is ‘dry-painting,’ which is practised especially by the Navahos, Apaches, and the Pueblo tribes of Arizona and New Mexico, and in ruder form by the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and the Siakis. The painters are employed exclusively in religious ceremonies, as in the Hopi altars (see ALTAR [American], p. 336), and seem to be mostly highly developed among the Navahos. Here the paintings are sometimes 10 or 12 ft. in diameter, and are, of course, filled with symbols representing deities, natural phenomena, and living beings of sacred import. The ground is laid to a depth of 2 or 3 in., and the colours are yellow, white, red (these being made of powdered ocher), blue, black, and green (being a mixture of black and white sand), and black (powdered charcoal). Working generally from the centre and according to the plan prescribed by the ritual (except in a few definite cases), the artist, in applying the pigments, picks up a small quantity between his first and second fingers and his opposed thumb and allows it to flow slowly as he moves his hand. When he makes a mistake he does not brush away the coloured powder, but obliterates it by pouring sand on it, then draws the correct design on the new surface.

When it is finished, ceremonies are performed over it, and then with song and ceremony it is of the sand of which it was made is gathered in blankets and thrown away at a distance from the lodge. In the ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians a picture is allowed to remain several days (Matthews, in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 403 f.). The Hopis, unlike the Navahos, begin their dry-paintings at the periphery, commencing with the north, and when the painting is effaced, pinches are taken from the sand used in its composition are deposted in certain spots prescribed by the ritual.

A sort of heraldry was perpetuated by means of painting, particularly among the Plains Indians. This applied especially to the totem and shields,
and involved certain tabus, while the basis of the design was drawn from the visions obtained by the young braves (cf. Communion with Deity [American Indian]). As in many other lands, the face and head was and is common among the American Indians. This may be purely decorative in intent, or it may have symbolisms relating to religion, war, or social status. In the Mixtec of Mexico, the faces of the deities and the bodies of men were painted their natural colors: red, brown, or black, and the heads and arms of men, while their faces were coloured vermilion or yellow. These designs, being merely ornamental, might be varied at pleasure; however, the transition from the ornamental is shown by the practice of the same tribe of painting the entire face jet black after performing an exploit (Maximilian von Wied-Neuwied, Travels in the Interior of North America, London, 1843, pp. 340-386). Hence (Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon, New York, 1853, i. 201) describes a Cuibo dandy as 'painted with a broad stripe of red under each eye; three narrow stripes of blue were carried from one ear, across the upper lip to the other—the two lower stripes plain, and the upper one bordered with figures. The whole of the lower jaw and chin were painted with a blue chain-work of figures. Ritualistic face-painting is also common among the White Earth Ojibwas of Minnesota, the first degree of their Ghost Society being indicated, according to Hoffman (American Anthropologist, 1888, pp. 209-229), by painting across the nose, over the tip of the nose; the second by a similar stripe plus another across the eyes, temples, and root of the nose; the third by painting half of the face green and the lower half red; and the fourth by painting the forehead and the lower cheek green and impressing four vermilion spots on the brow and four on the cheek. The 'war paint' of the American Indians is, in general, either red or black, or a combination of both; and the same colours are frequently used for mourning (cf., in general, on American Indian face-painting, Mallery, in 10 REEW pp. 619-634). Allusion should also be made to the pictographs which are scattered over North, Central, and South America. Since these are in great part mnemonic, chronological, or historical in purpose, or are intended to convey messages, notices, and the like, they will more properly be discussed under the head of Writing and Literature of American Indians. Here, however, it may be noted that the artistic powers evinced in these pictographs (which are mainly petroglyphs) are decidedly primitive. Their interpretation, when they are not mere ornaments or idle pastimes, is often problematical, and requires, in many cases, a knowledge of traditions, local surroundings, and the like. An important class of pictographs is given in the representations of tribal designations (cf. the list in Mallery, 10 REEW pp. 377-388; and see in general on the subject his 'Pictographs of the North American Indians' in 4 REEW pp. 13-256, and 'Picture-Writing of the American Indians,' in 10 REEW pp. 377-388, supplemented for the Porto Rico figures by Fewkes, in 25 REEW pp. 148-150). They likewise symbolize personal names (Mallery, in 10 REEW pp. 442-450), and religious symbolism is also prominent, being found not only in the Mixtec pictographs from Kejimkookoj Lake, Nova Scotia, but also among the Ojibwas, Memnonidas, Dakotas, and Haidas (Mallery, pp. 461-512). More than this, there are well defined pictographic signs for many household utensils, the sky, the heavenly bodies, day and night, lightning, eclipses, and meteors, and representations of tipis and even pueblos are also found (Mallery, pp. 694-755). The older American pictographs are naturally on stone and uncoloured; but bone, skin, gourds, copper, wood, and textiles also bear such figures, frequently in colours.

6. METALLURGY AND JEWELLERY.—The Indians of North and Central America were acquainted with copper, silver, gold, iron, galena, lead, and tin, knowledge of the last two being restricted to the Aztecs, Toltecs, and Mayas. Nevertheless, the use of metal in the New World was rare in North America, shells, beads, and the like being used instead, although bracelets of copper were frequently worn and were highly valued, in view of their scarcity. In the middle of the过渡 Columbian days. The metals were worked chiefly by cold-hammering and grinding, but there is no evidence of a knowledge of casting. Silver is now worked with considerable elaborate among the Navahos, and bells of copper have been found in Tennessee, while elaborate sheet copper repousse figures occur in the Etowah mounds, Georgia, and the Hopewell mounds, Ohio; and the copper 'tokens' of the north-west coast are famous in many ceremonies. The Aztecs and other Mexican peoples were expert metallurgists, and their gold vessels and adornments were the marvel of their conquerors. They imitated the forms of animals and birds, and the peacock, eagle, and jaguar particularly is often enhanced in beauty by gems. They likewise possessed the art of making an amalgam of copper and tin, thus forming a bronze of considerable hardness, while specimens of copper plating are known from the mounds of Florida, Alabama, and Ohio. Gold ornaments are also known from Florida and the West Indies. The metallurgical remains of the Peruvians include silver bracelets and collars; gold, silver, copper, and bronze vases; beads, and animal figures, such as jaguars, donkeys, parrots, and silver, as well as human figures. Apart from this, however, South America falls behind the northern continent in the amount and excellence of metallurgical products and jewellery, as it does in nearly all other requisites and tokens of human progress in civilization.

7. MOSAICS AND MINOR ART.—The art of making mosaic pictures was known especially in the Pueblo regions of Arizona and New Mexico and among the Aztecs. The modern products of the former region are much inferior to the ancient specimens, which consist of gorgets, ear pendants, and other objects. The Purunaua were the favorite material, but bits of shell and various bright-coloured stones were also employed. The foundation form was of shell, wood, bone, and jet and other stone, and the matrix of gum or asphaltum. Although the work is neatly executed, the forms are simple and the designs not elaborate* (Holmes, in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 947). Rude mosaics have been found in graves in southern California. One of the most interesting mosaic objects north of Mexico is a shell used as a pendant and found by Fewkes at Chaves Pass, Arizona, in 1896. This is a frog formed by imbedding turquoises in a patch on the shell of Chrysocolla, with a small rectangle of red jasper set in the centre of the back (cf. Fewkes, in 22 REEW, pt. 1, p. 581). Mosaics from Mexico have long been known, particularly a knife with a blade of semi-translucent chalcedony, the handle being a cucurbit-\n
* The gold was an alloy of copper, varying from almost pure gold to almost pure copper. When the latter metal was used, it was frequently alloyed (plated?) with copper. The technical processes used were exceedingly skilful, but what they were is uncertain.
double jaguar now in the Berlin Museum for "Assyro-Babylonian" art described by Lehmann (in XV Congrès international des Américanistes, Quebec, 1907, ii. 340-344) as follows:—The figure is carved of tough reddish brown wood, 32 cm. long and 10 cm. high at the head at each end, one of which is turned towards the spectator and the other averted. The belly, which has no mosaic work, is painted with black and bluish green. The bed for the mosaics is a dark brown resin 3 or 4 mm. deep, and the stones themselves are blue, white, yellow, red, and violet. The border mosaic, of the same material are evidently intended to represent the jaguar's spots. Rows of turquoises alternate with rows of obsidian on the body, and the ornamentation is enhanced by mother-of-pearl and bits of red, white, and blue malachite, their shapes varying between polyhedrons, rectangular, and round, and all carefully polished. The neck and the extremities are among the most beautiful parts of the work, and the mosaicists and engravers on the stone are even inferior to the substance. It would also seem that the eyes and nose were originally covered in part with gold-leaf (see in general on Mexican mosaics, Globus, 1906, p. 518-322).

The account thus given of American Indian art, like that of the architecture of the same peoples, cannot pretend to be exhaustive. Besides the large categories here outlined, there were other arts, such as bark-work. This was used for cord, mats, and blankets, the covers of little huts, and houses; for cradles and for burial; for clothing, and for writing-tablets; and for religious dance regalia and masks (cf. Mason, in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 130-132, and the literature there cited). Among the more northern tribes and along the Pacific coast bone is almost as important as bark, being used not only for personal adornment and as household utensils, toys, and feeding utensils, but also for mocassins and other clothing. In the construction of dwellings, canoes, and the like, Bones were elaborately carved, and were also inlaid by the ancient Pueblo Indians, while even a copper-plated bone has been found in a Florida mound (cf. the summary of Holmes, in Hodge, i. 159 f.). Horn was likewise sometimes employed, as for dishes among the Sulahian tribes.

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LOUIS H. GRAY.

ART (Assyro-Babylonian).—The religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians, which, according to the received opinion, was animistic in its origin, may be regarded as going back to between 4000 and 5000 years B.C. This long period, added to the nature of their faith, has supplied us with an enormous amount of material illustrating their religious art, which the student can trace, in all its variant styles, through the ages of its existence, noticing the influence towards the spectator and which it reflects, and the reaction of its influence on the people themselves.

Before 4000 B.C. (as far as is at present known) no monuments exist, so that there is practically no record of the religious ideas of the Babylonians in their art. All that is known of the religious beliefs of the Babylonians had its origin. A wide gulf must therefore be exist between the religious conceptions of the simple savage stages of early Sumerian and Semitic times and those of the men of even the remotest civilization of Babylonia when works of art are found.

Babylonian religious art therefore comes before us only when it had attained a certain amount of perfection. It is true that a number of comparatively rude examples have come down to us, but such are a specialty of no particular age, and at all periods excellent examples, principally in stone, exist, among them being numerous canoes, mostly cylindrical. Many good bronzes, too, have been found, some of them being as early as the 3rd millennium B.C.

In all probability the art of Babylonia is best divided into periods, though the schools of the various States (Ur, Erech, Akkad, Babylon, Lagas, etc.) could also be taken into account if we had sufficient material. With our present knowledge, however, it is often difficult to place the examples, and even the question of date is not without its difficulties, as the chronology does not admit of a clear line of demarcation in the matter. The divisions, therefore, can be only roughly determined, somewhat as follows:

1. Babylonia.
   (1) From the earliest period until the date of the Dynasty of Babylon (c. 3500 B.C.—Lagas, 
   (2) Until the end of the Dynasty of the Land of the Sea (c. 1700 B.C.—Babylon, Sippur, Erech).
   (3) The Kassite period (c. 1280 B.C.—f. c. 1000 B.C.).
   (4) From c. 1100 B.C. until the downfall of the Babylonian empire (c. 539 B.C.).

2. Assyria.

The artistic period may be regarded as extending from the 9th cent. B.C. (as the result of the German excavations at Assur) until about 506 B.C.

Though, like the art of Egypt, that of Babylonia comes before us only when it had attained a certain amount of perfection, it is, in a way, more interesting than that of Egypt, in that it shows a much greater variety of styles; and the Assyrian school, when it comes into existence, has a distinct stamp of its own. We have also to distinguish, besides the perfect and artistic, the amateurish (which is sufficiently rare) and the rough and unfinished, generally cylinder-seals 'dashed off' by the hand of one accustomed to do such work, and probably to be regarded as cheap productions for the poorer classes, who naturally required less than those required by the well-to-do, though they could not pay the price. At all times these classes of religious artistic productions had existed, and among the perfect and artistic are now and then to be found things of noteworthy beauty of workmanship, due, doubtless, to the presence of artist-workmen of wonderful talent.

1. Babylonia.—(1) Among the best of the earliest examples of Babylonian religious art are the very interesting cylinder-seals impressed upon tablets found at Tel-Floho (Lagas) in S. Babylonia. They show a man and a woman, nude, the former struggling with a bull, and the latter with a bull, whilst two lions, whose bodies cross each other symmetrically (a common device of Assyroy-Babylonian engravers) attack the two animals at the same time. Various mystic emblems appear—a bat or bat-headed bird, an animal's fetlock and hoof in outline, and a young bull—whilst beneath the name of the owner are two bull-men whose bodies cross each other, as in the case of the lions. The wide-open mouth of the man, and the closed mouth and the large ear of the woman, suggest that we may have here primitive representations of the deities Nebo, 'the proclaimer,' and Tammuz, his spouse, 'the hearer'; but the crown with points which the woman wears is rather against this identification. Concerning the meaning of these religious and mythological ideas, which are not directly represented, much remains to be discovered. Some of the later cylinder-seals give an account of analogous stories relating to the lives of the gods. The art here revealed, a few words may be said. The
animal-forms, especially the heads, are good, and the manes of the lions are well treated, but the human forms are less satisfactory, the body of the man being thick, and the arms in both cases abnormally thin. The head of the man regards the spectator, and, though too large, is more successful than that of the woman, which has the same defect, the face being not a prominent eye, the profile face, fitting, as it were, into the somewhat pointed nose, which makes the figure grotesque. The close-shut mouth (the line of the lips is invisible in the impression) and the abnormally large ear-conjunctiva, with the wide-open mouth of the man, shows that the design has a deeper meaning than appears at first sight. This seal belonged to En-gal-gala, the superintendent of the women's house during the reigns of Lagalanda and Uru-ka-giga, about B.C. 2400.†

Scenes similar to this are common, though no woman is shown as one of those struggling with the animals. From the same site, Tel-loh, the de Saose expedition† obtained a very fine seal showing a bearded and crowned personage struggling with a bull, and a bearded crowned personage struggling with a lion. These animals cross each other like the lions in the other design, and the bull-men beneath the inscriptions, as yet been dated, are represented by two human-headed bulls, one of which is held by a nude bearded man, a bird, probably intended for an eagle, occupying the space between them. If the short inscription Nín-in or Ni-in, crowned to the crowned personage, refers to him, it probably represents the ancient deified king Ninus, who, with Semiramis, is said by Diodorus (ii. 8, 6) to have been represented on the walls of Babylon in enameled brick, hunting the lion with a spear.‡ The objects here described suggest that there was not only a legend referring to the goddess Nin, patron of Nin on the Euphrates and of Nineveh in Assyria, but also a male deity of similar name. Semitic influence, with its tendency to replace the woman for the male, is probably the cause of the substitution of the male deity for the hearing but silent female.

The occurrence of these early designs on cylinder-seals reminds us of an important fact in connexion with Babylonian art, namely, that in Babylon there is neither building-stone nor even blocks in any number suitable for sculpture either in relief or in the round. It is therefore not impossible that the earliest works of art were primitive attempts at engraving, first as chariots, and afterwards as chariots and seals combined, on the cylindrical beads which were for many centuries the favourite form of seal in Babylon and Assyria, and which afterwards travelled to the extreme west of Asia and Egypt.

Presenting a large surface in a small space, these cylinder-seals became suitable for all kinds of pictures, and we find engraved therein the Babylonian idea of several of the legends with which we have become familiar from the tablets. It thus happens that, in a scene showing a nude bearded figure struggling with a bull which is being also attacked by a lion, we see a representation of a boat and a personage within rowing,§ which is generally supposed to show the Babylonian Noah in the ark. Several copies exist also of that exceedingly interesting scene which shows Etana, riding in the air upon an eagle, whilst people on the earth below interrupt their daily work to gaze upon them. Another noteworthy example is well known as a possible Babylonian picture of the Fall, and shows two parents seated one on each side of a palm-tree bearing fruit, and stretching forth their hands as if about to grasp it, whilst behind the figure apparently representing the woman a wavy serpent raises himself. The work is rough, but implies some technical skill.¶

Note worthy are the early engravers' attempts to cope with the scene representing the overthrow of the dragon Tiamat by Merodach. The best is one figured by Rassam, who, in the hand of the head of the Babylonian pantheon is seen striding or running along Tiamat's wavy body, and thrusting his weapon into her mouth as she turns her horned head towards him. Two of Merodach's helpers seem to follow behind. Another picture of the same, which is apparently of late date and Assyrian workmanship, shows the dragon with a long and straight, but apparently scaly, body, erecting herself at a right angle where the feet spring forth. She does not turn her head towards him, and the god attacks her with thunderbolts, striding along on her body behind, followed by two of his helpers. Other scenes, possibly from legends, occur, but have not yet been dated. In the division of the seal there are two divisions shows, on the right, a deity (the sun-god) dividing food, of which the owner of the seal, standing before him, seems to partake; and on the left another deity bending down, apparently to conceal a goddess and a (child-) deity coming forth from its trunk (cf. the classical story of Adonis [Ovid, Metam. x.]). All the figures on this cylinder-seal (except that of the god) wear the lips, hair, and beard, the diadem, and the diadem.

The design in the right-hand division, which shows the owner of the cylinder before the god whom he worshipped, is probably, in its various forms, the commonest found, especially in the period preceding 21st B.C. This deity is generally seated, and often holds a cup in his right hand. Before him is sometimes a vase, and the worshipper (the owner of the seal) is led into his presence by a divine personage. A divine attendant sometimes brings up the rear. The worshipper is generally bare-headed and clean-shaven, the latter peculiarity probably indicating his priestly office. Variants of this oft-repeated design are found; one, which is regarded as a symbol, and a fragment of a bas-relief showing a seated deity holding a cup in his right hand, and wearing on his head a hat with two horns, one at the front and the other at the back, instead of one or more on each side, as in the later designs. The work is rough and primitive, the artist having apparently found his material not altogether satisfactory (it is a calcareous limestone, probably of sufficient hardness to make its working difficult).

* E. de Saose, Découvertes en Chaldée, pl. 30 bis, No. 12; Cylinder-Scels in the Possession of Sir Henry Pech, 1890 (plate, No. 15).
* Smith, Chaldean Genesis.
* L. W. King, Babylonian Religion, p. 102.
* Découvertes en Chaldée, pl. 30 bis, 174.
* It is not exactly known why the Babylonians and Assyrians represented their deities wearing horned hats. In the primitive design described above (p. 323), the common or bull-men have horns placed directly upon their heads. Perhaps this is an artist's device to show who, among the figures in the picture, are gods and who are servants. The first place before the names of deities in the inscriptions is not an indication that all the deities are stars (though some of them were so regarded), but simply means that the gods belonged to the place where the stars are, namely, the heavens.
* Numerous representations of this kind will be found in the Amurath Tablets, vol. i. pp. 40, 63, 83, 141, 155, 196, etc.
* *Ub. ib. 30.
* ** A very fine but fragmentary relief, showing Gudea (c. 2500 B.C.) brought before his god by two attendants, is given in Mayer's Sonnen- und Mondinschriften und Soninen in Babylonien (Konigliche Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1906), pl. vii.
* Découvertes en Chaldée, pl. 1, No. 1.
The deities at this period are represented wearing mantles which recall, in a measure, the Roman cloak wound round the body, and thrown over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and arm bare. These garments seem sometimes to be represented as made of some animal, such as the goat (which seems to have been a sacred animal), sewn together in long strips giving the appearance of flounces. This costume distinguishes divine persons for those who claimed divine kinship. A squat little figure in alabaster, standing with folded arms, and wearing a dress of this kind, the head bound round with a fillet crossing behind the long carefully-arranged hair,* may be a divinity, or the priest of a god.

It is noteworthy that though, in the archaic fragment above described † and on the cylinder-seals, the deities are represented in profile, in bas-reliefs of somewhat later date they are often shown front-face. Whether front- or side-face, however, the horns on their hats, which vary from two to eight in number, are shown as if the front of the head-dress was towards the spectator.2 Goddesses often appear as being carried by the gods, in hats, horned hat and robe of skin, but the female shoulder is covered as well as the left. One small fragment3 shows a goddess wearing a hat with a single horn on each side. Her hair descends in graceful curves upon her shoulders.4 This, which is also a triple row of beaded work which disappears beneath the low-cut neck of her goat-skin robe, over which, from each shoulder, descends a beaded stole. She holds in her hands a vase from which flows a twofold stream of living water. Here we have something really good and artistic—almost aesthetic. The work is so dignified, the idea intended to be conveyed (that of a beneficent god sustaining the water of life) so well expressed, that the spectator realizes that he has before him the work of a people who knew what they wished to express, and had skill to express it.

After that, the picture of a god,** apparently of the same period, is disappointing, though even this has its excellences. Its shortcomings are probably due mainly to the damage which the stone has received. A deity, front-face, bearded, and holding what seems to be a staff or symbol, is seated. This is a later Babylonian style, and is not, as it has been slightly bent back. He wears the usual robe of skin, and hair falling upon his shoulders. In spite of the damage to the stone, the dignity of the face is striking. Reliefs in terra-cotta, apparently produced about this time, are generally very good.5 Example shown figures of horned hats holding inscribed cones (regarded as some of the god with the fire-stick). They are of the nature of votive statuettes,** and were venerated by the bearers of stone inscriptions detailing the building of temples.

(2) With the advent of Semitic influence (c. 2100 B.C.) there is a change in the representation of certain of the deities. The horned hats and the skin robe are no longer seen, and animal figures in horned hats holding inscribed cones (regarded as some of the god with the fire-stick). They are of the nature of votive statuettes, and were venerated by the bearers of stone inscriptions detailing the building of temples. The deities are now represented in a more human form. The horned gods may be regarded as the warrior-gods, short tunics and thick-brimmed hats appear, and the deity grapples in his right hand a short weapon, held close against the body. The beard also spreads over the breast. Sometimes the thick-brimmed hat is combined with the long flounced robe of skin. The cylinder-seals of this period are often very finely engraved, especially those of Nimrud, and the artist has taken pains to give the style of the cylinder-seals, but seem to keep more to the old costumes. A very good specimen of the lapidary art of this period is the representation of Hammurabi before the sun-god Sinams, at the top of that king's Code of Laws. Hammurabi has flowing robes reaching to his feet, and a thick-brimmed hat. His right shoulder is bare, and his hand is raised as if addressing the deity. The sun-god, heavily bearded, wears a flounced robe without any indication whatever of a hairy surface. Upon his head is a pointed hat, with four horns curving upwards in front—eight in all. Wavy rays proceed from his shoulders. His seat has four superimposed recesses, such as are often found both in bas-reliefs and in designs on cylinder-seals. His right shoulder is bare, and in his hand he holds a staff and a ring, emblematic of his endless course and his authority as judge of the world. The work is good and well finished, but with great lightness and detail. The bronzes of this period seem to have maintained the excellence which those of the preceding period show. One, probably hero, is a good reproduction, in the round, of one of those divine attendants so often shown in the cylinder-seals as a graceful female figure in a horned hat and wearing a robe of skin, holding up her hands with the palms facing each other. When the deity and the owner of the seal are absent, these attendants are sometimes shown in the same attitude of adoration before the divine name contained in the inscription.

(3) In the Kassite period we meet with another style for the cylinder-seals, the work being exceedingly plain and flat, and wanting detail. The designs are, moreover, confined to single figures, either sitting or standing, and accompanied by some emblem—a cross, one or more birds, etc.; and in one case even a fly, suggesting that the deity may have been the Babylonian Belzibul. These designs probably form the transition to the style of the cylinder-seals of the later Babylonian style, in which the figures are likewise very plain; but the work, which seems to fall off somewhat during the Kassite period, later assumes remarkable accuracy and finish.

It is to the Kassite period mainly, however, that the boundary-stones which have come to us belong. These objects (generally inscribed with grants of land) are sculptured with 'the signs of the gods' as a protection against the wrongful alteration of the boundary or changing the conditions of the deed, etc. Those found by the de Morgan expedition at Susa† are of special value, as they have sometimes short inscriptions which enable the signs upon them to be identified. The sun is represented by a disc having a flaming star within; the moon by a crescent; Venus by a star; Nusku ('the light of fire') by a lamp; Gula, goddess of healing, by a female figure in horned hat and robe of skin, etc. West of the Tigris, the fish-goat, the scorpion, and the bull emblematic of Addu (Hadas) vary upon the stone, and the work is seldom really well finished, that of Nebuchadrezzar I. in the British Museum being in all probability the finest of those which have come to us.

(4) Comparatively early in the latest period (c. 900 B.C.) comes that magnificent specimen of Babylonian art, the sun-god stone, found beneath the

* Délégation en Perse, Mémoires, vol. iv. pl. 3.
† Loc. cit. vol. i. and vi.
‡ Canoes in Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. v. pl. 57; British Museum Guide to the East and Assyri. Antics. pl. xi.
pavement of the temple of the sun at Abu-habbah by Mr. H. Rassam. It shows a design derived from the early cylinder-seals. The sun-god sits in his shrine, wearing horned hat, robes of skin, and long beard. In his right hand he grasps his staff of justice and the circlet of his everlasting crown. At his left a woman or genii pours a vessel of the fruit of righteousness and justice, guide with cords to the great disc of the sun erected on the table below. A divine personage leads Nabû-âbda-kiddim, the king who had the stone sculptured into the present shape, and a divine vulture in the usual attitude of veneration follows behind. The ground consists of wavy lines (the waters above the firmament) with stars below, pointing to the probability that the scene is held in heaven. The figures are a little too broad, but the work is excellent, and may be regarded as maintaining all the traditions of Babylonian art.

Figures of deities during this late period are rare, but there is evidence in the anthroponomia that they did exist. On the cylinder-seals emblems similar to those found on the boundary-stones of the preceding period often take their place, such as the sun's disc and the moon's crescent mounted on a throne, representing Assur, and a woman with emblems on her robe, a curious woman seated in a lotus, and a seated Nude-genii. Several vases in the British Museum (Calah) show us the king, clothed in garments splendidly embroidered with representations of all kinds of mystic emblems and ceremonies,† himself engaged in ceremonial acts, surrounded by his eunuchs and the king from the sacred cup, while winged genii offer him the divine pine-cone, or something of similar shape. In other sculptures we see him worshipping before the sacred tree, above which hooded disc the present representing Assur, the chief god of the Assyrians.‡ Familiar to all are the figures showing the adoration of the sacred tree,§ and the winged figures carrying offerings of flowers and young animals.|| An admirable example of religious art is the sculpture from the entrance of the temple of Ninip, representing the expulsion of the dragon of evil from the building, which was erected on the other side of the doorway.|| As a testimony to the divine status of the king we have the image of Assur-nasir-apli on an arch-headed monolith, and the sacrificial altar which stood before it at the entrance to the temple.** Though the figures are too thick-set, the work is excessively finished, and the details carefully indicated. This applies also to the winged bulls and lions of this reign, though they are wanting in vigour.†† The effect is somewhat marred by the long inscriptions which are carved across the sculptured work of this reign.

Based upon these or similar models are also the religious sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III., Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assûr-bani-apli. Though they belong to the same school, the improvement in style can easily be traced, until we reach the delicate perfection of many of the sculptures of the last-named monarchs, personifying Assur-nasir-apli give us the Assyrian idea of the sea-god Ea (Syncell. Chron. 28; Euseb. Chron. 5, 8), who was clothed with a fish's skin.† Dagon, according to a sculpture of Sargon from Khorsabad, was shown as a deity with安装ed hair and beard, and a close garment reaching to his waist, where the scaly lower part, ending in a fish's tail, begins; cf. 1 S 5 ("the stamp of Dagon")." The fishy part of his costume—probably the latter—is represented in the statues of Nebu standing in what is regarded as an attitude of meditation.‡ On a cylinder-seal, apparently of the time of Assûr-bani-apli, and bearing a dedication to Nebu, is shown a divine figure holding two winged bulls by one foreleg, whilst they incline their heads gracefully towards him. If this be Nebu, and the design have a symbolical meaning, it may typify the power of the wise to overcome the strong.§ Turning to the bas-reliefs of Assûr-bani-apli, we find a scene where, to the sound of the zithers, the lions which the king has killed in the chase are brought home, and before a sacred emblem and a table with viands he pours out an offering of wine over the ground. This is in the best Assyrian style; the figures of Assûr-bani-apli and his brother of Babylon as basket-bearer at the restoration of the temple E-ziida there, though good, fall short of representing Assûr-bani-apli.||| Istar is apparently represented on a cylinder of the British Museum as a goddess in warlike guise, armed with bow and arrows, and standing upon a lion, which turns its head to lick her feet. Another priestess, similarly represented, the design is completed with the palm-tree and rearing goats whose bodies cross symmetrically. It is a gem of Assyrian religious art.||

The sculptures of Assûr time likewise give us an idea of the spirits, evil and otherwise, in whom the Assyrians believed. Besides the four-winged genii, demons with snarling lion-heads, ass's ears, and eagle's claws, are shown. Sometimes they threaten each other with dagger and mace,†† or at other times they raise their weapon menacingly against a person unseen. But they are powerless in consequence of the protecting spirit in the form of a man in front, who with mystic sign casts an unseen spell. In some cases there is also a bearded and ringleted spear-bearer behind, similar to the nude figures on the Babylonia cylinder-seals of B.C. 2500, showing how long these things persisted.

No artistic remains from Assyria later than the reign of Assûr-bani-apli are known.

There is hardly any doubt that the high level of Assyro-Babylonian art is due to the deep religious feeling of the two nations. Their sincerity is re-

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* Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. v. pl. 60; TSB/A, vol. viii. plate between pp. 164-165.
† P. and B. 202, pp. 6, 8, 9, 43ff.
‡ For various forms of this see G. Rawlinson's Ancient Monuments, i. iii. 222-225.
§ Layard's Monuments, 1st series, pl. 7, 24 (king adoring)." Jb. pl. 34, 35, 37, 38, 39.
|| Det. pl. 45, 52, and Nineveh and Babylon, plate, p. 351.
** Layard's Monuments, 1st series, pl. 5, 4, 42 (with human arms).
flected in their work, which, if the nations pro-
ducing it had continued to exist, there would have raved
the art of Greece and Rome. How far the
influence of their art extended, it is difficult to say.
Connexion with that of Phoenicia may be traced,
the marriage between the two which would have raved
the art of Greece and Rome.

man and Hall, 1884). See also Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853; G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies, London*, 1878,
vols. i. and ii., and other works mentioned in the.—

**AN ART (Buddhist).—** See art. on BULMA, CENTRAL
ASIA, CEYLON, CHINA, INDIA, JAPAN, JAVA,
SIAM, TIBET, and art. Temples (Buddhist).—

**ART (Celtic).—** The article ‘ART (Christian)’ is
intended to bring into view the various forms in
which art in the modern era has been made the
expression of religious feelings. Special attention
is paid, however, to the one fact that Christian art in
which there is little or nothing of the representa-
tive element, but on the other hand a lavish dis-
play of taste and skill and care, all consecrated to the
service of religion. Celtic art represents this
form of artistic expression perhaps more perfectly than
the art of any other time or people, and this is one of the reasons why it here receives a special
attention. The spirit of monastic craftsmanship,
in all its single-minded devotedness, is nowhere
seen in such purity as in the ornamentation of
Celtic manuscripts, or the exquisite ecclesiastical
metal-work that had its home in the Ireland of the
early Middle Ages.

**Definition and scope.**—By Celtic art is meant,
of course, Celtic ecclesiastical art, and this is related
to Christian art in general just as Celtic Chris-
tianity is related to the whole religious system of
the West. In each case we have to deal with a
distinct province, the characteristic features of
which are the outcome of special historical and
geographical conditions. The Celtic religious area was
practically unbroken by ecclesiastical divi-
sion from this to all the other regions of Western Christen-
dom. Part of the area lay entirely outside the
Romish Empire, and other parts were only dubi-
ously within it, while, on the other hand, after
the year 400 many of the members of the Church
in this region continued to maintain their
independent identity, precisely as they had done before
the Roman empire invaded their
lands. Christianity was probably introduced into Gaul,
not from Rome or from Italy, but from Greek-speaking lands
in the wake of Massicelle or Narbonnese commerce, and spread
thereby into the islands of the British Archipelago, a
fact that cannot now be clearly determined. That the Gallo-
Church was the mother Church of those in Great Britain and Ireland
is now sufficiently established, and so far as
the temporal administration is concerned, it is
included in the Empire, the Roman municipal and provincial
system furnished the Gallic Church with a
structure and a feeling of its organization—an organization which we know existed in
Britain on Gallic lines at least as early as the beginning of the 4th
century. This Gallo-British Church, however, spread mission-
ary activity into regions entirely outside or only nominally
within the limits of the Roman empire. It was able to
make use of the zeal of some of the
private Roman institutions to provide this framework.
Church organization here, so far as it existed, was quite different from
that of the time it was in Romano-Celtic faith,
both civic and personal; that is to say, the bishop, the
chief ecclesiastical functionary, was not bishop of a
Civitas, i.e. a town with its surrounding district, but of a tribe,
and was largely dependent on the personal support of the tribal
chief. In other respects also the differences were equally
marked.

Representatives of this missionary activity were Ninian, who
looked to St. Martin of Tours as his exemplar, and soon after
A.D. 409 evangelized the Southern Picts of Scotland; later on,
Kentigern, who laboured in Strathclyde and Wales; and, most
important of all, Patrick, who, a little later than Ninian and a
century before Kentigern, was working independently on the
island of Man, where he was first accepted as a missionary
and afterwards as the chief ecclesiastical authority.
This is the first stage of the development of a native
Church. Soon after this period, the British Church was
considered as a Church of Rome, and the Irish
Church recognized by the Pope in 597, which
Church organization in Ireland was never, however,
to be considered as due to the influence of
the Roman Church, since the Irish had always been
independent of Rome. Patrick’s Church in Ireland was
related to the Gallic Church, and the two
Churches maintained a relationship which lasted for
seven hundred years, the Irish Church being
independent of Rome and the Gallic of Rome, until
the end of the 7th century, when the manner of
the Gallic Church, and the Irish Church
were united under the name of Roman Church.

This exceptional character which attaches to the outward
apparatus of Christian art in Ireland, and was further
reflected in the fact that after the island had received the new religion it
was cut off from the rest of Christendom for a century and
a half by the Saxons of England, which introduced a
barrier of paganism between the Christian West generally
and this outlying province, which consequently remained outside
of Spain and Ireland, which had existed from early times, was
also checked owing to the political convulsions due to the
Celtic and Frankish influences. Hence it is in Ireland
that Celtic ecclesiastical matters that, while changes were worked out in
the Irish Church, generally, Ireland, in this way isolated,
preserved its more primitive forms, some of which had once
been common to all provinces of the Church
Alkaks.

One of these forms, which had once been common but after
wards became inconspicuous for its singularity, was the
monastic settlement consisting in a number of separate cells and of small
churches or oratories. This was everywhere in Christendom
the earliest form of the monastery, because the hermit’s cell
was answered to the primitive impulse in the volatilized spirit
of retreat from the world. The reputation for sanctity of the
first recluse among others always inspired a community,
the size might be formed, numbering, possibly, as Bede tells us
of the British monastery at Bangor near Chester on the Dee, as
many as two thousand cells. The members of the
community, whether few or many, lived beside each other but not
in the same way as the monks of the
Church, the cloistered court, the common refectory and sleeping-
rooms—were all absent. These were simple monasteries
that did not come into use till the 6th or 7th cent., from
which time onwards they were gradually introduced all over the
Romano-Celtic west. Eastern Christendom, which Benedictinism hardly
affected, and the Celtic regions outside the Empire, or its
north-western border, remained faithful to the older systems.

**Monastery the home of ecclesiastical art.**—Celtic
monasteries of the kind indicated existed not only
in Ireland but in Scotland, in Wales, and in other
parts; but it is in the first-naming country that
they have left the clearest monumental evidence of
their character. Even as early as the time of
Patrick—the first half of the 5th cent.—Irish
men and women were devoting themselves
more and more to religious life, and the sites of ancient
settlements are almost innumerable. Those in
the remoter and less accessible regions, such as
the islands and rocky headlands of the indented
western coast, are as rules the best of the kind, and we may take as an example the settlement
on the most retired spot of all, the rock of Skellig
Michael, an isolated peak about 10 miles out in
the Atlantic, off the coast of Kerry. Here, at the
height of some six hundred feet, and a thousand
find on a terrace, sustained by a magnificent re-
inairing wall of dry, i.e. uncutted, stone-

* For pre-Christian Celtic art see CELTIC RElIgIOo.
half a dozen or so of hermits' cells and two or three tiny oratories used for service and private prayer. The other cells, and other small oratories, concepto the oratories, are constructed of the same dry stone-work, and according to methods that carry us back directly to pagan times. The terrace wall is of precisely the same construction as the vast ramortized wall that surrounded the site. This rampart round the stone works of unknown date and origin on the headlands and islands of Galway or Kerry. The cells are round or oval in plan, and are of a bee-hive form, the layers of flat stones of which they are composed gradually narrowing their circles till a dome-like finish terminates the whole, an opening being left at the summit for the egress of smoke. This method of construction also is pagan, and may be found in the central stone chambers of the great pre-historic burial tumuli at Newgrave, Dowth, and other places beside the Boyne. That the cells on Skellig Michael are Christian is proved by the fact that over one of the doorways white quartz stones have been set in the form of a cross. The smallest of the little oratories is one of the most interesting of early Christian structures. Its interior length is only about eight feet, and it has a door and window in the altar wall on the other end, which is turned towards the east. The construction is similar to that of the cells, but the plan is rectangular, and the walls are made to converge till they meet in a ridge at the top. The little oratory stands apart from the rest of the structures of the settlement, on a jutting corner of the terraced platform, and we may well fancy it a place where the worshipper might tarry awhile and meditate, in this almost inaccessible eyrie between sea and sky.

Such meditations availed much for Christendom at large, for these Irish hermit monks were at the same time the most indefatigable of missionaries. This pietas, or solitude which drew the Celtic Christians away from the world was only one of the tendencies in their emotional piety, and is balanced by quite the opposite passion for wandering and evangelistic enterprise. To carry on this work effectively they seem to have needed to submit themselves from time to time to certain spiritual influences, which should act on their inner nature and charge them as it were with an electric force that radiated with irresistible potency when they journeyed forth as missionaries. It was in places of solitude and retirement, like Skellig Michael, that the fire was kindled and fanned till it burst into the proselytising fervour of a Columba, an Aidan, a Columbanus, or at the source of a stream of Christian influence that flowed with beneficent effect over all the land of Britain and far across the Continent of Europe. Ireland gave us the Monasterskilling of Northumbria, and from Northumbrian Lindisfarne proceeded the effective co-operation of saints like Anlaf and other Continental centres of the religious life looked to Celtic missionary saints as their sounders.

The following details are germane to the purpose of this article, for we have to note that the arrangement and the life of the Celtic monastery had great influence on the forms and aesthetic character of Celtic ecclesiastical art. It is not pretended here that all the artistic activity of the early medieval period was centred in the monastery. The monastic craftsman plays a predominant part in the artistic history of the time, but he had no monopoly. Among the northern peoples in the pagan period, the knowledge of weapons, implements, and objects of personal wear, gave employment to artistic workmen whose skill and taste are in their way unsurpassed, and from which we can see in the reason that the introduction of Christianity broke this tradition. In Ireland the Tara brooch, in Scotland the Hunterston brooch, dating about the 8th century, are pieces of social art, and we need not credit them to the hands of the hermits or monks. On the other hand striking pieces of the medieval period advanced, sacred art undoubtedly preponderated over secular, and sacred art was specially cultivated in the cloister. In time, as Mr. Romilly Allen (Art and Christian Life in Pre-Roman Britain and Christian Times, 1904, p. 171), 'The priest took the place of the warrior as the patron of the fine arts, and monopolized all the available time of the metal-worker and enameller in making beautiful vessels for the service of the Church.' In periods of political unrest, such as on the Continent followed the breaking up of the Roman provincial administration, the convent offered conditions more favourable to the artist. The art-centre round the stone was found outside, while certain forms of art in great demand at the time, such as the writing and adornment of books, were practically in the hands of the religious, and may accordingly be regarded as the home of almost all the artistic production of the time that had an ecclesiastical purpose, and it will lend force to this statement to quote the nearly contemporary record as to the making and putting forth of one striking monument of Celtic art, the so-called Gospels of Lindisfarne or of St. Cuthbert, a manuscript dating from the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century, and now one of the treasures of the British Museum. An Anglo-Saxon colophon of the 10th century, appended to St. John's Gospel, we are told that 'Eadfrith, bishop over the church of Lindisfarne, wrote this book in honour of God and St. Cuthbert, on the altar of saints in the Island; and Ethelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne, made an outer case and adorned it, as he was well able, and Billfrith the anchorite, he wrought the metal-work of the ornaments on the outside thereof, and decked it with gold and with gems.' The fact that Billfrith is called the anchorite ('se onera') shows that fine metal-work with the setting of gems was carried on by the solitary recluse in his cell. The extreme minuteness and elaboration of this is, in fact, just what we should expect in work executed under these conditions; and this applies with even greater force to the manuscripts, wherein ingenious planning of ornamental schemes and faultless execution of multitudinous convoluted detail must have made the lonely hours pass lightly away.

Celtic ecclesiastical art in general was of a kind that could be carried out single-handed and in small interiors. Work that needed the co-operation of many hands and large spaces was little in vogue. In the Benedictine monasteries of the Continent the dominant art was architecture, and vast buildings for the accommodation of communities of religious were designed and executed in architectural monuments achieved by the inmates in person. Romanesque architecture is in the main monastic, and the great abbey church is its crowning achievement. In Ireland and in the other Celtic areas early conventual buildings were, as has been seen, smaller and simpler; and though they may possess great constructive interest, little pains have been taken with their ornamentation. From the traditional dry-stone building, illustrated on Skellig Michael, there were evolved on the one hand certain striking features in the framing of openings, etc., and on the other some interesting forms of vault construction. The single-celled oratory was enlarged by the addition of a second cell, also rectangular, forming when smaller than the first a presbytery or chancel, and when larger a nave: and this type of church plan, differing from the type with apsidal termination which belonged to the Roman tradition, appears in England after its conversion by the Celtic evangelists, who may thus have contributed towards the establishment of our insular preference for square-celled churches. Much of Celtic church architecture in early medieval times is the detached round tower, abundant in Erin, though represented by only a few stray examples in other parts of the islands. The architectural association with religious establishments, and it is now acknowledge...
nowledged that they were primarily designed as towers of refuge, though also employed as belfries. The dangers against which they furnished temporary security were deriving with increasing strength from the beginning of the 9th cent., onwards the country was seceded. It is stated by Miss Stokes in her Early Christian Art in Ireland (ii. 57), that, in the entries in the Irish annals, "equestrian" figures of the Northmen from 789 to 845, it is recorded that the clergy fled for safety into the woods but in the year 860, and for two centuries later, we read of the "edifice," church of a bell, as a special object in attack to the Northmen. A record relating to Brittany (quoted ib. p. 50) speaks of fragments of the erection of the church in that region of a "little round tower . . . wherein to deposit the silver plate and treasure of the same church, and protect them against the sacrilegious hands of the barbarians, should they wish to pilage it."

The construction of the extant round towers bears out this evidence of their origin and intention, for in almost every instance the doorway of access to them is at a substantial height above the ground, and was accessible only by means of a ladder, which could be drawn up when the temporary garrison was housed within. The interiors had wooden floors at different stages reached by ladders, and in the uppermost was the place for the bell.

The features here described are specially but not exclusively Irish. In other Celtic regions which were preserved in a similar manner to which the influence of the ecclesiastical Rome did not penetrate till a later date, we find specimens, or at any rate relics and traces of them. Scotland, especially in the north and west, is well supplied; for example, the 'Isle of the Saints,' 1 Eilean na Naoiunh, not far from Mull, has a group somewhat similar to that on Skellig Michael; but Wales and Cornwall have very little to show in the way of structures that are prior to the Norman Conquest. In Ireland such structures are at once more numerous, more clearly marked, and better preserved than they are elsewhere. The plainness of these early Irish structures has already been noticed, and is remarkable in a country where the arts of ornament were flourishing in the Pagan period, and were destined to develop for Christian service into forms so elaborate and beautiful. The rude stone building gave place to cut-stone work, and to the use of the arch and form of mortar but the same characteristic of plainness prevailed till about the year 1100, when a rich and somewhat fantastic style of architectural embellishment came into vogue, with which the stone soon mingled the undeniably Norman element of the Romanesque. It is on the development in the so-called Irish Romanesque, Celtic architecture loses that special character it had derived from the primitive methods of dry-stone construction, and comes into line with the other local styles of Western Romanesque. The subject need not therefore be further pursued.

i. STONE-SLABS, CROSSES, etc.—If the earlier Celtic masons did not carve ornament on the stones of their religious buildings, they made up for this by considerable activity in sculpture of another kind. The reference is to the incised or carved stone-slabs and crosses, a monumental form of construction, and comes into line with the other local styles of the British isles. No complete comparative survey has yet been made of the whole body of monuments, but there exist monographs on the various groups, the most complete and elaborate being by aedward Cheyney. This is the ponderous volume issued in 1903 by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland under the title, The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland. The subject is very wide, and is treated in a comprehensive manner; the Scottish area alone number about five hundred, and it can, of course, only be touched on here.

In the matter of distribution, we may distinguish the following provinces in which the monuments occur in groups large or small. (1) Southern, eastern, and midland England. The monuments here are sporadic, and some regions are bare of examples, though in other parts, such as Derbyshire, they are well represented. Northern England and the same side of Scotland up to the Forth, the region forming the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. Here the monuments are very numerous and of great artistic merit. In point of art they show a combination of Celtic elements with those derived from classical sources, and exhibit inscriptions partly in Roman letters and partly in runes characters derived from Scandinavia. (2) Galloway or south-western Scotland, the scene of the ministrations of Ninian to the southern Picts, represented by some interesting early monuments of a Gallo-Roman type. (4) Cumberland and the Isle of Man, and in part Lancashire, where the art of the stones betrayed a Scandinavian influence. (5) Eastern Scotland north of the Forth and south of the Moray Firth, known to historians as the ancient 'Kingdom of the (northern) Picts.' The stones here are of certain devices peculiar to this region that are for the most part expressed, though probably Christian in significance, but in the main their art is of the Celtic type. (6) Central, northern, and western Scotland, where there was an important mixture. (7) Wales, a region specially well represented by monuments of this class, in which the art is Celtic, the epigraphy partly Roman, and partly in ogham characters, that is, in a native Celtic style of writing answering to the Teutonic runes. (8) Cornwall and Devon, the monuments of which on the whole resemble those of Wales.

Of these provinces all but the first and second are entirely, or, to a preponderating extent, Celtic, for the 'Pictish' element in (6), though very remarkable, does not affect the general character of the monuments. The ancient Northumbria, (2), was Teutonic in government and (with of course the admixture of the races) was not Teutonic in population, though its art was preponderatingly Celtic. That this region was effectually Christianized by Celtic missionaries from Lindisfarne has already been noticed, and it is highly significant that one of the most important of all monuments, the illuminated manuscript of the Gospels of Lindisfarne or of St. Cuthbert, shows that we might expect the same Celtic style in other monuments of the region; and this we accordingly find, mingled with other elements, in the early sculptured stones now under consideration. This may be fairly held to show great vitality in Celtic art, as well as an attractiveness for the Teutonic population. We are therefore justified in regarding the body of these monuments as so far Celtic that they cannot be excluded from any general survey of Celtic art. It is with the art of the stones, not their epigraphy, that we are here concerned; but the inscriptions cannot be entirely disregarded, for they often afford valuable evidence of the nature and provenance of the monuments. The questions that
have to be considered concern (1) the character, (2) the form, (3) the ornamentation of the stones.

1. Character.—The inscriptions show that the majority of these are sepulchral, and as such they represent a form of stone which has been in use since Neolithic times. At the single site of Clonmacnoise in Ireland, there are nearly two hundred of these tombslones, all inscribed, and many ornamented. This religious establishment beside the Shannon, a place of surpassing interest, was founded by St. Ciaran in the middle of the 6th century, and an Irish poem thus celebrates 'the peaceful clear-streamed place':

'Ciaran's city is Chotain-Mic-Neis,
Nobles of the children of Conn
Are under the staggy, brown-bowed cemetery;
A knot, or ogham, over each body,
And a fair, just, ogham name.'

Of ogham inscriptions on these stones only one has been known in modern times, and the rest are Roman minuscules. Among the names that can be read upon them is that of Suibhne, son of Maelmuain, of the latter part of the 9th century, celebrated as one of the most learned Churchmen of his time. Inscriptions, however, also show that many sculptured stones were not sepulchral but commemorative, or devised for other purposes. Thus at Kells in Co. Meath there is a cross with an inscription, 'I am Patrick and Columba,' which was erected centuries after the death of the saints whose names it celebrated. Most of the so-called 'High Crosses' of Ireland—elaborately sculptured stone monuments of the 10th century—are apparently of this commemorative character. In Northumbria we know from Simeon of Durham (Hist. Reg. § 36), that two sepulchral crosses stood at Hexham at the extremities of the grave of Bishop Acoa, who died in 740, but the Ruthwell Cross is shown by its inscription to have been a memorial of the sacrifice of Christ. We are told in the Life of Kentigern, by Joceline of Furness (late, but based on older materials), that the saint was accustomed to erect a 'triumphant standard of the cross' to commemorate any marked successes in conversion; and in Wessex we have evidence (Acta Sanctorum, Jul. 11, p. 692) that 'the sign of the Holy Cross' was set up in front of Christian assembly before the building of a church. Again, some crosses were terminal, that is, they defined a boundary by a landmark which religion made inviolable. An Irish pillar at Kilnasaggart, Co. Armagh, proclaims that the place which it marked was under the protection of St. Peter, while one of the interesting early stones at Whithorn in Galloway, Ninian's missionary centre, is inscribed 'The Place of St. Peter,' and was evidently a boundary mark.

2. Form.—In the matter of form, the earliest class of stone monuments are pillars unsualped by the tool, after the fashion of the pre-historic menhirs, and correspond to the rude stone building of the early Celtic Christians inherited from their pagan forefathers. These pillars have on them inscriptions in one or other of the languages and characters noted in the enumeration of the provinces, and sometimes incised crosses or sacred monograms. These last, though in themselves, from the aesthetic standpoint, negligible, become of importance as the origin of the form of the shaped free-standing crosses of later times. In Galloway there are upright pillar-stones with Latin inscriptions, and the Chi-Rho (५) monogram in different forms which are early, but probably not so early as the time of Ninian himself. This monogram appears within a circle, in which we may see a reminiscence of the wreath that enclosed on the original laborum, or standard of Constantine, described by Eusebius; and this wreath, or circle, becomes later the stone ring, which in the well-known 'Celtic' form of the monumental cross is seen connecting the arms. The Chi-Rho monogram changes into the form of a cross, with a shaft and a limb of a horizontal bar across the upright stem of the original Rho (५), and the arms of the cross, though originally enclosed within the circle, come afterwords to protrude beyond its circumference. This transformation can be seen in progress in a half-developed cross at Penmon Priory in Anglesey.

The untooled pillar-stone does not of course itself change directly into the free-standing cross, though the incised monogram it bears has influenced the development. The actual process was as follows: The pillar-stone corresponds, as we have seen, to the rude stone building. When this gives place to the construction with cut stone and cement, the former is similarly changed to a dressed monument, which may be recumbent, in the shape either of a flat slab, which was an Irish type as represented at Clonmacnoise, or of a 'hog-backed' stone, such as occurs chiefly in the north of England, and is more probably of Anglo-Saxon than of Celtic origin; or else may be upright, in the form of a shaft, like a modern tombstone. The flat recumbent Irish slabs are adorned with incised crosses, the upright slabs with crosses in relief. From these latter were developed the free-standing crosses by the following steps, that have been cross-headed within a circle is carved in relief on a slab, the upper part of this may be rounded off to follow the curve of the circle, as on a stone from Papil by Shetland, in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities. Next, the part of the slab below the head of the cross is cut in a little to correspond with the form of the comparatively slender shaft, and we obtain the shape known as the 'wheel cross'—a shape conformed to the design of Man, Wales, and Cornwall. The background may now shrink in still further towards the outline of the shaft, while, by a contrary process, the arms of the cross are allowed to protrude beyond the circle which has enclosed them, and the final step has been the \textit{four-hole} cross of Cornwall and the typical High Cross of Ireland, in which the outline of the stone corresponds with the outline of the Cross.

3. Ornamentation.—The subject of the ornamentation of the slabs and crosses cannot be discussed without reference to Celtic decorative art in general. The forms in which this expresses itself, apart from the carving on the stones, are practically confined to fine metal-work and the illumination of manuscripts, for in extant specimens of the Celtic Christian period, productions in other materials, such as wood, ivory, or textiles, are so rare as to be in the meantime negligible. On stone, metal, and the parchment of books, Celtic artistic feeling externalized itself in elaborate and varied ornamental patterns, the design and technical execution of which have excited the wonder of all subsequent ages, from the time of Gildas and later times in the 5th and 6th century. The same patterns and methods of application appear in all three forms of art, and some of the best authorities treat the stone carving as later in date than the early secular work in metal. It is a curious fact that certain details of the Irish High Crosses have no meaning in stone-work, while there is a technical reason for them in work in...
metal, and this would indicate the priority of the latter. Again, the similarity between richly decorated cross-slabs, of which Scotland is the home, and the embalmed pages of ornament in Celtic manuscripts, cannot fail to strike the observer. Hence the influence of art in artistic treatment which are in question here were first evolved on the pages of books or in metal, and then transferred to stone; and Mr. Romilly Allen (Celtic Art, p. 171) that the early work was prior alike to that on metal and on stone. At first sight this seems contrary to natural likelihood, for there is much elaborate and beautiful Celtic metal-work of pagan date and also a certain amount of decorative carving in stone, whereas manuscript writing and illumination came in as a totally new form of craftsmanship with the introduction of Christianity. Irish experts converted to the new faith could continue for Christian service their metal-work or stone-carving, while it would take them a long time to learn the new art of calligraphy and illumination. The first books used in Christian worship would be imported, and would only very gradually be supplanted by those of native production. Hence we may expect this in Ireland, as in Christian metal-work and stone-carving earlier than the same art applied to books.

Here, however, we are met by rather a curious fact. Christianity did not seem to inspire the Celtic artist, but rather to repress his activity, so that, as Romilly Allen states, 'before about A.D. 650 there was no distinctly Christian art existing in this country' (op. cit. p. 155). He accepts for this on the theory that the introduction into the British Isles of Christianity itself was much later than is generally supposed, and suggests A.D. 500 as the date of this. The negative evidence of the dearth of really early Christian monuments in this country did not seem to inspire the Celtic artist, but rather to repress his activity, so that, as Romilly Allen states, 'before about A.D. 650 there was no distinctly Christian art existing in this country' (op. cit. p. 155). He accepts for this on the theory that the introduction into the British Isles of Christianity itself was much later than is generally supposed, and suggests A.D. 500 as the date of this. The negative evidence of the dearth of really early Christian monuments in this country did not seem to inspire the Celtic artist, but rather to repress his activity, so that, as Romilly Allen states, 'before about A.D. 650 there was no distinctly Christian art existing in this country' (op. cit. p. 155). He accepts for this on the theory that the introduction into the British Isles of Christianity itself was much later than is generally supposed, and suggests A.D. 500 as the date of this. The negative evidence of the dearth of really early Christian monuments in this country did not seem to inspire the Celtic artist, but rather to repress his activity, so that, as Romilly Allen states, 'before about A.D. 650 there was no distinctly Christian art existing in this country' (op. cit. p. 155). He accepts for this on the theory that the introduction into the British Isles of Christianity itself was much later than is generally supposed, and suggests A.D. 500 as the date of this.

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peoples generally made the motive their own, and worked it out with extraordinary ingenuity and patience. A close comparison of the animal ornament in Irish manuscripts and metal-work and that on objects of Techtonic provenance indicates that Celtic zoomorphic forms are of Germanic origin. These forms are very common in the Celtic decoration of the pagan period, and do not occur in Ireland, so that a foreign origin is in accordance with likelihood.

(4) In the geometrical ornament, in all its forms save the spirals, the same derivation seems now accepted.

(a) 'Step' patterns occur in the cloisonné settings of Tenontic jewels. Moreover, these patterns in the manuscripts, such as the Book of Durrow, are shown in white lines on a dark ground, and the background has been laboriously filled in so as to leave the lines the colour of the light vellum. There may be in this somewhat artificial process an attempt to imitate the damascening in lines of silver on iron, common on buckles and similar objects found in Germanic graves. 'Key,' patterns, that is, patterns of a kind of which the Greek fret is typical, are abundant both on the sculptures and in the manuscripts, but are not much used on metal. They are unknown in pagan Celtic work, and their prevalence in that of Christian date is probably due to Continental influence. The Celtic artist, however, liked the ornamental effect of that he turned these patterns obliquely, so that their lines are sloping instead of vertical or horizontal.

(b) The interlacing, or knot-work is so characteristic of Celtic decoration in Christian times, and is developed therein to such an incredible variety of forms, that it has been popularly regarded as a Celtic speciality. The work in question does not, however, occur in the decoration of the pagan period (or only in one or two doubtful examples), and in the Christian it is so far from being a Celtic speciality that it is the most widely diffused of all the forms of geometric ornament in the early Christian and early medieval centuries. As Salin remarks, 'in the 7th and 8th centuries the general taste seems to have turned in this direction, for we find the work everywhere from Ireland, Scotland, and find it in Sweden, and the most diverse forms of art, in architecture, painting, the indubitable floors of the church in Anglo-Saxon and African in whatever European culture had found admittance (op. cit. p. 340).

The origin of the style is still a matter of controversy, and some derive it from basket-work, while others see it as the offspring of the plait or guilloche ornament, which was often noticed on the Roman mosaic pavements that were to be seen in all parts of the Empire. It is also a moot point whether the style of ornament, whatever its ultimate origin, was developed independently in different centres, or spread from one centre where its capabilities had at first been discerned. In any case the Christian Celtic peoples showed that they had a special affinity for the work, which they carried much further in artistic development than was the case elsewhere. It is especially abundant on the carved stones and in the manuscripts, as the motive is not so suitable for metal, especially when treated by the repoussé process.

(c) In the spirals we come to a form of ornament that is in a special sense Celtic, and is inherited by Christian Celtic art from that of the later pagan times. It is not classical save in ultimate derivation, but has a specifically British and Irish character. It is very finely developed among the northernmost representatives of the Tenontic stock in Scandinavia. On the pagan metal-work of late Celtic times in Britain, in Gaul, and in Ireland, it was treated with much artistic feeling for beauty of sweeping lines and for composition, and retains these same qualities when adopted for Christian use. Spiral ornament, however, as used in late pagan and early Christian art, is not quite a simple matter. On one side it is of immemorial antiquity. Spirals occur in Egyptian decorative art from about B.C. 3700 (if not much earlier), and were adopted from the Egyptians by the Mycenaean Greeks, where we find them in Crete and at Orchomenus, Myconos, and other places in the second millennium B.C. At least as early as this they appear in southern Europe, as at Batunir in Bosnia, and hence the motive journeyed up the valley of the Danube and down those of the Oder and Elbe to Scandinavia, where we find it developed in the Bronze Age to the utmost possible perfection. From Scandinavia it is thought that they have passed over North Britain to Ireland, where it appears carved on a great stone at the mouth of the pre-historic royal burial-place at Newgrange by the Boyne. In all these cases we have to deal with regular closely-coiled spirals, which look as if they were derived from the coiling of metal strips or wire, though there is evidence that they were first developed on stone. Now, in the later or flamboyant period, as different and more elaborate kind become the predominant ornamental form, and produce what are sometimes called 'trumpet' patterns. These are formed by double lines which are coiled round each other and then diverge. The motive there is a swelling of the mouth of a trumpet. These coils and expanded offsets are ingeniously connected together, so that they can be made in combination to fill with ornament any given space. It has been argued very forcibly by Dr. Arthur Evans that these later patterns, scrolls, which are sometimes called 'flanboyant,' are in fact derived, by a process of conventionalizing, from the 'honey-suckle' patterns or acanthus scrolls of Greek-Roman classical art. As used in Ireland and Scotland in early Christian times, spirals are partly closely coiled and partly flanboyant, and we may regard them as representing a combination of these classical derivatives with the far older and more severe forms of the Bronze Age spirals, the origin of which can be traced to Mycenaean Greece and to Egypt. The use of this primeval motive for the purposes of Christian decoration is a fact of much interest, to which much attention was called in a previous part of this article.

We are not concerned with archaeological questions of origin so much as with those of the aesthetic use made of these various motives, and of the distribution of this artistic activity in the life of the Celtic Church as a whole. It has been well said by Dr. Joseph Anderson:

*From whatever source or sources the different elements of the composite style of decoration of the Celtic Christian period may have been derived, the style itself belongs specially to the period of the early Celtic Church in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, with distinctively characteristic developments in each of these separate areas, and a modified extension into the area of the early Saxon Church, especially in Northumbria. In each of these areas it produced a remarkable development of monumental sculpture; and whether we regard the whole series of their manuscripts, metal-work, and monuments collectively as one great comprehensive manifestation of Celtic ornamentation of the early Christian period, or take them separately as national developments of a common style, it is equally true that, considering the work and the time, it presents a manifestation of artistic creation altogether unique in Europe. (The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, etc.)

The first point to notice about the artistic use of this decoration is the method of its distribution over the surface of its media; thought it is very finely developed among the northernmost representatives of the Tenontic stock in Scandinavia. On the pagan metal-work of late Celtic times in Britain, in Gaul, and in Ireland, it was treated with much artistic feeling for beauty of sweeping lines and for composition, and retains the finest examples of this are the pages devoted to ornament in the Irish manuscripts, and the large
cross-slabs which are best represented in Scotland.

II. MANUSCRIPTS.—Of the Irish manuscripts now extant, the earliest is probably the Book of Durrow, and the most elaborate is the Book of Kells, both in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; while the finest in the Library of Mr. John Hope, of Durrow Church, Co. Carlow, comes next in age to the former, and the Gospels of Lindisfarne, in the British Museum, is only second in beauty to the latter. This book, moreover, possesses the unique element of having been written by St. Cuthbert himself. It is dark blue and it shows in this way a fixed point round which other examples not only in illumination but in metal-work and carving can be grouped. It was written within a few years of the date A.D. 700, and is written in style of the Book of Kells though not so early as the other two. Hence the Book of Durrow may be assigned to a date in the 7th, the Book of Kells to one in the 8th cent.; and it is satisfactory to know that Bernhard Salin endorses these dates as a result of his elaborate and detailed comparative study of the ornaments which occur in them. The decoration in these books is not more sumptuous and minute in its execution than it is clear and bold in its design, and is not to be traced to the influence of any foreign or inspired, such as the representations of the Evangelists in front of their Gospels, in which classical models have been, however distantly, followed, and taking only one example in the first book, in which each of the Evangelists occupies a page, the initial letter spreading from top to bottom of it, and the rest of the letters of the first word filling up a part of the folio. A border is designed to combine with the initial itself in forming the whole composition. In this page be a recto, the verso of the previous folio, which faces it as the book lies open, is treated as a sheet of pure ornament, the object being that the book shall present a sumptuous and beautiful appearance to a casual observer. The scheme of design for such a page is generally based upon the form of a cross, which appears as the centre and support of a composition variously-shaped panels filling the rest of the sheet. These panels, as has already been explained, are themselves filled in with patterns of the kinds above enumerated, while a border encloses the whole. As described by Mr. John Hope, the general arrangement of these show-pages of initials or pure ornament provides spaces or panels varying in shape. Those which decorate or serve as complementary fillings for the big initial letters are often of curved outlines, while those connected with the cross opposite are commonly rectangular, or at any rate symmetrical in contour. In the decorative enrichment of these different fields, patterns of various kinds are selected. 'Spirals' (and we may add zoomorphic patterns) were chiefly used to fill in the irregular sections of the body of the letter and its curvilinear enclosed spaces, where, owing to a certain freedom in fixing the centres and making values of varying size, they were easily adapted and in keeping with the flowing outline of the margin. Interventions were less easily adapted, but could be made to suit an irregular space, for instance, by forming a chain of knots of varying size and intricacy; whereas fret patterns were even more rarely used outside of the square or oblong panels, for which they were naturally suited. Thus the disposal of the various designs was ruled by taste, and the effect of the combination of contrasting elements in a graceful scheme ('An Enquiry, etc. p. 29).

We may connect this decision and self-control, in the matter of planning out and distributing enrichment, with the monastic discipline that prevailed in the Celtic monasteries, where this work had its home. The spirit of order and obedience to rule was as strong in the Celtic as in the Roman Church, and the Benedictine plan, and the Irish regulars were among the most learned, but among the best-living in Christendom. And if we discern their mental rectitude and respect for law in those well considered and justly balanced schemes, in the actual execution of the ornament we are brought into contact with their intensity of devotion to the allotted task, and the infinite patience to which they were schooled by the conclusion and monotony of their daily existence. The little cells where once they sat at work are places as holy to the pilgrim of art as to the religious devotee, and we can realize there that it is from this element of line-ness in line and hue, this ingenious scheming, this minute accuracy in measurement, must have humanized and brightened spirits that might otherwise have become numbed in ascetic rigour, while an education of conscience must certainly have resulted from their scrupulous logic and exactness in pattern making. Prof. Westwood and other experts have examined Irish manuscripts with a glass 'for hours together, without ever detecting a false line or an irregular interlacement.' In the interlaced work, Mr. Romilly Allen reports that 'every cord lapse under and over with unfailing regularity . . . and all the cords are joined up as so not to leave any loose ends. All the details of the spiral works are executed with the greatest care, and there is never a broken line or pseudo-spiral. In the zoomorphic designs there is a complete absence of the number of limbs and are complete in every respect down to the smallest detail' (Celtic Art, p. 256).

No more description can give any idea of the variety, minute, and unfailing consistency of this decoration, which can now be judged of in accessible photographic reproductions, such as those in Stanford Robinson's Celtic Illuminative Art. As regards colouring, which is a source of some surprise, because it is noteworthy that the Irish scribe produced the effect of sumptuous splendour on his enriched folios without any use of gold, on which the Continental miniaturist so largely depended. This is at first sight surprising, for Ireland produced a good deal of gold; and this was not only used in her native metal-work, but, it is believed, exported to other lands such as Scandinavia. The Trinity College, Dublin, possesses a magnificent and weighty gold fibula of native metal and workmanship, but the manuscripts in the library are destitute of gilding. The colours employed are not numerous, but yellow is largely used, and might have suggested the scribe the idea of gold. The reds, greens, blues, and purples are bright, clear, and harmoniously blended, but the best effect is gained by the free use of black, of which the scribe fully realized the artistic value. We may conclude that the subject of this essay is Dr. Anderson, in which he speaks of the 'profusion of spiral, linear, and zoomorphic patterns arranged in symmetric and rhythmic designs shown up by contrasts of colour, and all carried to an extent of elaboration so bewildering, and yet so charming,' the perfect balance and finish of its parts, that the more the result is studied, the deeper becomes the impression of its inimitable originality, grace, precision, and skill.

iii. METAL-WORK.—The fine Celtic metal-work was, as we learn from some special cases, also a monastic craft in the hands of ecclesiastics. It was applied to the enhancement of the value of the manuscripts either at once in the form of covers, such as that adorned by Billfrith at Lindisfarne, or later on in that of the shrine or box, called in Ireland cennach, made to contain and preserve the precious volume (p. 358). These cennachs are peculiar to Ireland. Shrines of a similar kind, also of a later date than the objects they were to protect, were made for the early hand-bells connected with the names of famous saints, which are in themselves objects of high artistic value. They may in some cases really have belonged to the saints with whom they are traditionally associated.
Their simplicity and even rudeness agree with an early date. The most primitive are four-sided, and made of plates of copper riveted together. In the later ones are of the same shape but of cast bronze, and these are sometimes ornamented. There are early bells of the kind in Scotland and Wales as well as in Ireland. The Scottish of two bell-shrines is peculiar to the rest being Irish. Celtic metal-work of early Christian date is perhaps most largely represented by the enriched penannular or annular brooches, of which the Tara brooch in Ireland and the Hunterston brooch in Scotland are the best known. In this article this is concerned rather with things ecclesiastical, it may be sufficient to refer to four fine examples in this class, the Ardagh Chalice and the Cross of Cong in Ireland, and the Monymusk reliquary and crozier of St. Fillan in Scotland. They are all works of great interest either from the historical or the artistic side, and the first named is one of the most beautiful and elaborate examples of fine metal-work extant anywhere in the world.

The Monymusk reliquary is described by Anderson as 'a small wooden box' (it is about four inches long), hollowed out of the solid, and plated with plates of pale bronze and with plates of silver. In fact this is the initial form of interlacing zoïomorphic decoration, united with coloured designs of diverging spirals and trumpet scrolls, which are the principal varieties of the decorative art of the Celtic manuscripts and memorial stones of the early Christian time. It is jewelled and enamelled, and its engraved and chased designs are characterized by such excellence of execution that it must be early in date (Scotland in Early Christian Times, p. 243). The special historical interest connected with the reliquary resides in the fact that there is some reason to believe it a relic of St. Columba, and a vexillum, or battle charm, which, like the Ark in ancient Israel, was borne out to battle with the Scottish host. It is preserved at Monymusk House, Aberdeenshire.

The crozier of St. Fillan is an example of a specially Celtic form of ecclesiastical object. It is really a shrine of fine metal-work, made in the shape of, and enclosing, the head of the pastoral staff of wood traditionally belonging to an early saint. The form of the crozier is exclusively Celtic, and differs from the form that such objects take on the Continent. It is the crozier of St. Fillan that authentic history shows it was employed as a relic on which oaths of a peculiarly solemn kind could be taken, while it is surmised that it was borne as a vexillum into battle at Bannockburn. It is preserved in a damaged condition in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh.

The Cross of Cong, at Dublin, is the one surviving example of a processional cross of the early Celtic Church. It measures 2 ft. 8 in. in height by 1 ft. 2½ in. across the arms, and is 1½ in. thick. It is constructed of oak, and was supposed to contain at its centre, under a boss of rock crystal, a portion of the true cross. On the exterior it is all covered with metal plates of copper which are adorned with silver mouldings and plaques, with panels of fine gold work and gilded bronze, and with bosses of coloured enamel. The panels are ornamented with gold filigree work and zoïomorphic patterns, and the effect of the whole is rich and artistically pleasing. It can be dated in the first half of the 12th century, and is a striking proof of the long survival of fine artistic taste in character and ornamentation, as well as the fragility and care by which the later objects, such as the emaciated and the bell-shrines, though the style of the enrichment remains the same, are comparatively coarse in execution, but the Cross of Cong has fine technical qualities.

Lastly, in the Ardagh Chalice we come back to the period of the most perfect design and workmanship, of about the 8th century, and to a masterpiece of unique perfection. Its body is a vessel of large proportions, with a broad neck and a globular bowl on a low stem, and will hold as much as three pints of liquid. In its construction and ornament are employed no fewer than 354 distinct pieces, and the materials are of various kinds, glass, amber, and mica; and the ornamental patterns include interlaced-work, step-patterns, key-patterns, spirals, zoïomorphic, and scrolls, arranged in panels after the fashion represented in the manuscripts, and distributed with perfect taste. What is chiefly remarkable about the chalice is not the elaboration or variety of its detail, but the almost classic nobility of its general design. As a rule, in all barbaric enrichment, whether Celtic or Teutonic in origin, the tendency is for the ornament to cover practically the whole surface of the object under treatment, while it is only very rarely that we find that contrast between plain and richly adorned passages on which so much of the effect of classical decoration depends. The chalice, like some other objects of the pagan period in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, has an imposing largeness of style, due to the simple contours of the whole base, which contrast with the bands and medallions filled in with panels of delicate ornament and studded with bosses of variegated enamel. Not the least beautiful part is the flat plate on the under side of the base, which would be visible when the chalice was raised to the lips of a communicant.

Conclusion.—It has been seen that in the manuscripts all the kinds of ornament already enumerated are used freely in conjunction, while in the metal-work zoïmorphs are conspicuous, and interlacing patterns are less used than the others. Turning now to the sculptured stones, we find interlacing patterns most prominent of all, so that they sometimes form the sole decoration of a monument. As the forms of the slabs or crosses differ in the various Celtic or Cleticized districts, so do the kinds of ornament with which they are adorned. Decoration in tastefully distributed panels is everywhere the rule, and in Kells churchyard and Ireland, there is an unfinished cross, on which the panels are marked out and carefully squared, though there is no carving on them. The panels, however, are differently filled according to the kind of style. In the case of St. Fillan's authentic history shows that it was employed as a relic on which oaths of a peculiarly solemn kind could be taken, while it is surmised that it was borne as a vexillum into battle at Bannockburn. It is preserved in a damaged condition in the Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

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elaborate cross-slabs of Scotland may have helped himself by appropriating compositions and motives from the manuscripts, yet he could never have carried out the work with such perfect execution had not his whole nature been brought into action with such a purity of purpose as is at the root of the expression on the aesthetic side of the fervour and intensity of a wonderful religious life, without which the Christian Church would have been greatly impoverished and inferior art is large, and is a democratic art practiced alike by the unlettered matter and by the most learned scholars in Christendom.


G. BALDWIN BROWN.

ART (Christian) — Introduction. — The limits of this article pursue the treatment of the subject only in one or two selected aspects. There can be no attempt to enumerate the various forms of Christian art, still less to trace out their history. For several of these, provision is made elsewhere in the noblest and most important form of Christian art, architecture, furnishes the subject of a distinct article. Illuminated manuscripts are dealt with in next article. For an account of minor forms of Christian art, such as ivories, or ecclesiastical metal-work, information will be found in Dictionaries of Christian Antiquities, or in compendia like Dom Leclercq’s recent Manuel d’Archéologie Chrétienne.

(a) Scope. — The scope of the present article must necessarily be a narrow one, and the main object of it is to take the most characteristic forms of Christian art as we meet with them in successive ages, and consider how far each of them expressed the religious ideal. In connection with these historical phases we shall keep in view the two main questions: (1) that of the relation of art and the element of beauty generally to the religious life, and (2) the relation of any such art to the religious ideal, at large, and of sections of it, towards art and beauty.

(b) Definition. — It is necessary to understand at the outset what is meant by Art. 2 To the majority of people a work of art means a picture or a piece of sculpture, and such works are generally regarded from the points of view of their resemblance to nature, and of the intrinsic character of the actual objects, as being either beautiful or otherwise. But when we come to embrace the element of beauty wherever this appears in the works of man, the tasteful embellishment of buildings and of objects of utility is just as much an art as the painting of a picture, and such decoration can be in the highest degree artistic even though the representation of nature plays little or no part in it. Where the representation of nature does play a part in the effect of a piece, this may be a very beautiful and precious work of art, though the aspect of nature it presents is comparatively poor, or in fact, like some modern religious pictures of the 'Doré' type, may have for its theme a subject of the highest import. In this article the subject and the religious intention of a work are not reckoned as in themselves competent to give it its rank, and only those works are regarded as illustrating the subject of Christian art that express Christian ideas in an adequate and beautiful artistic form.

(c) Misconceptions concerning Christian art. — These considerations may help us to get rid at the outset of certain popular misconceptions, such as the notions that in early Christian days pagan art was deeply tainted with impurity; that the Christians were in constant conflict with pagan art; that the earliest manifestations of Christian art assumed a symbolic or didactic character as a sort of apology or disguise. We must remember that there was an immense amount of art in the pagan world of a decorative kind that was beautiful, but that did not obtrude upon notice any special representations of mythological persons. In cases where these personages were actually in evidence, it was as a rule the way they were displayed that would necessarily offend the eye. As a fact, the works of the Greek and Roman chisel and brush are so far from being tainted with impurity that it would be difficult to pick out from existing galleries of art that shows a taint of paganism. We might mention some of the most notable instances and show how the classical art with its false beauty, was worshipped as well as painted, and how the Romans tacked onto their classical works of art pagan themes, such as vases and statues. One of the most prominent themes, a man, nude or garbed, sat or stood, was not only as a class a child’s picture book. A false impression arose when the Christian Fathers applied somewhat unceremonially the OT category of ‘idol’ to the classical gods and goddesses, and were prompt to note the scandalous appearances these made in pagan literature. As the early Greek philosopher complained, the poets made the gods commit all the disgraceful acts repudiated among men, but the artists steadily refused to lend themselves to such degradation of the religious ideal. In sculpture and painting the behaviour of these mythological beings is in almost every case exemplary. In their persons and conversation the artists exhibited nothing but what is ethically noble. Hence the spirit of pagan art, liberally interpreted, was not anti-Christian; and its forms might be adapted to Christian purposes without any marked incongruity.

Again, the existence of a very large number of works of art, often of an elaborate kind, dating from all the Christian centuries, is enough to show that there has been no general opposition to art in the
minds of Christians. There are, it is true, statements in the Fathers which have been interpreted as implying a condemnation of all forms of art. The statements are, however, primarily concerned with the making, embellishing, and setting forth of images connected with a particular Christian doctrine or religion. This sort of work was naturally forbidden to the Christian, and Tertullian goes so far as to cavil at the making of the similitude of any natural object, on the plea that it might conceivably become an idol. On the other hand, he pointed out (de Idolatria, ch. vii.), that the Christian artificer could properly exercise his craft on work which had no connexion with the pagan religion; and the 11th Canon of St. Hippolytus allows the craftsman to supply ordinary social demands for artistic work. Hence there is no reason to doubt that Christian houses were as pleasingly adorned, to the measure of the means and the taste of their owners, as pagan ones; but the art thus applied was of a light and decorative kind, not depending on formal pictures or statues, which probably would not make their appearances at all.

1. Early Times. — 1. Before Constantine. The earliest known Christian art are applied not to houses but to burial-places, wherein the classical fashion is followed of giving them the same sort of adornment as the abodes of the living. The earliest known of these are decorated in much the same way as the contemporary tombs of the personifications such as the well-known ones on the Via Latina. The style is bright and cheerful. Pure landscapes are not unknown. Wreaths of fruit and flowers play a considerable part, and there occur also figure motives of a classical kind, in the form of winged genii, often engaged in vintage operations, personifications of the seasons, Capids and Psyches, and the like, wherein the innocent classical convention of the nude is not wholly repudiated. To these purely decorative shapes there were added from the first certain others of a religious significance. The simplest of these is the Orant, a female figure with arms raised in an attitude of adoration. In the case of more assertive personages, as the Canon of the NT was at the time only in process of formation, the representations are drawn mostly from the OT. Jonah is the favourite. The artist needs only the name, the symbol of Mt 12\(^\text{nd}\), as the type of Christ. Moses striking the rock, Noah, Daniel, the youths in the fiery furnace, and Susanna, also occur, and the choice seems determined by lists of typical worthies of the Old Testament. In this respect, Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, or in liturgical documents such as the Compendiatio Anima quando Infraem est in Extremis.

The figure of Christ appears early, but in a disguised form as the Good Shepherd, or as Orpheus who exercised a controlling charm over all living creatures. Occasionally he is presented in his own person, and the artist for preference chooses those scenes in which he appears as worker of wonders. The ‘Raising of Lazarus’ is specially favoured. Save in one exceptional scene of the ‘mocking,’ the suffering Christ does not appear, and still less the Christ crucified. Such are the characteristic subjects in the 1st and 2nd centuries, while occasionally in the 3rd, and more often in the 3rd, we meet with representations of a more or less doctrinal kind, such as the faithful round the table of the Lord, in which is placed the mystic fish, the symbol of Christ. It is remarkable, however, that historical representations from the actual life of the Church, especially scenes of persecution and martyrdom, are wholly absent.

A little later in the 6th century the present point of view to note: (1) that it is in the main decorative, the artist being more concerned to cover bare spaces and to dispose symmetrically his representations than to inculcate by them any doctrinal lesson; and (2) that classical influence remains strong, even when we have passed from the earliest period of almost exact correspondence between pagan and Christian decorative forms. Art in the East has been shown how in the OT figures are modelled on pagan types, while the earliest and best plastic representations of Christ as the Good Shepherd not only reproduce the familiar classical motive, but shed a gentle and benevolent light over them, so that the mosaicist is often not unworthy of a fairly good period of classical art. Moreover, when Christ appears in his own person, he is represented as youthful and beardless, with something of the attractive comeliness of an Apollo. It is impossible in face of these facts to believe that there was any general sympathy among the early Christians with the extreme view expressed by Tertullian when he objected to any representation of figures or natural objects; or that there was any reason why Christians should turn with repugnance from the classical art that was all about them.

The OT and NT scenes that begin to appear in the catacomb pictures of the 3rd cent. are repeated on the carved sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th. On some of these we find the same idyllic scenes of genii vintaging, the vine being, of course, in this case the True Vine, and the same semi-classic decorative motifs tend to become more obvious in the earliest frescoes; but the OT and NT scenes form the staple subjects of sarcophagus art, and Jonah, Abraham, Moses, and Daniel are seen side by side with Christ regularly, bearing the benefit of touching with a magic wand of power the water-pots of Cana. If the crowning scenes of His life are touched at all, there is no attempt to deal with the deeper Christian mysteries of suffering and sacrifice. The march to Calvary becomes a triumphal procession, with the Cross borne forward as a banner; the crowning with thorns is envisaged as a royal honour.

2. After Constantine. — The next epoch of Christian art, after the time of Constantine, introduces us into quite a different atmosphere. Christianity has become the religion of the State, and confronts the world as a regularly constituted power. The artist is no longer held to the strictures of the NT, but can assert, and there is demanded from him a certain amplitude and majesty in his work.

(a) Mosaic Art. — The characteristic form of artistic expression for this period is the monumental mosaic. In the earlier period it was confined almost exclusively to churches: later, the subjects are no longer confined to the narrow limits of a burial chamber or the side of a sarcophagus. He has to cover with decoration the vast interior wall surfaces of the great basilican churches and the stately though much smaller baptisteries. His style changes with his task. If the bright unpretending catacomb pictures seem to have a literary counterpart in the personal expression of the lyric song, the severe and imposing mosaics possess a certain epic grandeur. The subjects of the mosaics are not, as a rule, historical or directly doctrinal, and there is the same reticence in the avoidance of those Passion scenes in the life of Christ in which he is represented as suffering of less illustrious influence. The aim of the mosaic artist is to present in majestic and simple forms the heroes of Christianity. It is not the adventures of the saints that attract him so much as their spiritual presence as they stand forth triumphant after suffering—lords in heaven and earth. It is the Presence of Christ, rather than his mortal deeds and sufferings, that he strives to bring before the spectator. The early Christian mosaics of the 4th and 5th cent. at Rome and Ravenna are as great in their illustration of the principles of design as in
their technical excellence and their artistic beauty. They adopt in the main the principle of the world-

famous frieze of the Parthenon at Athens, and offer an ideal presentation of actual scenes of which

the building they adorn was the theatre. One of the earliest and quite the finest of the mosaic

that in St. Petronian at Rome, is in respect of its

main scheme canonical. In the apse of that church

the stately form of Christ enthroned as teacher

over the central altar is often quoted as the western

and on both sides of Him sit the twelve Apostles.

The arrangement transfers to the heavenly sphere

the appearance of the apse of the church at service

time, when the presiding official occupied the throne

in the centre behind the altar, with the attendant

priests on the stone bench round the curve of the

apse on either side of him. Christ, behind whom

in the mosaic rises a jewelled cross on a hill in

the midst of a city, Jerusalem, is the invisible ideal

president of the daily assembly; the spirit of the

Apostles is ready to inspire the clergy. The work,

which may date within the 4th cent., is notable for

the classical feeling in the characterization of the

beauties, resembling in some respects the style of

Raphael's cartoons. Equally dignified, equally

well chosen, is the scheme for the decoration of the

Baptistery at Ravenna of about A.D. 450. Here

in the centre of the dome is a noble picture of the

baptism of the Baptist, and on each side of the

altar, at whose feet the gauzit but imposing forms of

the twelve Apostles are preparing to lay down their

crowns. More extensive is the display in St. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, where the wor-

shipper entering sees represented in mosaic, on the

side walls of the nave above the arcades, on the

one side a portion of Ravenna itself, and on the

other the suburb Chalisa, the port of the Imperial

departures, with the figures of the Apostles signa-

te, male on the right, female on the left, who are

represented advancing towards the altar end of the

church, bearing crowns which they will lay at the

feet of an enthroned Christ and an enthroned Mary

with the Child, at the end of the nave. Here again

is idealized the bodily movement of the actual

worshippers from the door of the church to its

altar, or from their city homes to the heavenly

mansions prepared for them afar, as well as the

spiral ascent upwards towards it was urging the City of

the dead in celestial preoccupations. Above these processions,

together the clerestory windows, stand single

figures of white-robed saints, which carry out

beautifully the sentiment of the Baptistery mosaic.

The idea before noticed of the monumental presenta-

tion of heroic forms of epic simplicity and grand-

eur. Highest of all comes on each side a series of

historical pictures in mosaic from the life of Christ

—the first example of such representations that

Christian art has to show. On the one side there

are scenes from the miracles and discourses, very

simply but effectively designed, and showing the

protagonist of the youthful Apollo-like type met

with in catacomb art and on the sarcophagi.

On the other side is what would be called in later

medieval times a Passion series, but the actual

scenes of the final tragedy are as a fact selected on

careful Christian principles, with a truly classical

avoidance of anything painful, or of any situation

in which the Lord would be shown as suffering

humiliation.

Thus Christ is no scourging, no crowning with

thorns, no crucifixion, no taking down from the

cross or burial, and the scene in which Christ, a

heroic figure, is making a sort of triumphal pro-
gress towards Calvary, is followed immediately by

the last supper and the institution of the Eucharist.

In the pictures of this second series Christ is represented

as older and is bearded, and the marked difference in

His personality in the two closely related sets of

pictures is enough to show that there can have

been no authentic tradition of His actual physi-

ognomy.

(6) Historical or symbolic representation.—From

this same period of the 5th and 6th centuries we can

start the beginning of the most conspicuous type of

art—the historical or symbolic representation, of an

defying and often a didactic character. There is

a constant saying that the art of Quintilian, which

occurs in many early Christian writings, was to

have the effect that pictures are the books of those who

cannot read. To the ecclesiastical mind this gave

a religious justification for the pictorial embellish-

ment of the walls of public buildings, which had

previously been a matter of tradition inherited

from classical practice. In the middle of the 5th

century, we find St. Nilus laying down the principle

that the inner walls of a church should be covered

with scenes from the Old and New Testaments

from the hand of a first-rate artist, in order that

those who are unable to read may be reminded of

the Christian virtues of those who have served

them and can be inspired to emulate them. In the 6th

century Gregory the Great recommended the use of

paintings in churches in order that the illiterate might

behold upon the walls what they were not able to read

in books. On this principle of decoration of the

churches, the plan remained in use throughout the

medieval period. At the altar end of the church was

displayed the figure of Christ glorified, as teacher or judge, and the faithful were to be inspired by the sight to

strive for the joys of Paradise. Along the side walls were exposed historical pictures from OT or NT or from

the lives of saints, in which instruction as well as edification was provided for the un-

lettered. Subject would be chosen, and the figures, actions, and details are settled not by the artist himself, but by the ecclesi-

astical authorities. Gregory of Tours gives us a charming picture of the wife of a bishop of Cler-

mont in the 5th cent., sitting with her Bible in her

lap in the church, and directing the operations of a company of painters who are frescoing the walls.

The western or entrance wall was not at first in-
cluded in the scheme, but from about the 8th cent.

onward, a display complementary to that of the glories of Paradise over the altar.

This was the Last Judgment, often with the connected scenes of the separation and after-

world, the disposition of the just and of the unjust.

In the later medieval period the Inferno

was made especially prominent, with the avowed
intentions of affecting the souls of the worshippers

by salutary terror as well as by hope. Of the

subject of Christ in glory the finest examples by

far are in the early Christian mosaics, but the his-

torical scenes were not displayed in adequate

artistic form till the development of the Italian

schools of mural painting in the 15th century.

The most impressive rendering of the scene of the Last

Judgment is in the 14th cent. fresco of the subject

in the Campo Santo at Pisa, which used to be

ascribed erroneously to Orcagna. The treatment

there is truly dramatic and moving, but is spoilt by

a fine reticence. Later representations of the

theme, such as the famous ones by Luca Signor-

elli at Orvieto, offend through their over-insistence

on the terror of the scene, and especially on the

physical torments inflicted by the demons on the lost

spirits who fall into their clutches. The ecclesiastical authorities may have thought it well
to daunt the sinner and to harry the feelings

of the impressionable, but there is nothing less than deplorable. Both in these

scenes, and in the representation which became

very popular of Christ suspended in suffering on
the Cross, the painters of the 12th and 13th centuries, especially in Italy, offend against all laws of good taste and of beauty, and prostitute art to the service of a gloomy religiosity.

From these false ideals representative art in the West was, through certain religious revivals, embodied in Italy in the person of St. Francis of Assisi, and in Germany in the mystics of the school of Cologne. In both cases pictorial art showed itself responsive to the religious impulse, and the art of the 13th and 14th centuries, as we see in the canon of Giotto of Florence and Meister Wilhelm of Cologne have a distinct basis in the changed religious thought of the times. Before discussing the effect of these revivals of the 13th and 14th centuries, on Christian art and on the life of the Church, we must turn back more nearly to early Christian times.

II. MIDDLE AGES.—The medieval period had no sooner opened than the controversy on images (A.D. 726-842) divided the East and the West.

1. Controversy between East and West.—The opposition to all graphic and plastic representations of sacred personages on walls, panels, or portable objects, which had been partly identified themselves, was partly, no doubt, inspired by Islámite examples, and was carried to such fanatical lengths as to involve the destruction of numberless treasures of early Byzantine art. The controversy was in connection with an opposition, according to which representations in colour or relief of Christ, the Virgin, angels, and saints were once more permitted on walls and on portable objects, though religious sculpture of a monumental kind was never afterwards flourishing in the Byzantine empire. For these representations, schemes were drawn up, and these were crystallized into books of artistic recipes, which have governed the practice of Christian art in the lands of the Greek Church all through their later history. The best known of these handbooks is that brought by the French archæologist, Didron, from the cloisters of Mount Athos, and published by him in 1843. It is known as the 'Monuments or Book of Mount Athos', and gives an impression of that fixity, not to say lifelessness, which characterizes representative religious art in Eastern Christendom, in such striking contrast to the variety of the forms of Christian art in the West.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the Byzantine iconoclasts were opposed to the use of art in connexion with religion. What they really contended for was that divine reverence be directed to sacred efficiencies, which became in a sense idols. As Woltmann has remarked, 'images had been introduced into churches first for ornament, teaching, and edification; but image-worship soon crept in unawares. The reverence for the Divine and spiritual being was transferred to the image, which was honoured with incense and obeisance' ('Hist. of Painting', p. 185). Now, this reverence or idolatry was a further extension, to the limit of an abuse, of the didactic idea, which the Church as a whole began in the 5th and 6th centuries to attach to representative art. Some of the Byzantine emperors most imitable to image-worship, such as Constantin V., and Theophilus, embellished the churches with decorative art in sumptuous materials, and in the simple conventional forms of the earlier catacomb period. In the West, moreover, it must not be supposed that the use of subject pictures with a view to edification was the only fact of importance concerning Christian art in the early medieval epoch. No doubt the Fathers and bishops, who presided over the cloisters as the books of the litlariate, thought that they could accomplish moralizing art and in setting it to ecclesiastical service. They believed that they had avoided by these means the danger latent in art in respect to those who might be tempted by the last of the eyes, and they were at the same time apparently unconscious of the danger on the other side of reverence for these sacred efficiencies passing into the idolatry of which they carefully guarded the professors of art. Theophilus, such the Controversy of religious art, in the epoch. The Fathers and bishops, in the view they thus adopted about works of art, were not regarding the matter from an aesthetic, but rather from a doctrinal standpoint; but we are not to imagine that the modern reader, who do not depend for their artistic value on anything that they represent, and also expressions of medieval opinion that are more satisfying to those aesthetically minded.

2. Theophilus on Art.—Among the most interesting documents that have come down to us from the Middle Ages is a certain technical treatise on artistic processes, written about the year A.D. 1100, by a German Benedictine monk whose name in religion was Theophilus. The author, a practical expert in fine metal-work and other artistic processes and materials, has prefixed to the three books into which his treatise, called Schedula Diversarum Artium, is divided, an emendation and a dissertation on courses in large on the whole question of art and the cultivation of the beautiful as a part of the religious life. The view Theophilus advances is almost startling to the modern reader, a very pleasing impression of monastic culture, which he will probably have been taught to believe was slavishly narrow and ascetic.

Theophilus bases his apologia for the practice of the arts on the part of those vowed to the religious life on a view of human nature that can be thus paraphrased:

Man was made in the image of God, that is, as Theophilus implies, in the similitude of the Divine Artist who fashioned the world, and he is bound to make his resemblance to the Divine as real and effective as he can. It is true that by the machinations of the evil one this Divine image in man was obscured at the Fall, but it was not so far effaced that man cannot through care and thought win back something of the ancient heritage of art and of learning. 'Therefore,' he writes, 'the pious devotion of the faithful should not neglect the knowledge which the prudent foresight of our predecessors has handed down to us, but should embrace it as an inheritance from the Almighty.' As such it is not the private property of any one man, but it is preserved and kept from God, which the skilled person holds for the benefit of his neighbours. For which reason, Theophilus insists, he is bound to offer to all who desire to learn, as freely as he himself freely received it, the gift of the Divine grace—this gift being the knowledge of the technical processes, of which he then goes on to unfold. In another place he discourses in the same strain, and urges the artist to believe that the spirit of God has filled and divided these processes into the 'gifts of the Holy Ghost.' He then explains that these seven gifts embrace the special faculties of skill and knowledge which are requisite for the practice of the arts. The spirit of Wisdom teaches that God is the creator of all things, and without Him there is nothing—this is the primal lesson. Next, the spirit of Understanding gives the mind the capacity for discerning the right order, measure, and distribution of parts which should be applied to the work in hand. The spirit of Counsel teaches us not to hide the talent which has been given us by God, but to display it openly, with all humility, in word and act before those who are desirous to learn. Through the spirit of Might the craftsman will throw off all the terror of idleness, and will begin his work with vigour and carry it through with all his energy and power to the end. The spirit of Knowledge, which has been granted to him as a gift, will bestow upon his abundant store, over which he presides, and which he must procure with all boldness before his fellows. By the spirit of Piety he will rightly judge upon what object, for whom, and when, and how much, and in what manner he shall spend his labour, and will have regard against the interest of God and greed by such a scrupulous moderation in estimating the value of what has been done. Finally, as the great lesson of the whole, the spirit of the Fear of the Lord will remind him that he can do nothing of himself, that all he possesses or desires comes from God, and that he must ascribe all the gifts of the Divine mercy all that he knows, or is, or hopes to be.

3. Art in the monasteries.—The existence of artistic practice as an institution is a matter which may in itself be compared to the ties which belong to a side of life from which the ascetic refuse would turn rigidly away. We may, how-
ever, repeat here what was intimated in connexion with the fact, to some almost equally surprising, that artistic practice existed among the earliest Christians. Art, regarded as an element of beauty at first, and itself naturally to the work of man, in the touching life at every point, the modern cannot really understand, because with us this element of beauty is something artificial and extra, for which it has a special effort. This was not the case in old time, when the Christian needed a special effort, not to procure, but to exclude this element. The earliest Christians decorated their tombs, but not in such an artificial way, so as to have been a forced act, for which, as we have already seen, there was no real reason. The artistic tradition, thus maintained from the first by the Church at large, was in Eastern Christendom never broken, and the Greek Church, while stereotyping the forms of its expression, has held it continuously in honour. In the West the Teutonic inroads broke up the fabric of antique culture; but though the classical tradition in art was thus in a measure destroyed, the mediaeval civilization of the West, partly classical and partly barbaric, derived its art from both these sources. In the West, churches, abbeys, and nunneries were formed, alike in the Celtic and the once-Romanized parts of the West, the arts quietly made their appearance within the hallowed enclosures. A monastery, he must be remembered, was in theory self-supporting, and all sorts of operations in handiwork and in the mechanical crafts had to be carried on by the inmates, whose bodily and mental health was greatly improved by the exercise. Of the Celtic monastery at Bonn, near Cherbourg, Bede tells us that the two thousand inmates all lived by the labour of their hands. The rule of St. Benedict, in the 6th cent., provided that when artisans entered the order they were to be allowed to continue working at their crafts, though they were not to take any personal pride in their productions. The quiet and order of a monastery must have been congenial to the artist, and Ordericus Vitalis tells us that, when the founder of a certain monastery in the 12th cent. invited all who joined to continue the practice of the arts to which they were accustomed, there gathered about him freely craftsmen both in wood and iron, carvers and goldsmiths, painters and illuminators. Here was full opportunity in all manner of cunning work (HE vili. 27).

The mere practice of the various crafts, artistic as well as utilitarian, in the medieval convent is, however, one thing, and the religious enthusiasm with which Theophilus seems to regard artistic pursuits is quite another. It is this that constitutes for us the interest of the Schedula. The religion of the writer was evidently sincere and fervent, and it seems to him to find a natural, even a Divinely ordained, outcome in art. Though Ruskin and other eloquent modern writers have descended on the praises of art from the moral and religious standpoint, there is a breadth and dignity about the whole of this treatise which modern taste or sentiment puts him above them all. There is, indeed, no more effectual apology for the cultivation of art than this simple reminder that the love of what is beautiful is a part of human nature, and that no man is higher ground, the more august assertion that the creation of what is beautiful is part of the law of the universe at large.

"Look around you," we can hear Theophilus saying in effect to his listeners, "as you see the rainbow, the sun, the moon, the stars, the beauty of an artist, of the Supreme Artist who has made all things beautiful in His own image and likeness. You have a portion of His own nature and has formed you an artist, and you are bound in service to Him to exercise your creative power and make the most of your affinity with what is beautiful. In the name of religion take up the brush and tongue and mallet, and use them not for profit, but to the glory of God that you shall shine like the very fields of Paradise." These last words are used by Theophilus in a passage in which he foreshadows the coming of art out of its pastoral concealment in the microcosm of an Abbey church, which is an image of the macrocosm of the universe. This art is to be so decorated on walls and ceilings as to present the appearance of the Heavenly Garden. It will seem to be blooming with all kinds of flowers, and furnished with all the trees of the garden of Eden. In celestial fields where the blessed ones receive their crowns, the ceiling will be painted like an embroidered tent. The sun will resemble a garden, the windows send in a flood of variously coloured light. After the decoration of the fabric will come the provision of fittings and the furnishings for the service of the sanctuary, the construction and varied embellishment of which he describes in the technical chapters in the body of his treatise. There, in the workshop and among the apparatus and tools which the monkish craftsman has to build and fashion for himself, we are invited to see the gold and silver and bronze, the coloured earths, the glass stained with metallic oxides, all taking shape in dainty and beautiful forms, till the mere matter, the raw material, has been transformed through its consecration, in a shape of beauty, to the service of the Most High. For with Theophilus the preoccupation always is with the technical manipulation of the material so as to compass an effect of beauty. From end to end of his treatise there is comparatively little about art as representative. The art he contemplates is decorative. It is not the kind of art that corresponds to the more popular allegories of the theologians, to whom the lessons to be drawn from the presentation of holy persons and scenes make up the chief value of art. He is, of course, aware that the beautiful forms he describes, under the hammer or by the glass-kiln represent something in nature, or have, at any rate, symbolic meaning, but he does not consider these considerations trouble him little, and, after describing some technical process, he often tells the worker to make with what he will.

The representative element in medieval art must not, however, be ignored. There were the deeply stained glass windows of his church with the gay and colour of a garden, but he has in his mind the regular scheme of figure design for a church interior. On the canopies will be depicted, beneath the paintings of the Passion of the Lord, touching the heart of the worshipper, the sufferings of the Godhead, each work to be depicted. If the joys of heaven are displayed at one end of the building and at the other the torments of the regions of theLost, the spectator with the sufferings of the Lord will take hope from the signs of the Good actions, and be terrified at the remembrance of his sins.

Though Theophilus troubles himself little about symbolism, there was no doubt a symbolic intention in many of the decorative forms employed in medi eval art. On this subject a word must be said, because it is one that is often misunderstood. There is no mystery about Christian symbolism, because it is almost entirely based upon Scripture. We are familiar in TOI with the stock figures in which animals and plants stand for personages and qualities, and know that there is little consistency in the use of these. Thus the lion is at times a type of Christ, as the 'lion of the tribe of Judah'; but at other times he may be used to represent, who, 'as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.' In plastic or graphic art the lion may conceivably stand either for the ideal of good or the ideal of evil; but there is commonly, too, a third alternative, that the creature is purely ornamental, and may have been copied as a mere decorative motive from some indifferent source, such as an Oriental figured stuff. The whole subject of SYMBOLISM is dealt with in another article, and it is mentioned here only for the sake of warning the reader against imagining that it played any but a secondary part in medieval design. The fact is that in every age the artist, as artist, has little care for the technical import and the import and it is because Theophilus is so true an artist that he troubles his reader but little with this subject. The artist's instinct is to make his work tell out at once what is in it, and he does not desire to give the spectator the trouble of spelling out obscure allusions. The artist, however, as we have seen, often worked under the orders of theologians or of those who took a religious and literary and artistic interest, in the works produced. Such patrons might prescribe schemes of symbolism which the artist was quite willing to carry out.
The difference was that, while the theologian saw, in the shape, say, of a dragon, a reference to some allusion in the Apocalypse, the artist took a disinterested pleasure in the creature because its wings and tail were so effective for filling awkward spaces. The subject of the beholder, again, the painter here in view, in studying works of art already done, would find out all sorts of reconcile suggestions in details which, in their origin, had probably a purely artistic purpose. In this way there came in the 13th and 14th centuries, 800 years before the time of Durandus, bishop of Mende, who made, Rationes Divinorum Officiorum, in which an elaborate symbolic interpretation was given of all the parts and fittings of the church and the apparatus of the altar. In this way, too, beast forms in art were credited with moral and religious meanings that were interpreted according to schemes of beast symbolism embodied in the so-called bestiaria. That beast forms in medieval art were commonly symbolic is, however, rendered extremely unlikely by the fact that reforming churchmen of puritanical tendencies are found inveighing against such motives as barbarian and frivolous. The locus classicus of the works of art in the 14th and 15th centuries was the school of Durandus, a bishop of Mende, who wrote a great treatise in which the whole matter is discussed. The first of the pictures of the sufferings of Christ and the martyrs, which he praises as 'books of the laity,' and animal representations, for what have lions to do in a church, or dragons, are of the closest connection with religion. There was a puritan vein in monasticism that led to protests against what was regarded as over-exuberance in the use of the element of beauty in the furnishing forth of sacred structures. The so-called reformers, like Durandus, his contemporary Scholasticism, began with the Chaucerian of the 10th century, and as a rule, this view, and a striking illustration of its working is to be found in the art of the 14th and 15th centuries. It is to be found in the art of the 14th and 15th centuries. The magnificent display of colour and imagery in the noble French stained windows of the 12th and 13th centuries, such as those at Chartres, they consider too sumptuous for the House of God, and such representations as the grey and brown, yellow. Figure sculpture on the façades of their churches they repudiated. It is, however, significant of the hold that art had obtained over the religious community in this advanced medieval period, to note that there was no real opposition to art even among the severest of the reforming Orders, for Cistercian architecture, as the ruined abbeys of England sufficiently prove, though sparingly adorned, is of extreme beauty, and its ornamentation, with conventional foliage, of the utmost delicacy and grace.

4. Gothic Architecture.—We find, then, in the Schema of Theophilus the conception of Christian art as a display of beautiful things carefully and cunningly wrought, that were offered as the homage of the mortal artificer to the great Artist of creation. This conception was actually realized, within the field of his design. Again, and its present and recognized as it was by Theophilus, was subordinate to direct artistic expression, first in the forms of the architecture, and next in the sumptuous display of detail and colour in the stone and wood carvings, the gilt and enamelled shrines, and, above all, in the 'storied windows richly dight that are the glory of the Gothic fane.' The subject, however, in the 14th century, begins the separate treatment, and it is necessary here only to emphasize the natural and obvious symbolism of the forms of Gothic architecture, which raises the soul in aspiration, while the sense of mystery, of the beyond, of the immeasurable, the mysterious, is suggested by the elusive details, its perspectives, its magic of light and shade. Of the general artistic effect of the new forms at the time of their glory, when the interiors, often now, are cold and bare, exclaiming with gold and colour, and were hung with gorgeous Eastern stuffs, we can form but an imperfect idea; but it is probable that nothing more artistically beautiful has ever been seen. The spirit of the work was still the spirit of the earlier religious decorative art of which we read in Theophilus; that is to say, it was impersonal work, unmarred by any touch of personal display so common in Italian art, simple and sincere in intent and in the use of the whole subordinate art for the service of the sanctuary. The representative element was at the same time present in the art, but it kept its place as on the whole subordinate. It is a little-known fact that the artists were devoted to the art of the Church. For that very reason we find in it a charm which more advanced representative work has often lost. It is the charm of naïveté and freshness due to the artist's unsophisticated delight in nature, and at the same time to the clearness of his mental vision, which gives him ease and assurance.

The decorative figure sculpture on the great French cathedrals, such as Chartres, Amiens, and Rheims, is really one of the most perfectly satisfactory forms of art connected with religion. There was a puritan vein in monasticism that led to protests against what was regarded as over-exuberance in the use of the element of beauty in the furnishing forth of sacred structures. The so-called reformers, like Durandus, his contemporary Scholasticism, began with the Chaucerian of the 10th century, and as a rule, this view, and a striking illustration of its working is to be found in the art of the 14th and 15th centuries. It is to be found in the art of the 14th and 15th centuries. The magnificent display of colour and imagery in the noble French stained windows of the 12th and 13th centuries, such as those at Chartres, they consider too sumptuous for the House of God, and such representations as the grey and brown, yellow. Figure sculpture on the façades of their churches they repudiated. It is, however, significant of the hold that art had obtained over the religious community in this advanced medieval period, to note that there was no real opposition to art even among the severest of the reforming Orders, for Cistercian architecture, as the ruined abbeys of England sufficiently prove, though sparingly adorned, is of extreme beauty, and its ornamentation, with conventional foliage, of the utmost delicacy and grace.

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bent effigies in stone or bronze in which English craftsmen of the 14th. century, achieved so much success at the 'Queen Eleanor' of Westminster Abbey and the 'Edward II.' at Gloucester are among the best of these. English and German churches of the period are adorned with beautiful decorative sculpture, but the display is on a far smaller scale than is the case in central France.

We turned away from representative art in the West at a time when it was dominated by a somewhat gloomy view of religion, and exercised it, and was therefore not the lovely, simple, sensitive art like that of the Quattrocento. Saviour, laid stress on physical suffering. This applies chiefly to Italy, where in the early part of the 13th. century, while French and English Gothic art had unfolded itself in forms so varied and beautiful in the central and northern parts, the artists of Cologne in painting and sculpture, represented the Gothic spirit in a more direct and earnest manner, the spread of this from central France to Italy that led to the revival of art in the Peninsula. This Gothic spirit became incorporated in St. Francis of Assisi. As Sabatier puts it:

"St. Francis is the friend of nature; he is the man who sees in everything the image of the Divine goodness, the effulgence of the eternal beauty . . . hence at the voice of the Umbrian rustics he was able to recover herself; she forms a sound sense and good humour; she put away those ideas of pessimism and of death as a healthy organism gets rid of the poison of disease as by the stroke of the wing to the religious life, Francis caused suddenly to shine forth before the eyes of his contemporaries a new ideal, the presence of which there disappeared all those strange and perverted sects, as the birds of night fly before the first rays of the sun." (Art. Life of St. Francis, London, 1877, p. 13)

The beneficent influence of the genial creed of St. Francis on the revival of Italian painting is well understood, and in Giotto and Simone Martini, who at Florence and Siena respectively represented the coming of the Gothic spirit of humanity and tenderness, we find this influence at work. It is worth noting also that a similar influence at a rather later date was exercised upon painting in Germany, and led to the beautiful art of the early school of Cologne. German representative art has often shown a tendency towards what is grotesque and terrible, and the popular early Dance of Death, or of the dead, are proof of this. In marked contrast to this tendency we find in the Cologne school at the beginning of the 15th. century, a school of painting marked by the most delicate idyllic grace and tenderness, and by a pure devotional feeling that few other pictures can match. The art is really inspired by the so-called German mystics or 'Gottesfreunde,' a body of men who without forming any sect or order felt themselves impelled to a religious life of more intense zeal than was shared by their fellows. Still remaining, like the early Franciscans in Italy, true sons of the Church, they sought to make religion consist in a more intimate personal relation between the soul and God. When this relation was established, the soul became entirely filled with an ecstatic love that was not only the love of God but also the love of one's neighbour, so that the perfectly holy man, it was said, might desire the Kingdom of heaven for his fellow-man even before himself. In this need for spirituality were visited by visions, but visions that presented only forms of beauty. The fantastic and the grim, which have exercised such fascination over the Northern imagination, seldom appeared before the eyes of the devout. In the dreams of these men dreams were of lovely sights, of flowers, and even of celestial maidens to whom they were fain to offer adoration. Schmaaza was perfectly right in connecting with this religious revival of the 'Gottesfreunde' the Cologne school of idyllic religious painting associated with the names of Meister Wilhelm, Herman Wynch, and Stephen Lochner, the painter of the 'Domliiid.' at Strassburg is with the decline of the 16th. century, the works of these men are rare, but based upon certain religious movements in the direction of humane and tender feeling. The influence was essentially the same as that which formed the inspiration of Gothic art in the 14th. and 15th. centuries, the Gothic art is mainly decorative, we begin at the end of the 13th. century, to watch the development of painting and sculpture on their representative sides till they become capable of expressing the deeper emotions with great force and verity. Up to this period the artist had never disposed of adequate means for the representation of nature. However pure in feeling, however devotional, had been the art of the catacombs, or of the monastery, or of the Gothic church, however noble the single forms, however lively in action the groups, in the mosaics or in the historical pictures from the lives of Christ or of the Saints, the delineation was always summary, the rendering of light and shade and perspective crude or faulty. From the time of Giotto onwards two centuries are occupied with the development of painting and sculpture on the technical side, till they become in a true sense mirrors of nature and clear conveyers of spiritual ideas. This is the epoch of what would be called par excellence Christian art, and lies between the end of the 13th. and the close of the 16th. century. In Italy, between the end of the 14th. and the middle of the 16th. in Germany and Flanders. From Giotto to Tintoretto in the one case, from the early Cologne masters to Quinten Massys of Antwerp in the other, painting and sculpture are Christian, in the sense that religious themes are preponderant, and that spiritual ideas are conveyed in a more direct and convincing form. It would be a mistake, however, to use the term 'Christian' of this art in too absolute a sense, for the power which the artist gradually obtained over his materials he exercised on a realistic rendering of nature that resulted in a progressive secularizing of the spirit of the art, while the influence of the classical Renaissance of the 16th. century acted potently in the same direction. All through the periods indicated the art that was in a strict sense Christian was being produced, though not by every artist, nor, with certain exceptions, by any artist at every time.

The lives and works of the leading representatives of art in the periods indicated are so familiarly known that it will be sufficient for the purpose of this article to indicate in a few sentences the most prominent instances in which these artists embodied distinctly Christian ideas in their productions.

(a) Italian Schools.—The artists of the school of Florence, with the exception of one or two of pronounced devotional feeling, such as Fra Angelico and Luca della Robbia, with others like Lorenzo di Credi and Fra Bartolommeo who were directly influenced by the revivalism of Savonarola, took their subjects as a rule from the human side, and are noted for their pictorial expression and for the dramatic presentation of scenes of interest rather than for pious preoccupations. These scenes are of a sacred character, but they are generally envisaged in their human aspects, as is notably the case with the greatest of the Florentine painters, Masaccio. Some of Giotto's scenes from the Passion of Christ at Padua, and Masaccio's magnificent designs in the Carmine at Arezzo, are in the truest sense spiritually elevating; but the effect is that of the sublime in art generally, and they are com-
The religious design of Angelico, we must pass over a generation of artistic advancement, and recognize Diirer's devoutness to be the incontestably perfect achievement of the masters of the 16th cent., who bowed before Masaccio's genius in creation though they disposed of far more advanced technical science in execution. The engravings of these masters are truly dedicated to the Adoration of the Virgin. The Devonshire manuscript of the Life of St. Francis and of Luini a devoutness equal to his own, joined with powers of execution to which he could lay no claim. The well-known 'Pieta' by Luca della Robbia is in no sense a religious work, their devotional art, while the fragments of Luini's frescoes have filled the corridor of the Brera with some of the loveliest shapes of virgin and saint and angel that Christian art has to show.

A true artistic genius is Raphael, whose name figures so frequently from the religious art of Italy to the work of the early German and Flemish schools of the 16th cent., we find the fresh and innocent idyllic design of the early schools, such as those of Van Eyck, overcome by the realism and the ugliness to which northern art has all along been ready to surrender itself. Out of this at the beginning of the 16th cent. Albrecht Diirer with difficulty fought his way, and created an art in which deep feeling and philosophical thought triumphed over the characteristic defects of Teutonic design. Many of Diirer's religious pieces, especially those representing the suffering Christ, are profoundly impressive, and the man who possesses these qualities in design superior to those of his own productions. Diirer's finest works, however, such as the picture of the four Apostles at Munich, and the remarkable 'Madonna of all Souls' and 'The Knight and Death,' are, like Michelangelo's 'Prophets' in the Sistine chapel, ethically great but not inspired by any sentiment that is distinctly Christian. It is worth notice that though Diirer remained all his life a medi-

valist and a faithful son of the old Church, he held strong views about Papal abuses, and expressed the greatest admiration for Luther and some others of the Reforming party. We find proof of this in his writings as well as in some of his paintings. Once he addresses Erasmus as the 'Knight of Christ,' and bids him 'ride on by the side of the Lord Jesus.' There is a reference here, no doubt, to the figure in his own 'Knight and Death.' We find it hard to imagine Erasmus in mail and on a war-horse, and Luther's would have been a better name to invoke! The 'Four Apostles,' in the exhibition of Paul and John over Peter, betray the German infatuation with the weird and terrible interferes with our aesthetic pleasure in its contemplation, but his woodcuts from the Apocalypse, where these qualities were in place, are charged with imaginative power. The pictures of the early Flemish religious painters, on the other hand, though in artistic rank they do not equal the masterpieces of Diirer, perpetuate in some de-

gree the idyllic charm and tenderness of the early Cologne masters, while in the work of Rogier van der Weyden and some others there is distinct de-

votional intent. With regard to the founders of the school, the brothers van Eyck, we are in this difficulty: the known pictures of the younger, Jan, are on the whole realistic and secular, but there is a deeper note struck in the great altar piece in which both brothers collaborated, the 'Adoration of the Lamb' at Ghent; and whether or not this is due to the profounder nature of the elder brother, Hubert, is one of the unsolved problems of modern painting. This school culminates and ends with the work of Quinten Massys of Antwerp, who, with the names of each, make it a work of art. And still more that simple piety are his counterparts. To match the

The Venetians are more successful than the Florentines or Raphael in giving to these scenes a convincing air of life, and we see the figure, as a whole instead of building them up piece by piece in conscious fashion. Perhaps the best of all these masterpieces for its direct religious impression is Titian's comparatively unpretending picture at Dresden known as the 'Tribute Money.' Christ, tempted with the insidious query about the lawfulness of paying tribute to Caesar, has asked to see the penny, which is brought to Him by His interlocutor, and the painter has exaggerated the contrast between the noble, and at the same time tender and sympathetic, lineaments of the Lord and the screwed-up cynical features of the weather-beaten Pharisee who peers cunningly into His countenance. The hand of Christ, one of the most beautiful in art, contrasts effectively with the gnarled paw that is holding out the penny at which He points. The realization of the Christ of the Gospels and the creation of the adequate and beautiful type represent one of the triumphs of pictorial art. The imaginative power shown in some of Tintoretto's vast sketches in oil, from religious themes, in the Scuola di San Rocco at Venice, is one of the best Dutch cartoons are in comparison cold and academic. The great 'Cruciifixion' of the former artist at San Rocco, and the 'Christ before Pilate' opposite to it, are sublime creations.

The Italian painters of the first rank may be said to transcend the limits of an art that may technically be termed 'Christian,' and to present the sublime of human nature in such a way as insensibly to raise the mind of the spectator to Divine things. There were, however, many artists of the second order whose devout feelings found a more direct expression in works to which the adjective just used may with strictness be applied. The typical artist of this order was Fra Angelico, but the same spirit that animates his holy and beautiful paintings runs through the productions of the early Siennese and early Umbrian schools as a whole. Angelico's religious frescoes in the cells of the dormitory at San Marco, Florence, afford us the most perfect example of an art wholly devoted to the purpose of lifting the soul of the beholder on the wings of aspiration. Every figure, every compositional arrangement, was inspired to love, and to join the celestial company around the Risen Christ, whose visionary form he constantly portrays. There is more power, more intensity, in his work than in that of the Siennese and early Umbrian schools, a purity of sentiment that simple piety are his counterparts. To match the
Before passing on to the subject of Christian art under Protestantism, it is well to dispose of the peculiar developments of religious painting on the older or pre-Réformation lines. We have seen that such painting in the Italy of the culminating period of the art tended to assume the form known as the mannerist, and that the personalities of the ages are represented in a somewhat 'made-up' fashion, and fail to impress us with any sense of reality and power. This form of religious art maintained itself through the 17th and 18th cents., especially in the form of portraits, as well as in the pictures, but never entirely, and not in these alone. In Spain, though the greatest masters of the age, Velazquez, rarely exercised his genius on religious themes, painting of an ecclesiastical kind, was necessarily protest against evidence, and Murillo (1618–1652) is a very prolific and, on the whole, sympathetic representative of this form of art, on a somewhat popular plane. In the Catholic Netherlands, Van Dyck, who is more refined in his characterization than his master Rubens, painted some very good religious pictures of the conventional type, while his contemporary Eustache le Sueur in France (1617–1655) is one of the best of many artists of the second rank who exhausted their talents on works which may be said to have been abandoned, even in England religious pictures of the kind were painted, in the 17th cent. by Isaac Fuller, and in the 18th by Hogarth, who covered some very noteworthy pages in the artist's range of possibilities, and the best of which is the 'Pools of Bethesda' on the staircase at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London.

A somewhat remarkable development of art of a decorative kind was indirectly the result of the Réformation largely engineered by the Jesuits. In the Jesuit churches, the most famous of which is the Gesù in Rome, built by Vignola in 1568, there was displayed decoration of the most sumptuous possible kind, and necessarily protest against the Puritanism which had obtained a footing in the Church of the Réformation; and this same style in decoration spread to other churches interior of the 17th cent., with a result which involves Rome, Ravenna, and other places never cease to deplore.

Anton Springer has well characterized the style as one that 'robbed architecture of its fitting repose, and by the introduction of this art into painting was further advanced by agency unseen, of curves instead of straight lines, of pillar piled on pillar piled without a limit, in the form of turmoils a turbulent tumult', and the poet says, 'that the style (called generally Baroque) was without striking and artistic effect. An unbounded vigour in the disposition of the material, which was, together with an internal decoration which spared neither colour nor costly material to secure an effect of dazzling splendour, such were the distinguishing attributes of the Baroque style as in Rome it is to be seen on every hand.'

It is interesting to compare the spirit of ecclesiastical decorative art of this artificial kind with that of the sincere, unpretending, though in its way equally elaborate art offered by the medieval monkish craftsman for the embellishment of his beloved fane. On a superficial view the motives may be held to be the same, but how immeasurably the difference! It is this substratum of ethical interest belonging to the history of the arts that gives this subject its importance to the student of the successive phases of human culture. It is noteworthy how much more is made of the evidence of art in historical and sociological studies on the Continent than among ourselves. The British mind is unfortunately prepossessed with the idea that the arts are merely separate accidents, detachable ornaments of human life, and not, as was really the case in the past, modes of intimate expression in which the ideas of an age or of a people found a natural footing.

III. POST-RÉFORMATION PERIOD.—It was inevitable that the Réformation should bring about a considerable change in the forms and the character of Christian art. Assuming the least possible alteration, let us see what the later art would follow from the rejection of the Roman ecclesiastical system. We will suppose that the Protestant continued to recognize, as he recognizes now, the value of the personal touch of human life, and the suitability of art as a form for the expression of religious ideas. The Saints would none the less but disappear from view, and with them would go their altars and altarpieces, as well as the pictures of the saints which had supplied artists for centuries past with unnumbered themes. In some respects the situation of the iconochastic period would be repeated, and representations of such of the Incarnate Saviour, or the enthroned Madonna, which had attracted something like worship, would be banished at once from the churches. The cessation of any demand for the large scenic paintings of the Last Things may at first sight seem surprising, because in some of the reformed churches the doctrine of heaven or hell became of paramount importance. Wall paintings in churches, however, had become so closely associated with doctrines and rites that they could not be abandoned, and with them went the pictures of the Inferno that might otherwise have proved dear to Calvinistic hearts. This limitation of the artistic range of possible subjects was not the cause because the subjects that remained to stand out in greater prominence. The person and life of Christ became of far greater relative importance under Protestantism, which refused to recognize the compering chains of Mary and the Saints. As the Bible was freely perused, the literary treasures of the Old Testament became more familiar possessions, and the prospective artist would in this way find ready for him in the bosom of the Reformed churches a range of subjects which would attract interest. It must be noticed at the same time that, though sacred altar pieces and mural pictures went out of fashion, a new form of religious art grew up in Germany of the Réformation period and spread to other lands, in the shape of the engraved plates which were abundant in the earliest printed Protestant Bibles and Testaments and in pious books of other kinds. Lucas Cranach illustrated Luther's Bible; and Holbein, who in this aspect of his art was a child of the Réformation, has left us classical examples in the 'Irones Historiarum Veteris Testamenti'—a series of Woodcuts of Bible illustrative pictures such as the 'Christ the True Light,' of 1537. This was a very cheap and popular form of art, and made up to some extent for the loss of the monumental works. In all these Protestant designs it would be natural, though not inevitable, for the subjects to be approached from the human side. So much had been made of the mystical element in religion in the older system, that the Reformers, though untouched by rationalism, might be disposed to keep the mirabilis in the back-ground. It follows that under an enlightened Protestant régime there might be as much expenditure in architecture and on decoration as before, and the meeting-house of the Réformed congregation would have just as much right to 'shine like the fields of Paradise' as the monastic fane of four centuries earlier, while representative art possessed in the life of Christ upon earth, and in the doings of the Old Testament would be a range of subjects the value of which has just been indicated. The words of Luther are in this connexion very significant, when he said that he wished to see all arts, especially music in the service of the Church which he had created and had granted them to men, and repeated the old arguments in favour of pictures.
as more suitable for the instruction of simple folks than discourses. As a fact, however, the alteration brought about at the Reformation was far greater than we have just assumed. In Switzerland, for instance, in Luther's time pictures were condemned and banished as idolatrous; while in Great Britain, to take another example, the reception of the edicts of Henry VIII. and the edicts of Elizabeth that tried to put a stop to further vandalism, the loss to art was incalculable, and from this point of view those years of desolation and waste are among the darkest in our national annals. So richly equipped, however, were our English churches, and so well established had been the pre-Reformation tradition of beauty in the apparatus of worship, that, as in doctrine so here, a compromise was arrived at, and Christian art still recognized the Episcopal churches and cathedrals as its home, where, at any rate, it could dwell in peace till the Gothic revival of the early part of the 19th. cent. fostered it a new growth.

In accordance with the law thus laid down, we find that, on July 25, 1567, the Lords of the Council, after receiving the abdication of Queen Mary, affirmed certain articles of the Kirk, amongst which was their intention 'to rule out, destroy, and allure subvert all monuments of ydolatr, and namelie the 0ld and blaspheous images of Christ.' Now, to the Presbyterians and the Independent, descriptions of temples and altars and priestly vestments and all the apparatus of ritual did not appeal, for all these things they could not away with, while of specially Christian or NT justification of any there was but small trace to be found in the Gospels. Their teaching, however broad it may be, ignores almost completely this side of life, which indeed would not naturally appeal to the Founder of Christianity in the temporal conditions under which His life was passed. His justification of the use made of the 'alabaster cruse of ointment of spikenard very costly' (Mk 14) is in this respect notable, as it can be considered the safeguarding of the sacred records of the recorded sayings of Christ encourage a feeling for the beauty of natural objects, but the only one in the Synoptic Gospels bearing definitely on art is of rather the opposite character. And as he went forth out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, behold, what manner of stones and what manner of buildings! And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings! there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down ' (Mk 16).

The going forth from the Temple, if the tradition is a genuine one, was past the immense and splendid Hellenistic triple portico of Herod—the finest, Josephus says, in the world—and out under the vast substructures of the Temple area; so that the pride of the disciple in these glorious structures must have been a little disconcerted at the response. It was, however, the occasion of making a vivid illustration as to the Reformation to find Scriptural justification of a negative kind for a shrubbed and narrow view of art and beauty, as well as for one comparatively broad and liberal, and it is interesting to note that the following passage is the section quoted as part of the text of the Book of the English Reformation, with a special reference to its adoption of the principles of the Renaissance. Protestant Germany might have done the same, but, owing to wars and the impoverishment of the country, art after the time of Düer ceased almost altogether; but in the German contemporary, Holbein, left his native country for England, which on her part, by her contented utilization of his services, showed her own indifference to the work she was paying him to do. In Holland, a country extreme in its Puritanism, and the art was national and so at the same time Protestant, and in the latter aspect it was incorporated in Rembrandt.

A very large number of the drawings, etchings, and pictures by this master are on religious themes,
drawn from both the Old and the New Testaments. Many of these, such as the ‘Passion’ series at Munich, are treated in a cold, almost academic fashion, though by no means on the conventional Italian lines; but, on the other hand, there exists a body of his work on these themes, as dramatic in feeling as it is rich and masterly in execution. Rembrandt, whose work in this kind, it must be confessed, stands almost alone, has shown us here how it is possible to treat the passion of Christ with a freshness and inner life as the Divine majesty is as convincingly apparent as His homely aspect, His friendliness, His intimate sympathy with human joys and sorrows. The writer may be allowed here to quote a sentence or two from a work of his own on the master.

‘It is instructive to take the central figure of the Christian story, and to note the different situations, Myopic, epic, and dramatic, in which Rembrandt has portrayed the figure of Christ. We see with what warmth of human feeling he has invested those scenes in which the Saviour, an infant or a growing youth, makes holy by His presence the simple incidents of family life, while in the person of Christ moves, a mature and heroic form through the acts of His earthly ministry; with how intimate a sympathy he has withdrawn even to the unknown and insignificant, and displaced the Man of Sorrows a sublime though pathetically human figure in the twilight of His Passion. Lastly, how he invested the form with a power and grace that have been made perfect through weakness and suffering, and completes the picture by endowing the eternal love that Christ revealed, in the father of the Prodigal’ (Rembrandt, London, 1907, p. 579).

There is no need for any extended description of these masterpieces by Rembrandt, who are now remembered as fine in colour, light and shade and in technical execution as they are in the intellectual and ethical qualities of their design. A word may be said on one of the less known pieces, ‘Mary Magdalen at Brunswick.’ We all know the ‘Noli me tangere’ by Titian in the London National Gallery. It is a fine picture, but how unconvincing! There is no mystery, no appeal to the imagination. The figures, while sympathetically rendered, are posed for purposes of composition; the scene is full of daylight, and there is a village close by on the hill. In the ‘Christ and Mary Magdalen’ at Brunswick, in the mysterious garden where the Risen Lord meets Mary Magdalen clad in the glory of rocks and trees, a touch of light on the clouds above heralds the coming morn, but the shadows of night cling about the form of Christ, whose body emits a faint glimmer of light. According to which, the Italian form to which the adoring Magdalen was clinging; but the tender though reserved inclination of the head towards the woman, and the sympathetic gesture of the other hand, are loving-kindness embodied. We are there in the garden with the pair, and they both live before us. This, we feel, is how they looked and acted. In the Louvre picture of ‘Christ at Emmaus,’ where He is known in the breaking of bread, too equally imaginative treatment, the figure with an unearthly charm, that drew from the great French critic Fromentin some of the most eloquent sentences he ever penned:

‘Has not every artist imagined Him thus, as He sits facing us there and breaks the bread as He breaks it on the night of the Last Supper, so pale and so thin, in His pilgrim’s robe, with those darkened lips which suffering has left upon them; with the large soft brown eyes whose full gaze He has directed upwards... a living breathing, breathing...? We know not... who has assuredly passed through the gates of death? The attitude of this divine Visitant with that intense ardor in a face whose features are hardly to be discerned, and express all in all the movement of the lips and in the eyes—these traits inspired from what we dare not tell, and produced one who has told but all of value inestimable. No other artist has produced the like; no one before Rembrandt, no one after him, has made us understand such things’ (Mémoires d’Aubigné, Paris, 1851).

The lonely warmth of feeling in Rembrandt’s ‘Holy Families,’ and in OT or Apocryphal pieces, such as those from the story of Tobit, of which he was especially fond, is just as satisfying in its way as the imaginative power just illustrated. There is also an intellectual side to his religious art, and we have the sense in looking at some of his pieces that he has thought it as a fresh arrangement, though this never results in that academic coldness which is the fault of so many accomplished Italian designs. The chief example is the famous etching called the ‘1697, St. John in Plate,’ or the ‘Christ Healing the Sick.’ This is one of Rembrandt’s greatest masterpieces, and is well known though not always rightly interpreted. Sick persons, it is true, figure in the plate, but Christ is not healing them. The truth is that there is a great deal more in the piece than the descriptive title suggests. It is really an illustration of Mt 19, and brings together a number of distinct persons and incidents, a unity being secured for the whole by the commanding dignity and beauty of the central figure. The words at the beginning of the chapter, ‘and great multitudes followed him; and he healed them there,’ are the motive for the introduction of the sickly throng of the maid and feeble and sickly that Rembrandt has rendered with such pathos and intimacy. The next verse, ‘and there came unto him Pharisees, tempting him,’ accounts for the company on the left, whose shrewd and cynical faces and expressions of inquiry suggest the insidious queries with which they have come prepared. Christ, however, in the centre is attending to neither group, but is holding out His hand in encouragement to a woman before Him who clasps a child in her arms, while Peter, by His side, is seeking to thrust her away. This is, of course, the ‘Suffer the little children, and take them up on the midle of the chair; while in the richly clad figure of a youth, who sits musing with his face partly hidden by his hand, we recognize the young man that had great possessions. The justice of the characterisation throughout the piece makes it a real commentary on the passages illustrated, and the actual situation is brought before us in the lifelike impression groups.

It may cause surprise to find that Rembrandt’s treatment of these religious themes is so broad and genial, because the Holland of his day was strongly Calvinistic, and religion wore generally a garb of austerity. Now, we possess a contemporary notice, according to which, it was the religious sect called Mennonites; and as the best of these Mennonites were on the whole Broad Churchmen of the Arminian persuasion, Rembrandt’s upbringing may have given him liberal views on theology which will account for the comprehensive charity which breathes from all his scriptural pieces. His very last picture, a large and solemn canvas at St. Petersburg, represents the ‘Return of the Prodigal Son,’ and in this moving presentation of the tattered and weary wanderer as he buried his shame-stricken face in the bosom of the father whose compassion fails not, we read the artist’s belief in an all-embracing Divine love. The warmest expression of the personality of the hapless truant has concentrated all the interest of the scene on the father, who presses him to his heart and gazes down on him with infinite pity and tenderness. He is not the figure of a remorseful man, but the Eternal Love incorporate; and Rembrandt’s art becomes in the best sense an embodiment of the higher Christian thought.

We may accordingly regard Rembrandt’s design as more satisfying than the religious work of the liberal Protestant than that of any other artist, and with this as our standard may pass on to a brief critical survey of religious art as it has been
revived in various experimental but interesting forms.  

IV. MODERN TIMES.  

The last part of the 17th and the whole of the 18th cent. produced practically nothing in this style that was not a mere bloodless simulacrum of the academic art of the Florentines and Romans.  Such works, in exception, may be found at the close of the 18th cent. in the work of William Blake, who had genius enough in art and literature to have achieved true greatness, had that genius been trained and directed aright. Blake was a romanticist, and his pictures breathe the romantic spirit of his time before his time, and belonging to the century of Coleridge rather than of Pope.  Earlier in the same century, it is worth notice that even Hogarth in his religious pieces did not attempt the homely intimate style in which he might have succeeded, but adopted the conventional types of the Italianizing figure painters of the time.  The revived religious art of the 19th cent. is the child of the romantic movement.  This was a reaction against the predominant classicism of the latter half of the 18th cent., and took the form partly of a return to nature in which Rousseau and Robert Burns were pioneers, and partly in a revived interest in what was termed by Blake 'picturesque' and 'romantic.'  His pictures, however, were rather of the order of the Middle Ages, and even Kean as Goethe paid him homage in these romantic bygone glories.  A curious result in the sphere of religious art of this return to the Middle Ages has made itself seen in our own time in the pictures of the life of Christ by Eduard von Gebhardt, in which the costumés and the mise en scene are taken from the Germany of the 15th century.  What we know in our own country by the name of the 'Gothic Revival'—a movement that led to the restoration of medieval features in innumerable English churches and to the establishment of something like a cultus of the romantic in art—was at the basis of the very interesting artistic experiment known as pre-Raphaelitism, while the earlier religious painting of the German so-called 'Nazarenes' was founded rather on the national self-consciousness of the German people firmly braced by the struggle against Napoleon; mediavalism, at any rate, played no part in it, for the Nazarenes were inspired by all the artistic movements, the German and the English, were sincere and earnest, even to the extreme of fanaticism, but the aesthetic result was in neither case wholly satisfactory.  

1. Nazarenes. — The name 'Nazarenes' was applied in good-humoured banter to a company of young German painters who in the early years of the 19th cent. settled in Rome in an abandoned monastery, where they sought to re-establish the life and work of the painters of the earlier religious schools.  They were romanticists of the type that surrenders itself to idealism but recognizes no attraction in nature and the things of the real world.  Hence their art draws its motives not directly from nature, but at second hand from the works of the old masters.  This secured a certain look of style in the compositions; but, on the other hand, the figures lacked individual character, and the colouring was pale, flat, and conventional.  One good piece of work the Nazarenes accomplished early in their career, which has laid modern art under an obligation.  In 1815 they introduced the idea that the value of art lay in the work of art, and not in the artist.  In 1779, and with the aid of one of Mengs's old journeymen executed successfully in the true pre-Raphaelite style, they painted 'The Judas Family' in the room of the Casa Bartholdi on the Pincian Hill at Rome.  Both these paintings are from the story of Joseph, and have been removed to the National Gallery at Berlin, where they are in a good state of preservation.  Corneilus, Overbeck, Schadow, and Veit collaborated, and the works are among the best from an artistic point of view produced by the school.  Modern German monumental wall-painting, which has flourish through the centuries, is the direct outcome of the tiring devotionalness that we have come to know in the early schools of Sienna and of Cologne.  'Art is to me,' he wrote once, 'a harp on which I would fain hear always the voice of the praise-singers of the Lord.' The comparative absence from his works of the qualities of colour, light and shade, and handling, which are essential to the beauty of a modern picture, makes it unnecessary from the point of view of this article to consider them further.  Corneilus (1783-1867) was a far stronger artist than Overbeck, and covered vast wall spaces in Munich and elsewhere with compositions marked by learning and vigour, but lacking in warmth of feeling or esthetic finish and spacing of figures.  It was in the mediaeval subject of the 'Last Judgment' in the Ludwigskirche at Munich, painted in 1840, may count as his masterpiece.  

On the same plane of art as the Nazarenes are the Nazarenes are a once extemely popular of religious themes, the Netherland Ary Scheffer, and the accomplished Frenchman Hippolyte Flandrin, a pupil of Ingres, worked successfully drawn figure compositions on religious themes on the walls of Roman churches, which are, however, tame in effect and wanting in charm of colour.  Of all this set of artists no one had in him so many elements of true greatness as the Aberdeen painter, William Dyce.  Had he been born a century later and in a time and in the privilege favourable to the development of monumental figure painting, he would have been a great artist, for there is in his design an originality and an intimacy of feeling, in his execution a firmness, that strike us at once as exceptional in this phase of art.  Born in 1806, he met and was influenced by Overbeck in Italy, and Richard Muther in his Modern Painting reckons him 'with the Flandrinners, Overbeck family.'  Both these artistic movements, the German and the English, were sincere and earnest, even to the extreme of fanaticism, but the aesthetic result was in neither case wholly satisfactory.  

2. Pre-Raphaelites. — The religious art of the 19th cent. received a contribution of some value from the English pre-Raphaelites.  Shortly before 1850 three or four young artists in London found themselves drawn together by somethings of the same feeling in art that had actuated the Nazarenes.  They revolted against the academic conventions with which the name of Raphael was specially connected, and the idea of the school of Madrid.  'There is something touching in his madonnas...' A dreamy loveliness brings the heavenly figures nearer to us' (iii. 5).  The 'St. John leading the Madonna to his Home,' in the Tate Gallery in London, is a good specimen of his art.

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ultimately included seven members, and the fact that two or three were writers explains the fact that the movement was from the first as much literary as purely artistic. The three original members were Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Holman Hunt, and John Everett Millais, are the only ones who need be mentioned here. Their intense earnestness, combined with their study of the early Italian masters, led them to religious themes, though these were not done in a spirit of imitation. But at the same time, they were before all things romanticists, and may be claimed by the Gothic Revival as its spiritual offspring. They were devoted to the poets, and some of the best things they accomplished in art are the illustrations to Tennyson's *Poems* published by Moxon in 1857. In Rossetti this tendency was particularly marked, and he ultimately confined himself as a painter to the romantic field, in the cultivation of which, he was followed by Edward Burne Jones. This romantic and poetic vein kept their devotion to the facts of nature from falling into mere realism, so that in their pictures we discern a curiously matter-of-fact rendering of accessories, and the whole scene may be a fairyland of a poet's creation.

Of the distinctly religious pictures of the school, the best were some of the earliest. In 1849 and 1850 Rossetti exhibited the quaint but fascinating *Girl from Studio* (painted in 1870, the figures are portraits of the painter's nearest relatives, and the *Eccle Ancilla Domini* which has now happily found a home in the national collection. For novelté of feeling and poetic charm it is one of the loveliest pictures ever painted, and, if its transparent sincerity it might have shamed into nothingness the commonplace conventional painting in vogue in the England of the time. The early school of the Royal Academy, where the work of Joseph, a far more ambitious piece, is perhaps, artistically speaking, the best religious production of the school; for Millais, as his after career showed, was far more highly endowed as a practitioner than any of his associates. Holman Hunt's universally known 'Light of the World' appeared in 1854, and this artist has maintained throughout his long and honourable artistic career the same religious earnestness, combined with the pre-Raphaelite faithfulness. In the whole history of art there are no religious pictures in which uncompromising naturalism has made so remarkable an alliance with a pictorial depth of ideas' (Muther, *Orestes*). From the artistic point of view it should perhaps be pointed out that the plan of copying nature in a picture detail by detail does not really secure the truth aimed at, and with the pre-Raphaelites its adoption was due to intellectual rather than to purely artistic considerations. The experiment was of value in its time as a protest against the vague conventional rendering of nature with no true knowledge behind it, which was then the fashion in the English school, and to the non-artistic the principle will always seem attractive because of its ethical sound, but, as Horace says in the *Ars Poetica* (line 31):

> *In vicum ducta cunctis omnibus, sic caret arte,*

and the way to represent nature truthfully in the artistic sense is not to copy bit by bit, but to render the general aspect of things in their true relations of tone and colour. This is the real difficulty of painting, and an impressionist study that secures absolute truth in these relations is at once far more difficult, and far better as art, than the most elaborate rendering of individual details with mere accidental approach. If he sessed of a shrewd wit, tried the pre-Raphaelite method about 1850, but gave it up, saying, 'This cannot be right, it is too easy!' Hence it has come about that many a pre-Raphaelite painter who has carried out this principle of work has been, as Horace goes on to say:

> *Intell. optes summa, quis ponere locum? Necesse!*

Moreover, exact piece-by-piece rendering leads too often to a hardness in delineation that is destructive of pictorial effect, and when this is combined with crude and inharmonious colouring, the result from an aesthetic point of view may be disastrous. But an artist who seeks to rise above this, and who varies greatly in his artistic value, they are always to be respected for their earnestness and sincerity, and some of those on Biblical themes will ever remain prominent and justly-honoured representations of an interesting modern phase of Christian art.

3. Modern experiments.—One last phase of Christian art remains to be noticed, bringing us quite to our own day. The reference is to certain endeavours to secure convincing verisimilitude in the pictorial representation of Biblical scenes by the abandonment of all the time-worn conventions of academic design, and by the use of local types, costumes, accessories, and setting. This departure has been tried in various forms, and always with sincerity and devout feeling. So far as these qualities are concerned, the works already noticed of the German von Gebhardt, whose 'Last Supper,' which was shown in Paris in 1878 through reproductions, are equal to the best; but his curious convention of a 15th cent. *mise en scène* gives them a position apart. One form which this work has taken is in the events of the life of Christ in an Oriental setting, carefully elaborated from a study of the Palestine of to-day. The idea was first started earlier in the 19th cent., when the attention of artists was turned for the first time to Oriental subjects, Horace Vernet, on his Eastern tour in 1840, had noticed that the scenes of the Bible stories were laid in the East, and should be represented in Oriental settings. This was actually attempted by Holman Hunt, who painted religious pictures in Jerusalem, and by the school of the Dead Sea. Some German artists sought the same end by the adoption for the NT characters of the types of modern scenes of the Hebrew race; but it has been reserved for a French and a Scottish painter of our own time to work the idea out with completeness. Both James Tissot, a French artist known first for his pictures of modern fashionable life, and William Hole, of the Royal Scottish Academy, conceived the idea of presenting various incidents of the earthly ministry of Christ as they might happen in the Palestine of to-day. The lighting and colour of the landscapes, the forms of nature and of buildings, the attitudes of the figures and their costumes, the furniture, the accessories, are all drawn from actual life, as it can be studied to-day on the Mount of Olives, by the Sea of Tiberias, or at Bethany. The resulting pictures, made accessible by popular reproductions, are full of interest, and at every turn furnish some new suggestion that makes us realize and interpret better the familiar scenes. They are, however, in both cases comparatively small water colours and do not aim at greatness of effect. Indeed the elaboration of the interesting detail often interferes with the general impression of a scene in its ethical or religious aspects. They are, nevertheless, valuable contributions to the religious art of our day.

An experiment in quite another direction has been made, also in our own day, by one or two German artists, of whom the most important is Fritz von Uhde. Von Uhde, perhaps the best painter of all those who have given themselves in this latest epoch to Scriptural themes, and his work has more of the quality we have learned to
admire in Rembrandt than that of any of the other moderns. There is no attempt here at archaeological correctness, and the idea of an Oriental setting never crosses the artist's mind. On the contrary, he takes the actual scenes in town or village or country of the Germany of his own day, and inserts Christ or any sacred scene into them, and dealing with those He meets as if He dealt with His fellow-countrymen in Palestine. In 'The Sermon on the Mount' Christ is seated on a modern wooden bench in the fields, and His disciples are a group of peasantry, men, women and children, on the outskirts of which hang the men who are going home from their work, with their tools over their shoulders. 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' at Leipzig, shows the interior of a modern schoolroom in a small town, where the master stands in the background, while a group of children of all ages are gathered somewhat timidly near the chair on which a stranger, who has just entered, has taken his seat. This stranger is Christ, and we are made to see that He is gradually drawing the little ones to Himself by the magnetism of His personality. In other pieces we see Christ entering a peasant home, or sitting at modern desks, that He may reach the imagination. And, again, with a frank acceptance of the mystical, the artist has given us the scenes of the Annunciation or the Nativity. The pictures are always serious, solemn, and at the same time warm with human feeling, and often touched with idyllic charm. Their quality as works of art gives them an equally high place with that which they claim as achievements in religious design.

The name of Rembrandt was mentioned above in connexion with these homely renderings of sacred scenes. Rembrandt, like von Uhde, in the best of his pictures took the setting from his own surroundings, though he indulges not seldom in Oriental vestments and in Jewish types. These surroundings are, however, in the first place, very much generalized, so that they might almost do for any age and country; and, in the second place, they are as unfamiliar in the eyes of 20th cent. Briton as if they were genuine Oriental transcripts. Hence the setting of Rembrandt's pieces takes them to that distance from us which is necessary in order to let the imagination have free play. In their settings of our own time, on the other hand, both the Oriental backgrounds and the modern ones are too real and too familiar, and the appearance against them of Christ and the Apostles seems forced and almost theatrical. If we recognize who the persons are, we may live in these surroundings, but to have come in in a disguise, and we half expect their interlocutors to be finding them out. On the other hand, if we accept them as modern Orientals or modern Europeans, we cannot readily realize their unique character and greatness. They have been brought down too effectively from the ideal to the actual sphere.

Summary.—In the foregoing an attempt has been made to describe and to analyze, from the points of view indicated at the beginning of this article, the chief phases of religious art as they have manifested themselves through the Christian centuries. There have been two stages in the activity of Christian artists, each of which we shall more suitably receive a final word.

1) On the one hand, their activity has been essentially that of the monkish mason of the 11th, the Gothic mason and carver of the 13th centuries; all they could make or do were zealous to offer on the altar of Christian service. Thiers was the gift of beauty to the Christian beauty—a grateful rendering back of the boon so lavishly bestowed, the gift of skill and care to the Lord of the inventive brain and cunning hand. How far, we may ask, can we in these modern days enter into the spirit of those mediaeval craftsmen, and turn any artistic gifts we may possess to this high service? Unlike the men of old, we have in these days almost to justify our acceptance of the cult of beauty and of art, for these are not a natural and necessary part of our lives. We have seen how the practice of the arts in early Christian and monastic surroundings followed inevitably from the fact that the sacred peasants of the north did not give in those days impossible. With us it is something extra, and is as a consequence challenged to give an account of itself. That idea of an opposition between the life of art and the practical life of service to one's fellows, which underlies Tennyson's 'Palace of Art,' is not justified by the facts of the world. It is perfectly possible, as we can learn by looking around us, to combine the practical with the contemplative life, and to exercise the aesthetic faculties without any withdrawal from the sphere of the actual. It is true that there are those who do so withdraw themselves, but it does not follow that they are tempted away by the allurements of the imaginatively morbid and self-absorbed, and if a field of activity did not offer itself in the aesthetic sphere, their life might decline to a much lower level. The pleasures of art are, at any rate, innocent, and if they do not necessarily mould the character, they at least refine the taste.

We saw that the medieval artist-monk exalted the practice of the crafts that produce beautiful things as not only a function of human nature but a law of the universe at large. There is a narrow religiosity that is afraid of a human nature so amply endowed, and would confine its activity within much closer limits. In the churches of to-day, however, this timid art is already an anomarnism, and most of those which have Puritan traditions at their back accept to-day the broader view to which, at any rate, the student of the history of Christian art must feel himself forested. And if this energy of art is not only wholesome, but even in a sense enjoined, in what can it be more fittingly expended than in that service to which we have seen it devoted through the centuries? To the other hand, the square barn-like meeting-house, the bare walls, the homely fittings, could satisfy the cultured worshipper.

It is true, and must never be forgotten, that the outward show is as a mere nothing to the 'truth in the inward parts,' which is demanded as much from churches and congregations as from individuals; and if worship were less sincere in a beautiful and richly adorned than in a simple room, it is the art that would have to be sacrificed. It is true also that in parts of our own country a sacred tradition of unselfish piety, of heroic endurance, clings to these whitewashed walls that for generations past have looked down on the defenders of a creed for which they were ready at any moment to give up their possessions or their lives. The Church at large could ill spare the Puritan spirit, and must strive to retain what is best in this while contesting some of its negations. The introduction of instrumental music into the act of worship, and of the element of art and beauty into its material apparatus and its place, is in principle perfectly possible everywhere in Christendom, and there is every reason why the mediaeval tradition should be revived, and these things not merely accepted as a fashion, but embraced with the godly joy and pride of the older days.

2) On the other hand, the activity of Christian artists has been exercised not merely on the
creation of what is beautiful, but on representations of sacred scenes and personages, or symbolic shows that had a didactic purpose. This work, as we have seen, is typical of an art of thought.

We may distinguish here: (c) the liturgical, doctrinal, or allusive composition, which began, as we saw, in the catacombs, and flourished greatly, in the form especially of the pictures of the Last in the early and later medieval period: (d) the devotional picture, represented centrally in the work of Fra Angelico, in which the specially Christian virtues of humility, devotedness, self-abandonment, are brought to view and their practice inculcated; (e) the historical representation, from the life of Christ or of OT or NT worthies—a form of art that we have come across in many shapes, and in which at one time the mystical, at another the human, element is most apparent; and (f) the great work of art in which a supreme master like Michelangelo has created types that are profoundly ethical, though not in the distinctive sense Christian.

True, the various forms of religious art related to the Christian thought of enlightened Protestantism?

(a) The first kind of picture has ceased for Protestants to have any didactic or specially religious significance, and is regarded rather from the intellectual point of view as an embodiment of poetic thought. The designs of William Blake are of this kind, and a good modern instance may be found in the allusive symbolical designs which, with charming decorative feeling, Mrs. Traquair has executed in the ‘Song School’ of St. Mary’s Episcopal Cathedral and the Catholic Apostolic Church in Edinburgh, as well as in other buildings. Such works exercise for the artist a more devotional mysticism than to that of religion in the strict sense of the term. They answer to a special phase of artistic feeling both in the creator of them and in the spectator, and, in fact, they repel some sincere lovers of art just as strongly as they attract others. So long as there are artists and lovers of art, the temperament of some of these will turn them in the direction of works of the kind. This phase of religious art is illustrated also by some of the productions of G. F. Watts, an artist of genius who was meant to be a great painter, but was drawn aside from the direct course by the copiousness and insistence of his intellectual ideas.

(b) This phase is the creator; and from this point of view the works of the Hellenic sculptor may claim a position by the side of the designs of a Michelangelo, or of any other creative artist of the Christian period. The impressiveness of a great work of art depends largely on the simplicity as well as the force of its message, and it is not by inculcating any special doctrines of religion but by raising the whole being into communion with the highest that art may best serve the spiritual needs of mankind.


G. BROADWIN BROWN.
ART IN MANUSCRIPTS (Christian).—There is no form of Christian pictorial art that has come down to us from the Middle Ages in such abundance, in such variety, and in such a genuine and unaltered condition, as the art of miniature-painting for the illustration of manuscripts. Isolated examples dating from the 4th cent., to the 8th may be found scattered through the great libraries of Europe, while others from the 9th cent. onwards exist in considerable numbers, not only in pure Christianity, but also in Islam. Nevertheless, this in spite of the enormous destruction that has taken place through their being little cared for, or liturgically out of date, or the objects of fanatical hatred. The total number of manuscripts thus destroyed must be numbered by hundreds of thousands. At the same time, it must not be concluded that the majority of these, or even a large percentage, were as attractively written and illustrated as the precious volumes exposed in our museums. A glance at the contents of any considerable mediaval library, like those of Hereford Cathedral and some of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, shows us how commonplace and dull in a literal sense was the everyday scholar’s book, and that in nine cases out of ten the loss of them would not be a matter for artistic regret. The richly painted manuscripts on the other hand were often lavishly ornamented for lectern and altar, in keeping with the other splendours and adornments of a great church, or for the use of wealthy laymen and ecclesiastics, who sometimes read them as little as a modern student reads the editions de luxe that he buys of poems that he has learned to love in a homely setting. St. Jerome, in his preface to Job, makes light of such possessions. ‘Let those who care for them,’ he says, ‘own books that are old, or written with gold and silver on purpure skin. All that need is a good text.’ This sentence shows that the spirit of the fastidious book-lover was already abroad in the 4th century. It is perhaps a matter for congratulation that not every one had so austere a taste as St. Jerome.

The earliest examples of painted books that have survived in Europe are two Vergils of the 3rd or 4th cent. in the Vatican Library; but throughout the first millennium of Christianity the art of miniatures, whether in manuscripts or in illuminated letters within the text, was a flourishing one. The principal production of the early centuries was that of the Byzantine school, which was written at Winchester for Bishop Ethelwold between the years 963 and 984. A similar Benedictional, written a few years later for Archbishop Eadward of Jumièges, is now in the public library at Rouen. The British Museum is rich in productions of this school, beginning with King Edgar’s Charter of Hyde Abbey (fig. 2, p. 580), written entirely in gold in 966 and enriched with a beautiful design in the presentday, that shows how figures are drawn with much animation and clod in the fluttering draperies characteristic of the English miniaturists of the 8th and 11th centuries. During these centuries and for several centuries longer, it is not too much to say that English book-illustration was the finest in Europe. Until the end of the 13th century, Italian pictorial art was much less inventive and energetic than that of England and France, while Germany was likewise under a weight of formalism. Byzantine tradition, which seems to have prevented its producing more than a trifling number of books of notable merit between the 12th cent. and the time of the invention of printing. In the monasteries of Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, many stately books were written and illuminated, but in the reign of St. Louis the fame of the University of Paris attracted so many scholars and artists from all Christendom, who thenceforth made Paris the intellectual centre of Europe. In their train came a body of writers and illuminators, independent of the monasteries, who shook off the Byzantine fetters before Giotto and Cimabue were born, and produced works of extraordinary and almost feminine refinement of execution, which is no less attractive than the manly vigour which is more especially English (fig. 3, p. 581). For the tradition of the French illuminators had gone far beyond their English rivals, and in the second half of the 15th

* ART IN MSS (Jew.) see p. 572*.
cent. English patrons were so ill-served by their countrymen that they had to send to Bruges and Paris for their painted prayer-books and romances.

To the Italian scribes of the 15th cent. belongs the distinction of having cast out the Gothic or black letter, by which that time had reached a cramped and ugly stage, in favour of the more rounded and legible forms of the 11th and 12th cent., which it was called when reintroduced, 'Roman letter' as we now call it (figs. 4, 5, pp. 891, 892). This revival was soon seen to be a reasonable one, and was adopted in all literate countries except Germany, which is only now coming into line with her Western neighbours. It was under the influence of the Renaissance that the finest illuminated books were produced in Italy. These were largely copies of the Latin classics; but many exquisite prayer-books were written, especially in Florence, Naples, Ferrara, and Venice, for members of the great families. Of Spanish illuminated books not many have survived, and these usually owe nearly everything to artistic influences from Naples or Bruges.

In the latter city enormous quantities of dainty prayer-books were manufactured towards the end of the 15th cent. The chief features of these books are the use of sprays of natural flowers and fruit, and the delicate features of the landscape backgrounds to the pictures. Dutch books are remarkable at once for great dexterity of execution and for a bluntness of conception which prevents their ever being in the first rank as works of art.

And now as to the types of manuscripts that were most frequently illustrated. With few and mostly fragmentary exceptions, all liturgical books earlier than the 13th cent. have either been worn out, or cast aside on account of changes of fashion and of textual arrangement. It is certain that none of them were habitually so richly decorated as the early copies of the Gospels already referred to. These were always adorned with four frontispieces, usually representing the Evangelists in the act of writing, opposite the four opening pages of the Gospels, on which the text was written in large ornamental letters within an elaborate border. The illuminated initials, or rather the heads of the letters, of which there are many illuminated examples, are Pontificals, Missals, Breviaries, Graduals, and Antiphoners. The great choir-books, such as are shown in fig. 2, are copies of the Psalter, used in the Duomo of Siena, have survived in quantities in Italy and Spain, where they may still be seen in use. These often contain initials painted by artists of note, but they are for the most part not earlier than the 15th cent. Choir-books of Northern origin, especially those of the fine period, are exceedingly rare. The best that exists is an Antiphoner in three volumes written in 1290 for the nuns of the Cistercian Abbey of Beaupré near Grammont (fig. 6, p. 892). This formerly belonged to John Ruskin, and is now (1906) in the collection of Mr. Yates Thompson.

The Vulgate Bibles that have survived from the 12th cent. are usually of three volumes, with historiated initials at the beginning of each book, and decorative initials to the numerous prologues. One of the finest examples, a book of surpassing beauty, is in the library of Winchester Cathedral. In this the books were written to a large scale and on vellum of such astonishing thinness as to fit comfortably into the pouch or pocket of the Dominican and other itinerant preachers of the day. So great was the output at this time, that it seems almost to have sufficed until the invention of printing, as Bibles written in the 15th and 16th cents. are comparatively rare. Besides the ordinary marginal commentaries were often finely written and illuminated for purposes of monastic study; and in England especially there were produced in the 15th and 16th centuries many elaborately illuminated copies of the Apocalypse, either in Latin or in French, and usually with an Exposition taken from the writings of Berengarius. It is easy to see how the strange visions of St. John kindled the imagination of the creative artists of this time, and with what zest they sought to interpret them (fig. 8, p. 893). In France, at the same period, a type of sumptuous picture-book was evolved, known as the Bible moralisée, in which the text is altogether subordinate to the almost countless illustrations. Two copies are in the Imperial Library at Vienna, while a third is divided between the Bodleian Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the British Museum (fig. 10). From an early period the chief book of private devotion was the Psalter. In the 12th and 13th cents. every rich and devout layman seems to have possessed his own copy of the Psalms, to which the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Canticle of Canticles were invariably added. In the 14th and 15th cent., when the more artistic and elegant features of the landscape backgrounds to the pictures, Dutch books are remarkable at once for great dexterity of execution and for a bluntness of conception which prevents their ever being in the first rank as works of art.

As early as the 11th cent. certain private offices, the most important being the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Trinity, and the Hours of the Passion, were added to a few Psalters. Later, these accretions came to be written separately, probably in the first instance for the use of women. Their portability and general convenience in this detached form led to their being adopted in place of the Psalter as a book of private devotion by the literate layfolk; and although there are but few separate Books of Hours of the 13th cent., and not many of the 14th cent., they were produced in enormous numbers in the 15th cent., and copiously illustrated. In this period the picture was the main source of the text, and the greatest number were written in Bruges, Paris, and Florence, so great that they continued to be produced until long after the invention of printing.
ART (Egyptian).—The religious aspect of art in Egypt includes almost all that is known of it. The earliest sculptures are tombstones and tables of offerings for the benefit of a deceased person; the earliest statuary is of figures in which the soul of the deceased might reside, made lifelike as possible in order to give him satisfaction; the figures of servants with offerings, or of serfs to cultivate the ground, were for service in the next world; the whole of the tomb sculptures, paintings, funerary oracles, and all canopic jars, tablets, and all else—resulted from the religious theories of the future life. The buildings that remain to us are nearly all temples; the colossal which stand in them were habitations for the many ka-souls of the king; and even the battle scenes on the walls are all part of the display of religious fervor, and culminate in the triumphal processions of captives dedicated to the god, or led by the god as his appanage to be entrusted to the king's administration. The civil life of the lay Egyptian has almost vanished, the palaces and towns are nearly all below the plain of Nile mud; and it is only the sepulchral and religious remains of the ancient cities that have been preserved,—have thus been preserved to us. Here we must notice only the main principles and examples of religious ceremonies. The page of examples given (p. 886) will illustrate the more important points.

1. Art, as seen on the slate palettes. The various tribes engaged in the conquest of the country are designated by their emblems, the hawk, lion, scorpion, or crocodile (Egypt, fish). The features of the tribe are represented by the animal holding a pick and digging through the walls of a town, or by a human arm projecting from the standard on which the animal is, and clutching a cord or grasping a bound captive. The king is represented as a strong bull—as he is called in later times—trampling down his enemies; or the figure of a fish, used to write the name of a king, has two arms grasping a stick to smite his enemies; or the royal hawk has a hand which holds a cord put through the lip of the captive. In these instances it is seen how early symbolism was established as an elaborate means of historic expression. It is noted that in the subsequent times they should be commonly used. The kings are shown as being conducted by the gods, who also 'teach their hands to war and their fingers to fight,' standing behind the king and holding his arm in their hands; then the god places the crown upon the king's head, and pour purifying water or blessings over him (see figure of Ramessu IV.); the goddess Hat-hor, as a woman or as a cow, is shown suckling the young king; and Sethket-abu, the goddess of literature, writes the king's name on the leaves of the Psera tree. The limits between symbolism and dogma pass the critical stage altogether in the Tombs of the Kings, and a state is reached in the other world in which there is no distinction possible.

Special emblems of ideas became so common that they were used almost mechanically, like the cross in Europe. The sun and wings are noticed under Architecture (Egyptian). 'Decoration.' And groups of hieroglyphs, such as the akh for life, the was for power, the zed for stability, the girdle tie of Isis, and other emblems, were carved as accessories to stiffen furniture or form a trellis to windows.

2. Divine forms.—The compound theology of sacred animals and deities resulted in a variety of strange combinations. The animal element is always retained in the final form of a deity; a human head upon an animal body is used only for a sphinx, emblem of a king, and for the ha-bird, emblem of a soul. The combination of animal heads on human bodies is found in the second dynasty (Set, on seals of Peribsen) and the fourth dynasty (Thoth, on scene of Khufu); and it became very usual in later times. The combination is skillfully arranged, so that it seldom rises monstrous; see the scene given (p. 836) of Horus and Thoth, where the short neck of the hawk fits directly on to the human shoulders, while the long neck of the ibis is backed by an immense vulture; but all those, which are condemned as monstrous; yet the effect is far better than could have been expected from such a difficult combination. The forms best known are the ram-headed Khnum and Hreshedu, lion-headed Sekhmet, cat-headed Bastet, jackal-headed Amnis, crocodile-headed Sebek, ibis-headed Thoth, and hawk-headed Horus and Mentu. Besides these, there were many compounded divinities in Ptolemaic and Roman times, formed of a deity and three or four animal parts; usually it is Ptah-Sokar who is thus elaborated. These combinations have none of the convincing dignity of the early animal-headed gods.

3. Dress.—The gods are usually clad in the oldest form of close-fitting waist-cloth; it is always older forms of dress that are thought appropriate for religious or artistic purposes, and in Babylonia the oldest figures of worshippers are entirely nude. It is true that the god's peaked waistcloth common in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Another primitive piece of costume was the animal's tail, hung at the back from the belt. This is always shown, a stick, or a rope, in the hands of the gods, to indicate their divine origin. The god's tail was never mere animal appendage, but was a symbol of regal dignity in a different sense; or, its use is not explained when we find it in the hands of gods. Yet it is never seen in the context of a religious ceremony; in the case of the king, it is the last thing to be taken off at the evening sacrifice, and then, and then, for the first time, it is not worn. It is therefore a costume of Egyptian origin, and not a symbol of a god.

4. Ceremonies.—The four chief ceremonies selected for illustration (p. 886) are Sacrifice, Offering, and Procession. The ceremony (a) Sacrifice, as among the Semites, was the ceremonial killing of an animal for food; but there is no trace of the burning of the fat, or of the other form of whole burnt-sacrifice. In the early sculptured tombs the sun of the deceased are shown as trapping the birds, and sacrificing the ox, for the festival in their father's honour. It is rare to find representations of sacrifice later, such as this example of the nineteen dynasty. Burnt-sacrifice was a foreign importation, and is only known in picture at Tell el-Amarna (eighteenth dynasty), and in description at the Ramessium (twentieth dynasty).

(b) Offering is the most usual religious subject. The offerings are heaped together on a mat, a slab on the ground, or a pillar-table; in this case a mat is represented, bound with thread at the middle and the two ends, a form which is common in the third dynasty or earlier. Upon the mat is a layer of round thin cakes, much like the modern flat bread, with two circles of seeds stuck in each. A layer of jointed of meat (1) follows; these are skillfully arranged, so that it scarcely suggests an animal upon which are three plucked geese. The whole is covered with a bundle of lotus flowers and a bunch
of grapes. The queen is pouring out a drink-offering from a small spotted vase in the right hand. Such drink-offerings were of a great variety of wines and beers, as also milk, and water. In her left hand she holds an incense-burner. The Egyptians, incense on an altar, but always in a metal censer held in the hand. It was a long metal rod, with a hand holding a cup for the burning incense at one end, and a hawk’s head at the other. In a temple it was a pan or box in which the pellets of incense were kept ready for burning. The beat requisite to light it was obtained by using a hot saucer of pottery placed in the cup, on which the resin fused. When the incense was burned, the saucer was removed and thrown away, and thus no cleaning was required for the metal cup.

5. Furniture.—The main object in a temple was the sacred boat of the god, one of the best examples of which is shown on p. 896. The boat was a model intended to be carried on the shoulders of the priests; it rested, therefore, on two long poles, and when stationary was placed upon a square stand, so as to allow of the priests taking their station beneath the poles (see ARCHITECTURE [Egypt], where the boat and its significance are described). This boat was probably made of wood, plated over with sheets of electrum or gold. The extent to which gold was used is hardly credible to us, who see only a few examples of gold or silver used for gilt. Even in the 11th cent. the Countess of Sicily had the mast of her ship covered with pure gold; and the Egyptian often describes large objects as covered with gold, which was usually of considerable thickness. The reliefs were usually worked in hard stucco and then thickly gilded and burnished. The art of high burnishing upon a stucco base was kept up till Roman times. The sets of vases for the purification ceremonies and further libations of wine were kept on wooden stands, as shown below the boat. At the side of them is a stand with water jars, covered with lotus flowers, and with bunches of grapes placed below it. On another stand at the extreme left is a figure of the king kneeling, offering a large ankh, or sign of life; this is crowned with flowers, and has convolvulus and vine growing up beneath it. Another stand at the extreme right has a figure of the priestess standing and worshipping flowers. A main part of the religious art was spent on these statuettes of the king making a great variety of offerings. Unhappily all this wealth of Egyptian never burned in an altars and remained to give reality to the unimaginable pictures of the temple riches shown upon the walls.

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advent of the Greek colonists, after the decline of the Mycenean sway, early in the first millennium B.C., almost stifled the local art of southern Italy and Sicily, which may be considered, after the 8th cent., simply as a prolongation of the Mycenean civilization. (Corneto, 4.)

3. An analogue of development of local handiwork appears in the rock-cut tombs of Sardinia. Only here it is Phoenicia, not Greece, whose colonies modify the old order, at about the same period. But the Phoenicians, in adaptation of architecture, the "nuraghe," curious buildings of bee-hive shape, made of roughly hewn stones, sometimes well fortified and of considerable size, with internal rooms and winding passages in several stories. The date of these buildings has never been sufficiently cleared up, nor is it decided whether they served as dwellings or tombs, or perhaps for both uses. It is, however, undoubtedly, that the older "nuraghe" must be placed rather early in the first millennium B.C.

4. In northern and central Italy the "terramare" disappear towards the beginning of the first millennium B.C., and are replaced by villages of rude huts, or more regular rectangular chambers. We know the civilization of this period merely by its cemeteries, the first of which was excavated at Villanova near Bologna, and has given its name to this civilization. The ashes are buried in clay vases, as in the case of the "nuraghe," but the graves are ornamented with their incised geometric ornaments, far more elaborate than the rude pots of the "terramare"; they also contain, besides smaller vases, a number of weapons, implements, and ornaments, in clay, or stone, and the latter are shaped like the "nuraghe." But in the older Villanova period, there is not yet any trace of writing, or of stone buildings, or of Greek vases. These appear among the natives a few generations after the "terramare," and mark the beginning of the first really developed civilization in Italy, the Etruscan.

5. The origin of the Etruscans is shrouded in mystery. Following the tradition almost universally accepted by ancient authors and corroborated by the evidence of the evidence, we find that these latter have reached Italy by sea, about the 9th cent. B.C., subduing the native races of central Italy, especially the Umbrians, and founding a number of their towns, whose confederacy formed a powerful State. An entirely new era begins with them. The villages of rude huts are superseded by strongholds on the hills, protected by strong walls of polygonal or isodomic masonry, which are still standing on many Etruscan sites. These mighty walls of Cere, Coso, Vetulonia, Volterra, Perugia, and other towns, belong to different periods, the oldest dating back as far as the 8th-7th cent. B.C. They have been constantly repaired in the course of the ages, and at a later date have occasionally, as at Volterra and Perugia, been provided with vaulted gates adorned with sculptured heads and the figures of tutelary divinities in relief. Within these walls, the houses were built mostly of wood, and have therefore perished. But the tombs give us a faithful representation of them. During the first century or two of Etruscan sway in central Italy, the ancient shape of the round hut still forms the prototype; but not of the "nuraghe." But, like the Mycenean "bee-hive" tombs, whose influence they seem to show, these Etruscan sepulchres are spacious cupolas of stone, provided, not for the ashes of a peasant, like the rude Villanova (Umbrian) ossuaries, but for families of wealthy warriors and merchants, whose corpses were buried in state, unmourned and surrounded by all they possessed in the world. In this connection it is interesting to note, that these cupolas are built of huge stones or cut out of the living rock, the most famous of the former being the Tomba Regolini Galsari near Cere, whose astonishing wealth of gold jewellery, precious vases and implements, is in the Vatican Museum. A fine example of the rock-hewn tomb was discovered near Veii; it is adorned with the oldest frescoes we know in Italy. These tombs are doubtless important. They are the earliest monuments that we can prove by their inscriptions to be undoubtedly Etruscan; by the Egyptian and Phoenician and Greek objects found in them, their date is fixed in the 8th-7th cent. B.C. The rectangular or rectangular chambers, with their incised ornaments, or of wood or sun-baked brick, and a slightly younger type (7th-6th cent.) introduces us to the more mansions. These latter tombs are always cut into the rock, and their central hall and side-rooms, with beautiful doorways, with couches and chairs hewn out of the rock, give a vivid conception of what an elegant Etruscan dwelling of the time looked like. Nay, in some cases, as for instance in the Tomb of Quinto Fobo, near the same period, three storied houses of the simplest, and the imitations of wooden houses in stone. One detail—the doorways narrowing towards the top and surrounded by a rectangular moulding—all these tombs without sculpture and decoration inside, except for occasional low reliefs upon the doors or the ceiling (chiefly at Corneto, the reliefs showing animals of the first or the second millennium, and some funeral statues in a tomb at Vetulonia); but the mound or tumulus which covers the grave usually bears either an sculptured ornament or a stone stela with the image of the deceased in relief (the most famous is that of "the banquet," mostly accompanied by an inscription. Lions carved in stone often guard the entrance to the tomb. The walls of the sepulchral chambers are often gaily painted, and these frescoes demonstrate the development of Etruscan art, from the 6th to the 2nd cent. B.C. They and the sculptured sarcophagi also show the preponderant influence of Greek art over Etruscan; for the commercial relations between the two nations were continuous, and the Etruscans, who do not seem to have possessed a strong individual artistic genius, not only bought Greek vases and bronzes by the thousand, so that no tomb, however poor, is without its Greek objects, but also copied these imported works, more or less freely and successfully. Thus, the frescoes of the oldest painted tomb of Veii, mentioned above, show the meaning—relations between the two species in sculpture, and human beings which the Greek vase-painters of the 7th cent., especially in Corinth, had borrowed from the contemporary carpets and tapestries. The 6th cent. frescoes of Cere and Perugia show an occasional marine monster and once a mythological scene, conceived in the style of Ionic art. The same art, debased by provincial Etruscan painters, appears
upon some terra-cotta slabs with paintings of sacrificial and funeral rites, which adorned the walls of tombs. Occasionally, towards the end of the 6th cent., the banquetts (the Elysian banquetts of the happy dead) are replaced by frescoes showing funeral rites, dances, mourners, games, and other equally important funerary customs. They are rendered in a debased Greek style. These frescoes, especially those of a tomb at Chiusi, are full of interesting details—wrestlers and acrobats, dwarfs and tame animals. Early in the 5th cent. Attic vases, with Etruscan landscapes, are in evidence. These vases are influenced, we frescoes take more to religious subjects. A tomb of Corneto shows us the trembling soul in Hades, amid the terrible images of the famous sinners of Greek mythology, bearing upon their eternal torments. The kinder artist of a tomb of Orvieto lets the dead partake of a sumptuous banquet in the very palace of Hades, who presides with Persephone, before a sideboard laden with golden vessels. The gods and heroes are Greek, but African landscapes and partly Etruscan costumes and buildings are recognized in their Etruscan travesty; the style is wholly Greek, and it is only in certain ritual details, in the winged Fates (Lasca) who call the dead to judgment, figures of their mistresses of Charon (=Charon), the infernal boatman, that the Etruscan artists have abandoned their slavish imitation of Hellenic imagery.

The same dependence is apparent in the sarcophagi which contain the corpses, where these are not simply stretched upon rock-hewn benches. In the 6th cent., some terra-cotta sarcophagi from Core bear the figures of the dead man and his wife reclining together on their couch at dinner, according to the usual custom, until in a style influenced by the Ionic. A century later, upon a stone sarcophagus from the Chiusi district (in the Florentine Museum), we see the same couple, Attic in style, the wife sitting at the feet of her recumbent husband, as was the custom for a proper Attic lady. The old Umbrian custom of burning the dead, which had been in abeyance, though it never disappeared entirely, during the first five centuries of Etruscan sway, again springs up with Etruscan taste; and with the canvas of the 4th cent., the long sarcophagi for the outstretched corpse are replaced by short square urns sufficiently large for a handful of ashes. And while the figures reclining upon these urns are merely copies of the beautiful terra-cotta statues of provincial work, the reliefs which adorn the front copy Attic paintings, of which little sketches must have been brought to Etruria in great numbers; this explains the contrast between the fine composition and the rough execution, so noticeable in the reliefs of these urns, and also the preference for Greek mythological scenes, some of them local Attic myths, which neither the Etruscan artist nor his clients can have understood. The painted tombs grow very rare in this late period, but the shape and disposition of the chambers remain almost unchanged, as is proved by two excellent examples—the Tomb of the Volatini near Perugia, with its fine architectural moldings and good stone urns, and the Tomba dei Rilievi at Core, decorated with brightly painted reliefs of various implements and weapons. Both these tombs have Roman inscriptions and figures, in which local Etruscan taste and influence is combined, and belong to the last period of Etruscan art—the 2nd-1st cent. B.C. After this period, the Etruscan civilization was entirely flooded by the Roman.

Art and Architecture (Etruscan and Early Italic)

have been impossible to divine their shape without the architectural analogies of the rock-hewn tombs, of which some, at Castel d'Asso, near Viterbo, show fine façades, with columns crowned by sculptured pediments. A couple of cinerary urns in the shape of small temples or chapels are equally important; last and most curious are the numerous terra-cotta figures and reliefs which decorated these wooden temples. The oldest, from Core, Falerii, and Conca (the two latter places are in the lower valley of the Tiber opposite to Latium), was artistically under the sway of the higher Etruscan civilization, date back as far as the 6th century. They are antefixes (outer roof-tiles) decorated with reliefs of the Attic influence of Herakles and the cow-horned Io, groups of dancing maenads and satyrs—all in the same Ionic style which we noted in the frescoes. And the same fashion is apparent in the terra-cotta slabs with friezes of warriors and chariots, of animals and hunters, of banquetts, or merely of fine palmetto and lotus chains; these slabs protected the wooden rafters, the upper line of the wooden wall, against the rain. The decorative terra-cottas follow the tree-trunk or the column with leafy traceries; they are numerous and whole in Etruria to the 6th to the 3rd century. In the latter half of this period, pediment sculptures in terra-cotta are added to the antefixes and friezes. Some very fine 4th cent. vases and imitations of them in the Faliscan region (now in the Villa di Papa Giulio in Rome). The death of Amphiaros and the flight of Adrastos before Thebes are given in a pediment from Telamone near Fies, with very numerous figures; we find this style, too, in the pediments from Luni, also in Florence, appear to render the myth of the Niobids, in their large, admirably modelled figures. Altogether, these terra-cottas are the finest works of art that Etruria has produced, as a proof of their style, the bright, coloured, must have produced a rather gaudy effect. The description of the Etruscan temple by Vitruvius helps us also. But our materials for actually re-constructing these buildings in their original shape are too scanty as yet.

In the minor arts, as in painting, the influence of Greece was predominant. Among the very numerous bronze statuettes found in Etruscan tombs it is often difficult to distinguish between imported Greek originals and local imitations. The same doubt obtains concerning bronze statues like the Capitoline wolf. But it would be going too far to attribute only the inferior work to Etruscan artists; they seem to have been largely dependent upon Greece for inspiration, but their skill was nevertheless recognized in Athens itself, where Etruscan bronzes adorned the houses of the richest patrons of art (Phecokrates op. A., xv. 700 C.; Kritias, i. b. 286). Etruscan bronzes were famous in Greece, and, we may say, justly famous, judging by a number of really fine works of a greater realism than is usual in Greece. Here again the Ionic style is paramount in the only work—the statuettes, vases, and implements of the 7th-6th centuries. The first merchants who traded with Etruria hailed from the Ionic colonies and the Ionian islands. The art of the Phoenicians explains the presence of numerous Syrian and Phoenician objects—vases, ornaments,
and scarabs—in the oldest Etruscan tombs, since no direct connexion between Phoenicia and Etruria has been proved. In the later period, Attic influence dominates, and is especially noticeable in the very numerous engraved mirrors and circular cists (toilet boxes) of bronze, some of them very beautiful, which are most nearly akin, in the sense of the relation to the later cinerary urns, though superior to these. Etruscan jewellery, at least in its older stages, is a great deal more independent. In fact, Greece offers nothing comparable, in technical skill and delicacy, to the workmanship and ornamental detail. The microscopic granulations, of the bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, and fibules of the oldest Etruscan tombs. The more recent ornaments show a stronger Hellenic influence, and a less perfect workmanship. Ceramic art is always more or less subservient to the more valuable metal vases. Thus, the shapes of Etruscan clay vessels reproduce bronze models, and as these models are more or less copied from Greek originals, the same imitation is apparent in the cheaper terra-cotta ware. But the technique of these vases is more independent; they are fashioned in black clay, called bucchero, adorned with incised or relief ornament, and the course of its development is not infrequent in Greece, and again more especially in the Ionic colonies of Asia Minor, yet its predominance in Etruria is so great that only a slight Greek influence upon a strong local industry may here be granted. Painted vases are rare in Etruria, and are no more than poor copies of Ionic, Corinthian, or Attic originals; but bucchero may be claimed as mainly a native achievement.

Etruscan art and science were paramount during the earlier centuries of Roman history, throughout the whole of Latium, and even far south as Campania. When the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia grew strong enough to hold their own, and the Etruscans were driven from Campania, towards the end of the 5th. c. B.C., their intellectual sway over Rome diminished steadily as the Greek towns in the Apulian coast and the leading cities of the Etruscan cities had been subjected to Rome; their peculiar civilisation dwindled and disappeared rapidly, and it would be difficult to find a characteristic Etruscan work of art later than the 1st cent. B.C.


V. VILLANOVAN UMBRIAN CIVILIZATION: a series of articles by local archaeologists, chiefly Gozzadini, the discoveries having been made by Montelius, Pati, cit. ; J. Martha, Art etrusque, Paris, 1889, p. 311, where this civilization is chiefly treated for the Etruscans (erroneously, in the opinion of the present writer).


G. KARO.

ART (Greek and Roman).—The history of Greek art, in relation to religion, passes through phases which correspond more or less to its three periods of rise, perfection, and decadence. During the first period, art is subjected to religious influences, and frequently tampered by religious conservatism; but later the artist's co-operation, art drawing its highest inspiration from religion, and itself contributing to the dignity of religious ideals, so that it was said of the Olympian gods of Phidias, 'eius palmarum adnecessit aliquid etiam recepta religiis videtur'; during the third, religion supplies numerous themes to the artist; but these often tend to be regarded, mainly or in part, as affording an opportunity for the skill in characterization or execution; and even when this is not the case, he often repeats the conventions of earlier artists rather than creates a new embodiment of a religious idea. It follows that the history of art in Greece is, throughout, a history of the history of religious thought—more so, perhaps, than in the case of any other nation, but the relations of the two vary considerably at different periods.

1. Pre-Hellenic Art. It is convenient to say something of the art which preceded it in Greek lands, and which is conveniently named Αρχαίος, so as to include Crete and the Archipelago, as well as the mainland of Greece. Our knowledge of the art (g.v.) is gained almost entirely from the remains of early art in these regions. The chief branches of this art consist of gem-cutting, the art of the gold and silver-smith; painting on terra-cotta coffins and vases, and in fresco on the walls of houses and palaces; and sculpture, or rather modelling in terra-cotta and other materials, including life-sized coloured reliefs in γατσο δύρο. Early Αρχαίος art in all these branches shows a strong and characteristic native development, though it owes something also to foreign influences, notably to that of Egypt. It is marked by much naturalism in detail, especially in plant and animal forms, together with an imperfection especially in the representation of the human figure, which has an unnaturally slim waist and elongated limbs. The article Αρχαίος RELIGION shows what subjects are treated in the art of the time. We find representations of airships and altars, and of animate symbols of worship, such as the double axe and the horns of consecration, and an almost realistic rendering of landscape in the representations of sacred mountains and trees. Grotesque animal forms and monstrous combinations are a favourite subject, especially on gems. We also find figures which are probably to be regarded as representations of divinities, though the skill of the artist is not sufficient to indicate any difference between these and human figures, except by signs or attributes. Rustically-fashioned images of terra-cotta, which are almost certainly to be regarded as figures of deities, are found in Crete, and are also common at Mycenae and elsewhere in Greece.

2. The 'Dark Ages.' Art in Homer. Between this early Αρχαίος art and the rise of the art which may properly be called Hellenic art, that interval of time, except in a limited degree, to trace any direct connexion between the two. The two chief qualities of the earlier work are beauty of decorative design and a close observation of nature, with representations of units. In both these respects its facile and even decadent
quality, in its later examples, offers the strongest contrast to the "unchal" but promising beginning of Hellenic art. Without discussing the complicated question of the racial changes that had taken place in the interval, we may admit that the innate artistic genius, of which we see the first fruits in early art, was for a time dormant, and that the rise and earlier stages of the development of early art in Crete and the "_Angean islands" go back to at least the third millennium before our era, and that the flourishing period of Cretan art ends with the destruction of the palace at Knossos about B.C. 1400, though at Mycenae and elsewhere on the mainland of Greece a kindred art survived for two more centuries in vigorous condition, and considerably longer in a decadent stage. The rise of a strong and independent Hellenic art cannot be dated earlier than about the 7th cent. B.C. The five centuries or so which intervened are sometimes called the "dark ages" of Greek art, in which, owing, chiefly, to the old civilizations being overwhelmed, and the country relapsed for a time into comparative barbarism, so far as the external surroundings of life were concerned. It was during this time that the Homeric vases, the vase-paintings, the frescoes of the "_figures" of which there is no certain reference to any work of sculpture in the round, whether representing human personages or gods, with the exception of a doubtful passage in _Iliad_, vi. 92 and 363, where the Trojan matrons place a robe upon the knees of each of an elaborate shield, whereas authorities regard this as implying the existence of a seated statue; if the expression be not a purely metaphorical one, it is the only example of any such thing in the Homeric poems. Though statues are often mentioned, no images of the gods are referred to. Art in Homer is purely decorative, and is not distinctly Hellenic; many of the objects of finest workmanship are attributed to the Phoenicians. When scenes of an elaborate nature are described, as on the shield of Achilles, there are none of religious significance among them, though Ares and Athena are spoken of as appearing in a battle scene. Here, however, it is the gods themselves that are the subject of, rather than artistic representations of them.

3. Beginnings of sculpture.—Many primitive images of the gods were attributed to the Heroic age. They had not been derived from Phoenician origins. Odyssseus and Diommed from Troy—a tale told in the "Little Iliad," of about the 7th cent. B.C. Some of these may have been survivals from pre-Hellenic times; others were probably wrongly assigned to so early a date. Some of them were attributed to Dedalus, an artist whose historical existence is doubtful, but whose reputed attainments summarize the sudden advance in the art of sculpture which seems to have taken place about B.C. 600. Shortly after this date we find several sculptors, or groups of sculptors, employed to make images of the gods, sometimes, apparently, as a new departure, sometimes to replace a primitive or animistic object of worship. Such families of artists existed in Chios (Melas, Micciades, Archermus) as workers of marble, and in Samos (Rhous, Theodoreus, etc.) as workers in bronze. In the Peloponnesian, many statues of the gods were taken place about B.C. 400 and Scyllis, Cretan "_Dedalla_," and by their pupils; the "unshaped plank" which had served as the symbol of the goddess Hera at Samos was replaced by an image made by Smiles of _Egina_; the image of Athena at Pergamus was replaced by an image made by Calisto of Chios; the image of Apollo at Delphi by an image made by Pheidias; the image of Athena at Olympia by an image made by Callos; the image of Apollo at Bassae by an image made by Calisseus. And among the sculptors of the time variously known as Angelon, said to be pupils of Diponon and Scyllis; and probably most of the other early images of the gods in human form were made in this period. From this time on we hear of numerous statues of the gods, made by almost all the chief sculptors; some of these were intended to replace more primitive images of objects of worship, others merely for, or to decorate a temple. In the former case the artist would almost certainly realize (in bronze, marble, wood, etc.) the god in its nature, as represented, not to depart too far from the accepted type. An example is the Black Demeter of Phigalia, whose primitive image, with a horse's head, had been destroyed; the sculptor of the god in its nature, and to have replaced it with remarkable fidelity, with the help of copies, and even of a vision. This is an extreme instance, but in many other cases the artists had to satisfy the religious scruples of priests and others, as well as the growing desire for a more artistic representation of the deity. In the case of dedicated statues he would naturally have a freer hand. Here the limitations would be imposed by his art. We have many statues of early Greek workmanship preserved, and these show that sculpture was confined to a small number of clearly marked types, which served for representations alike of deities and of human beings. The types represented a formally draped seated figure, a nude standing male figure, or a draped standing female figure. All of these were used alike for figures of the dead set up over graves, for figures of worshippers dedicated in sacred places, for figure of the gods in the temple, which the sculptor had devoted his skill to perfecting these types, to getting more ready for a natural expression in the face, to improving the shape of limbs and hands and feet, to observing the correct proportions of the bones and muscles in the body. He was too much taken up with these matters to give much attention to the representation of character or individuality, much less of a worthy ideal of the gods, though it was by his work that the tradition was being built up which enabled the masters of the 5th cent. to progress in this direction. Some other early types, however, offered an opportunity for a more direct and simple expression of divine energy. Sometimes statues were shown by wings, as if borrowed from decorative Oriental models, and by a position which looks like kneeling, but is meant to represent rapid running or flight; sometimes the god or goddess was shown, not rapidly, with an attribute of power— if Zeus, a thunderbolt; if Poseidon, a trident; if Athena, a spear—in the raised right hand. Such purely external expressions of divine activity seem often to have been derived from primitive states of things which were incapable of expressing it in any subtler manner; and although some examples of this type were made, usually to carry on a religious tradition, even in the 5th cent., it gradually became obsolete as the artist acquired facility in expressing the character and power of the god under an intellectual and moral rather than a merely physical aspect. When this change had come about, the relations of art and religion were revolutionized. The sculptor no longer occupied himself with the technical problem of providing a statue suitable in age, sex, and attributes to the requirements prescribed by religion, but was himself able to contribute something to the ideal conception of the deity.

4. Decorative and minor arts.—So far we have considered only sculpture in the round, having as its province the making of independent statues. Decorative and minor works are in wood, stone, marble, terra-cotta, bronze, or other metals. So far as their religious signifi-
cance is concerned, this group of objects goes with painting, especially vase-painting; it deals with the subjects, and treats them in the same manner. This decorative art affords a link, such as is missing in the case of sculpture, with the earlier periods; for it continued to be practised to a large extent by artists of the Mycenaean and Hellenic art; it transmitted some inherited types, and it borrowed many others from Oriental or other foreign sources. It is also of considerable importance for the study of religion and mythology, for many of the themes to which it referred are borrowed from it not merely to represent figures of the gods and heroes, but to record or to illustrate stories about them, or scenes connected with their ritual. It is to be observed that descriptions of decorative reliefs in the Homeric poems—notably that of the shield of Achilles, which, even if later than the rest of the Iliad, is earlier in date than the rise of Hellenic art—do not refer to mythological scenes, but to incidents of daily life. On the other hand, the Homeric 'shield of Hercules' has a whole series of illustrations of mythical tales, such as the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs and the flight of Perseus from the Gorgous. In this respect it resembles actual works of decorative art, which are often recorded for us by ancient writers, such as the throne made by Bathycles of Magnesia for the Apollo at Amycle, or the chest of the Corinthian tyrant Cypselus in their example, when the subject was at Olympia. And the subjects recorded both on the imaginary and on the actual reliefs are just the same as we constantly find upon extant early works of decorative art—both reliefs in marble or stone or bronze or terra-cotta, and paintings upon vases. It appears, therefore, that, while the art referred to in the Homeric poems has nothing Hellenic about it except the poet's imagination, the references to works of art in Homeric poems and in later literature are closely in touch with the actual development of art in Greece.

The relation of art to popular belief and to literature, in its treatment of religious or rather of mythological subjects, is somewhat complicated. The decorative artist was extremely conservative and imitative in the use of his available répertoire of groups and figures. Free invention was hardly ever resorted to, except in cases where no already familiar conventional form was available. For example, the judgment of Paris seems to offer a theme for imagination, and we find it so treated on later vases; but in early art it always takes the form of a procession, with the figures more or less differentiated, and this form is borrowed almost without modification from the procession of dancing women, headed by a musician, which is a common subject on the most primitive vases. Such mechanical repetitions may appear at first sight to preclude any strong influence of art on mythology; but in some ways their cumulative effect was greater than any that could have been due to originality of treatment, for it became almost impossible for people to figure these scenes or events to themselves in any other way than that conventionally accepted. And, moreover, the same conditions tended towards the assimilation and even identification of legends originally distinct, and so facilitated the systematization of Greek mythology. Again, the tendency of early Greek art to adopt rather than to invent led to many almost fortuitous identifications that have had a great influence on our notion of the beliefs of the men who lived in Homer's day, and on later belief. Thus the gorgon, the sirens, the sphinx, and other such monsters probably had no distinctive form in the eyes of those who first told tales about them; certainly no such form is indicated in the Homeric poems. But the early decorative artists borrowed from the East many monstrous forms of winged and human-headed birds or beasts and birds which had probably no particular significance to those who first told tales about them, and treated them in the same manner. The fact that both these fantastic figures appear as symbols of death upon tombstones in Greece, in Lycia, and possibly elsewhere also, has further complicated the influence of the borrowed type, so that, in these cases at least, we may now almost impossible to disentangle the contributions of art and of myth to the common conception.

5. Vase-painting.—The more technical side of the early development of decoration in Greece concerns us here mainly as it affects the gradual acquisition of greater power of expression. In this matter sculpture in relief has much the same history as sculpture in the round, so far as the execution of individual figures is concerned. Vase-painting, on the other hand, has an independent development. It is impossible here even to sketch the development of early vase-painting in Greece; it is possible only to mention those classes of vessels which are of the greatest importance, and to indicate the chief phases in the development of mythological scenes. (1) The geometrical class, which succeeds the Mycenaean in Greece, frequently depicts scenes from actual life; this is particularly true of the so-called Attic Geometric, which is characterized by the use of monochrome compositions, in which we see elaborate funeral processions, scenes of seafaring and combat, and classic dances; but few, if any, of these can be given any mythological significance. (2) The geometric period is succeeded by that of Oriental influence in various parts of the Greek world. On the coasts and islands of Asia Minor, especially in Ionia, Samos, and Rhodes, we find various classes of vessels, which have certain characteristics in common, as well as clearly-marked local variations, and about the same time we find a similar development in some of the chief manufacturing centres in continental Greece, mainly at Corinth and Chalcis; and colonies such as Daphne and Naucratis in Egypt, and Cyrene in Libya, have each their characteristic ware. Athens also has its own pottery at this time, in succession to the Dipylon ware. The technical development varies considerably, but in all alike there was a general tendency to simplify the colour of the ground and of the pigment in which the figures are drawn. As a rule, in earlier examples the ground is of a buff or brownish colour, sometimes almost white, and the pigment is of a dark brown colour, varying from red to dull black. In late examples, and, above all, in Attic pottery, the ground tends to assume the beautiful reddish terra-cotta colour which is characteristic of Greek vases of the best period, and the pigment to take the form of lustrous black varnish. The monstrous forms, many of them winged, and the other beasts borrowed from Oriental fabrics, tend gradually to be replaced by scenes of some mythological meaning; or, if retained, to acquire a mythological significance; and the human figure, at first introduced as a decorative type like the rest, gradually asserts its supremacy in interest. The pigment also tends to take the representation of the figures on painted vases, so to speak, stereotyped along certain lines, the same figures or compositions being repeated again and again with slight variations to illustrate the same myth, or adapted to the rendering of another myth that bears some relation to it. It is in this way the vase-painter contributed in no small degree to the uniformity and systematization of mythology. (3) About the middle of the 6th century B.C., the Attic Protocorinthian, with the reddish clay of the Attic ceramics, surpassed all rivals. This is the age of what is called black-figured
ware, the figures being drawn in black silhouette, and details added in incised lines, with touches of purple or white. We have many vases signed by potters of this period, as well as of the next, which begins in the latter part of the 6th cent., and continues until the date of the Persian wars, and a little later. (4) This next period, which overlaps the preceding, is known as the early red-figured style, the same pigments being used, but the figures being reserved in the terra-cotta colour of the pierced clay, and rendered black with the common black varnish. In this age we find greater imagination and freedom of drawing; but the old traditions are still closely adhered to, and the advance is in the details rather than in the general conception. We find at this time the most perfect decorative treatment, and the utmost precision of line drawing. As we approach the middle of the 5th cent., we find greater dignity and severity of treatment, probably owing to the influence of the great fresco painters, above all of Polygnotus, who came to Athens and decorated the 'Painted Stoa,' and other buildings about this time.

In Athens the work of Polygnotus consisted principally of historical episodes of the battle of Marathon; at Delphi his most famous works were the 'Fall of Troy' and the 'Land of the Dead,' and by these he probably exercised great influence on his contemporaries and successors. He was mainly fond of depicting religious subjects. His paintings have not been preserved, but from imitations of them on vases and from descriptions of ancient writers, we can infer that they consisted of simply-shaped figures arranged without perspective, and probably conventional in colouring. But the grandeur and nobility of his conception probably contributed in no small degree to the ideals of Greek art in the 5th century. 6. Sculpture of the 5th cent.—The development of sculpture was at this time very rapid. The great struggle between Greece and Persia led to a new consciousness of Hellenic unity and a new pride in the superiority of Greek over barbarian; and at the same time, the spoils of victory and the offerings to the gods in thanksgiving for the great deliverance afforded both opportunities and themes for the highest energies of the artists. The full effect of these influences is nowhere better illustrated than in the sculpture of the 5th cent. It was a period of transition, of which they were combined, in their most splendid manifestations, with the glory of Athens, which, taking the lead at the time of the Persian wars, became under Cimon and Pericles the example and summa of the art of Greece, and the immediate predecessors of Phidias, though they produced works which were admired by posterity, seem still to have been mainly occupied with the study of the type and the perfection of technique and mastery over material. A statue like the 'Discobolus' of Myron is characteristic of this age; and however great the skill of the artist in dealing with a difficult subject, it is to be noted that he does not go beyond the expression of physical grace to that of character or emotion. Even a master-piece such as the 'Charioteer of Delphi' shows the same restriction of aim. Pythagoras, to whom it is probably to be attributed, was noted also for the expression of pain in his handling of Lycus. Even here, as in the wounded warriors of Agina, it was probably the physical rather than the mental or spiritual aspect of the subject that was rendered. To Calinus, with his nameless grace, we might perhaps look for something more; but we have no certain work of his left, and we are not justified in assuming that he went beyond his contemporaries.

It was reserved for Phidias to fill the forms that had been suggested, and to supply them with an inner life and meaning. His colossal gold and ivory statues have not survived, but we have some copies of them, and probably of others of his statues, and the descriptions of ancient writers, and we can also see the reflection of his influence in all contemporary and later work. From all this evidence we can infer that his statues of the gods did not merely represent the outline of the human form in face and figure, but embodied all that was noblest in the Hellenic conception of the gods. He is even said to have gone beyond this, and to have added somewhat to the received canon of religion in his statue of Zeus, which represented the subject that 'he who is heavy-laden in soul, who has experienced many misfortunes and sorrows in his life, and from whose secret sleep has fled, even he, I think, if he stood before this image, would forget all the calamities and troubles that befall in human life' (Dio Chrys. Or. xii. 51, tr. Adam). The Zeus at Olympia was the father of gods and men, full of power and benignity, the common god of the Hellenes. The Athene Parthenos at Athens represented the more intellectual conception of the goddess of Athens, the embodiment of the artistic and literary genius of the people. Statues like these doublets transcended the ordinary bias of the time, and were no mere allegories or personifications; they represented the religious ideals of the whole people, and contributed in no small degree to purity and enable these ideals. This influence of art upon religion was just at the time accepted views about the gods and the tales that were told about them were being questioned, and Phidias and Pericles were in sympathy with the most enlightened views; it can hardly be doubted that both artist and statesman had it as their aim to represent the gods to the people as they should be worshipped. From the sculpture that decorated the temples of this period, above all from the sculpture of the Parthenon, we can learn the beauty and nobility of type and the unrivalled skill in execution that supplied the means whereby such an artist as Phidias could express his ideas.

In the latter part of the 5th cent. B.C. there were several other sculptors who followed more or less closely the tradition of Phidias, and made statues of the gods, which, like his work, had a great influence on current religious conceptions. Alcamenes, who, after the death of Pericles, contributed to the sculptor most employed upon official commissions in Athens, made famous statues of Hephaestus and Dionysus, of Hera and Athene; Agoracritus, the maker of the Nemesis at Rhamnus. Polyclitus, the head of the Attic school, is the individual genius of his time in the study of the athletic type, and his system of proportions or 'canon' was embodied in a statue, 'The Doryphorus' or spear-bearer, as well as in a theoretical treatise. He also made a great gold and ivory statue of Hera for the Argive Heraea, which embodied the Greek ideal of the goddess, and was placed, by some who had seen it, beside the Zeus and Athene of Phidias. Cresilas, a Cretan sculptor who probably came under the influence of both Phidias and Polyclitus, was famous for a statue of a wounded man, and also of a wounded Amazon; he also made the portrait of Pericles, of which copies survive, and which is a typical example of the early portraiture of the time. This subject is the ideal statesman rather than as an individual. In all these works we can see the character of the art of the 5th cent., which expressed, as ancient critics tell us, 'fides rather than the passion and heros, rather than varying passions and emotions.

7. The 4th cent.—The art of the 4th cent. was less abstract and dignified, more human and individual. If Phidias did something to counteract the growing sensuousness of the earlier period, the sculptors of this time continued the tradition of the 5th, and the works of Praxiteles and Scopas
may in some cases have brought the character of the gods home to men by an intense and vivid realization of their personality; but in making them so human these sculptors may have made them less divine, and have opened the way for successors who regarded even statues of the gods as a mere thing, to be exhibited and admired for their artistic skill. Early in the 4th cent. we find a conspicu-ous example of a tendency of which traces may be seen earlier—that to personification. A group by Copo-krates from the Ephebeion at Olympia—works which exemplify the tendency to represent men in a manner hitherto reserved for the gods.

The great painters of the 4th cent. are known to us only by literary records; and in this case we cannot, as in the case of the sculptors, rely on any assistance from vases. From the descriptions we learn that the painters of this age often chose dramatic or sensational subjects, and their power of rendering individual character and passion was probably comparable with that of the great contemporary sculptors. The greatest of all Greek painters, Apelles, was, like Lysippus, noted for his portrait of Alexander; and he was also fond of allegorical subjects, such as his group of Calymnus, of which a detailed description is left us.

8. Hellenistic art.—In the Hellenistic age Greek art followed the conquests of Alexander to new centres in the East; it is no longer to Athens or Argos or Sicyon, but to Alexandria and Antioch and Pergamos that we look for its most characteristic products. The beginning of the Hellenistic age is dominated by the personality of Alexander. He had changed the relations of East and West, and Greek civilization was soon to have far-reaching influence in western Asia. His career, which might well seem more than human, induced the Greeks to accept the Oriental custom of the delification of the deities, and we see the god in the Hellenistic art in the types of the gods. His head, too, was placed upon coins—an honour hitherto reserved for the gods alone. And his successors, with a less justifiable arrogance, claimed even higher privileges.

Beside such present-day usages, which are the outcome of contemporary flattery—the ancient gods became mere abstractions. Images of them were still made, distinguished for their size—as the ‘Colossus’ of Rhodes—or for their artistic excellence. But the old types and conventions were mostly repeated either in mere repetition or in eclectic imitation. Certain schools, inspired by the dramatic power of Scopas, infused some new life into the old forms, notably the school of Pergamos. On the great altar in that city was a frieze with a representa- tion of the gods and giants, in which both the mythologists and all the technical skill of the sculptors were devoted to a complete extraordinary representation of the crudest of the gods, and the most restless of the heroism. This was done to the grandeur against their wild adversities. But the extra-ordinary dramatic vigour of this work does not hide the fact that it is more or less an artificial crean, not a spontaneous embodiment of the people's belief. While philosophers turned to a more or less abstract and monotheistic conception of the deity, which was out of touch with art, the people often turned to a more direct and intelligible worship, such as that accorded to the ‘Fortune’ of Antioch, embodied in a graceful representation of the city, seated on a rock with a river-god at her feet, which was made by Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus. The representation of children or of rustic subjects showed a reaction against the artificiality of city life, parallel to the literary de-velopment of the pastoral. Statues of the gods were still made, but were mostly mere repetitions of established types, though occasionally we find examples of great dignity and beauty, such as the Aphrodite of Melos or the colossal works made by Damophon in Messene and Arcadia. In the inadequacy of contemporary art, we find, as often as in the age of decay of mythology, the desire to give back to the genius of the art of the past, even to the manners of early art; in extreme cases this leads to an affected archaistic work which is easily distinguished from that of the early sculptors whom it imitated. All the characters of gods and heroes; and Leochares, who made not only statues of the gods but also a set of portraits of the family of Philip and Alexander in gold and ivory for the Philipian temple at Olympia—works which exemplify the tendency to represent men in a manner hitherto reserved for the gods.
ART (Jewish).

1. The arts in which the ancient Hebrews excelled were poetry and music. There are no remains, whether in literary sources or in the actual results of excavation, to warrant the belief that there was in any period a native Hebrew painting or sculpture. There are extensive stores of Jewish pottery, but the shapes and styles are derived from Phoenician and Egyptian types, and show some Babylonian influence. In the glyptic art, again, there is immense wealth of private and public products, and Phoenician and Hebrew seals are much alike in shape, script, and ornamentation (Benzinger). The Phoenicians, too, excelled in metalworking; and the Hebrews may have early acquired the art of metal-casting, which was skilful adepts in the process of overlaying wood with metal plates. This skill presupposes some aptitude for wood-cutting, but sculpture as such was not one of the arts of the attainment of the Hebrews. It is remarkable how few inscribed stones of Hebrew provenance have thus far been discovered. Religion, which is usually the most powerful aid and stimulant of art, had the very opposite effect in Judaism. The prophetic attack on idolatry carried with it an objection to images, and the representation of any form of animal life was forbidden in the Deutocogage. Thus, on the one hand artistic incapacity, and on the other the pietistic asceticism, treated by Flinders Petrie in Hamburg's D.I. p. 157.

2. Art was held in high esteem in later Jewish opinion. In the Talmud (Rosh Hotosha, 296), art is a branch of wisdom (227b) as distinct from mere handicraft (258b). But the old dislike of animal representations continued. The Jewish coins contain no heads of rulers; here, again, the cause was partly religious. And the same phenomenon of initative recurs. If the Temple of Solomon was treated by Flinders Petrie in Hamburg's D.I. p. 157.
3. In some directions a specific Jewish art was developed. In medieval times the Jews acquired great repute as silk-dyers, as embroiderers, and as masters of the gold- and silver-smith's art. The worship of the synagogue and the home required the use of many objects in which artistic taste could be displayed. The Ark, or receptacle of the scrolls of the Law, the mantles in which the scrolls were wrapped, the &c., and the lampstands with which they were adorned, the lamps for Sabbath and Hanukkah, the cups for the sanctification over the wine, the spice-boxes (mostly of a castellated shape) used at the Habbalat, or separation service, at the close of the Sabbath, the Seder-dishes which were used in the home on the Passover Eve—these are among the most important of the articles which the Jews loved and ornament. Beautiful embroideries were also required as curtains for the Ark. Many fine specimens of all these were exhibited at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in 1887, and the Catalogue of that Exhibition contains a valuable source of information. (4) The worship of the synagogue and the home. Artistic writing was an art in which Jews were highly skilled, and in the illumination of initial letters and the painting of marginal ornaments and grotesques, they acquired considerable proficiency. Though there is no specific Jewish art in manuscript illumination, there are original Jewish elements; as Mr. G. Margoliouth well puts it, in the Jewish manuscripts the eye is never permitted to lose itself entirely out of sight. In classifying the Jewish illuminated MSS, Mr. Margoliouth takes first the Bible, with two kinds of illumination, (a) the Massorah in the form of designs, and (b) pictorial and marginal illumination. Of course all these ornaments are confined to codices or Bibles in the form of books; in the form of the scroll (except in the case of the Roll of Esther) the Bible was never illuminated. The Synagogue does not permit the use, in public places, of illuminated MSS; and the home of the Jew is adorned with Hebrew books and MSS. The illuminated rolls were hardly meant for use in Divine worship. The most usual Hebrew book for illumination was the Passover Service, or Haggadah, which is often supplied with miniatures, initials, and full-page pictures. Less common are illuminated Prayer-Books. But all Hebrew books might be illuminated. The Code of Maimonides exists in many beautiful specimens. A very common object for illumination was the Kethibah, or Marriage Contract. It must be added that in recent times many Jewish artists have attained to fame.

Literature.—Besides the works referred to in the course of the preceding article, see: the publications of the Gesellschaft für Sammlung von Kunstgebräuchen des Judenstums (Vienna, 1887); die Haggadah der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstgebräuche (Frankfort, 1904); Die Haggadah von Sarayen, ed. Müller and Schlösser (Vienna, 1893); Ginsburg and Stenzel, dei emblemati e reliqui (Bologna, 1906); S. J. Solomon, 'Art and Judaism' in JQR xiii. 559; G. Margoliouth, 'The Illumination of MS.; and MSS. in JQR i. 115; and D. Kaufmann, Gesammelte Schriften, vol. i., 1908.

I. A. Brahm.

ART (Mithraic).—Oriental monuments of the worship of Mithra are as yet almost entirely unexplored. The beautiful sculptures discovered at Sidon (De Ritter, Collection De Clercq, iv. 'Marbres,' 1906, No. 46 f.) date from the 3rd cent. of our era, and throw considerable light on the nature of the devotees of the Persian god. We must, accordingly, confine ourselves to studying Mithraic art in the Latin-speaking provinces of the Roman Empire, where a very considerable number of its remains have been discovered. In time they range over about two and a half centuries. The most ancient monument, which is now in the British Museum, dates from A.D. 104 (Cumont, Mon. myst. Mithra, No. 65; cf. the letters of Mithras and the last of them belong to the middle of the 4th century. They therefore constitute a group whose limits in time and space are small, and whose character can be clearly defined.

It must be admitted that their artistic merit is much less than their archaeological interest, and that their chief value is not aesthetic but religious. The late epoch in which these works were produced destroys all hope of finding in them the expansion of real creative power or of tracing the stages of an original development. It would, however, be unfair, acting under the impulse of a narrow Atticism, to confound them all in a common depreciation. Some of the groups in high and low relief (for the mosaics and the paintings which have been preserved are so few and so mediocre that they may be disregarded) hold a very honourable rank in the multitude of sculptures which the age of the Emperor has bequeathed.

The bull-slaying Mithra.—The group most frequently reproduced is the image of the bull-slaying Mithra, which invariably stood at the background of the shrines of Mithras, which were, of course, accompanied by dedications and specimens of which are to be found in nearly all the museums. The sacrifice of the bull recalled to the initiated the history of the creation and the promise of a future resurrection. It can be proved (Cumont, op. cit., pp. 448, 545; CIL vi. 30726) that these representations of Mithra, whose sacred type was fixed before the spread of the Persian mysteries into the Latin-speaking world, are replicas of an original work, executed by a sculptor of the school of Pergamos, in imitation of the frieze which adorned the bema of the temple of Athene Nike on the Acropolis (Kekule, Die Reliefs des Tempels der Athena Nike, 1881, pl. vi.). The Asiatic adaptation has merely clothed the Persian god in the half-conventional Ptolemaic costume which was associated with a number of Oriental personages (e.g. Paris, Attis, Pelops, etc.), and has given the face an expression of suffering which makes it difficult to recognize the god of bull-slaying. 'The emotion that pervades the features of Mithras is rendered with almost Skopasian power' (Strong, Rom. Sculp. p. 311).

Certain sculptures discovered at Rome and at Ostia, dating from the beginning of the 2nd cent., still reflect the splendour of that powerful work of Hellenistic art. After an eager pursuit, the god, whose mantle flutters in the wind, has just reached the sinking bull. Placing one knee on its crupper and one foot on one of its hoofs, he leans on it to keep it down, and, grasping it by the nostrils with one hand, with the other he plunges a knife into its side. The vigour of this animated scene shows to advantage the agility and strength of the invincible hero. On the other hand, the suffering of the victim breathing its last gasps, with its limbs contracted in a dying paroxysm, and the strained expression of the face deprived of life, would, in the comeliness of its slayer, throw into relief the pathetic side of this sacred drama, and even to-day arouse in the spectator an emotion which must have been keenly felt by the worshippers.

This work of the Alexandria school, moreover, been affected by the Roman schools of art. In some of it is shown in a more or less felicitous manner the care for details which is characteristic of this school. For instance, the mosaics from Ostia (Cumont, op. cit. p. 79, fig. 67) which dates from the reign of Commodus, and a bas-relief from the Villa Albani (ib. p. 38, fig. 45). The artist has taken delight in multiplying the folds of...
the garments and in rendering more intricate the curls of the hair, merely to show his skill in overcoming the difficulties which he himself had created. A small piece of sculpture discovered at Aquileia (ib. in. i. p. 148, pl. 112) is even more1 different. It is generally agreed that under the guidance of a ‘bewildering cleverness of technique’. The delicately carved figures are almost completely detached from their massive block base, to which they are connected only by very slender supports. It is, however, in which the artist displays his skill in producing in a brittle substance the same effects as the chaser obtains in metal. But these comparatively perfect works are rare even in Italy, and it must be acknowledged that the great majority of these remains are of discouraging mediocrity, which becomes more and more widespread towards the 4th century.

The Dadophor,—The group of the bull-slaying Mithra is almost always flanked by two torch-bearers, or dadophori, who were called Cauzi and Canopus. Dressed in the same Oriental garb as Mithra, one of them holds an uplifted, and the other an inturned, torch; they doubtless personify the two proteuomenei, at the origin of these two youths can be traced back, like that of the bull-slaying god, to an unknown sculptor of the Hellenistic age, who had drawn his inspiration from the two representations of the Persian, or, more probably, the Phrygian dress, and the way in which he has been able to emphasize the different emotions of hope and sadness depicted on the faces of the two youths who are mutually contrasted. The nature of the two objects with which we possess of this divine pair consists of two statues found near the Tiber, one of which has been taken to the British Museum, while the other is in the Vatican. They certainly date from the time of Hadrian (ib. 27 and pl. lii.).

The Mithraic Kronos.—The origin of the subjects just mentioned is to be found in ancient Greek art, but there is another Mithraic work which is certainly derived from an Oriental archetype. It is the lion-headed god, whose body is embraced by a serpent, and who personifies Eternity—the Zveh Aharana of the Persians (see art. MITHRAISM), to whom the adherents of the sect used to give the Greek name Kronos, or the Latin Saturnus. The best specimen of this type is in the Vatican (Cumont, op. cit. 80, fig. 68). Like the majority of his compurrs, this animal-headed monster is an exotic creation. His genealogy would carry us back to Assyrian sculpture (ib. i. 74 ff.). But the artists of the West, having to represent a deity entirely strange to the Greek pantheon, and being untrammeled by the traditions of any school, gave free course to their imagination. The various transformations which this figure has undergone at their hands are actuated, on the one hand, by religious considerations, which tended to complicate the symbolism of this deified abstraction and to multiply his attributes; and, on the other hand, by an aesthetic solicitude which tended to exalt as much as possible the grotesqueness of this barbarous figure, and gradually to humanize it. Ultimately they did away with the lion’s head, and contented themselves with representing the animal inamalgamated at the feet of the god, or with placing the head of the beast on his breast. This lion-headed god of Eternity is the most original creation of Mithraic art; and if it is entirely destitute of charm, the greatness of its appearance and the suggestiveness of its attributes arouse curiosity and provoke reflection.

We have, so far, confined our attention to the remains found in Rome and Italy, the artistic finish of which surpasses the average of the Mithraic ex-votos. But when we pass to the provinces of the Empire, we find there elaborate works of a very different kind. If, generally agreed that, during the Empire, a great number of the sculptures intended for the provincial cities were made at Rome, or by artists who had come from Rome (Friedländer, Sitzber. Preuss. Ak., ii. 1886). This is probably the case with certain of the sculptures we are considering; they come from distant studios, either those of the capital or even of Asia Minor or some other province. There is no doubt that certain tablets discovered in Germany were brought from quarries in Pannonia (Cumont, op. cit. i. 210). Nevertheless, the great majority of Mithraic remains were undoubtedly executed on the spot. This is obvious in the case of those which were sculptured on the surface of rocks, which had been smoothed for the purpose; but with regard to many, local workmanship is proved from the nature of the stone employed. Moreover, the style of these fragments clearly reveals their local origin. The discovery of so many Mithraic works has thus great importance for the study of provincial art under the Empire. The most remarkable of these works have been brought to light in the North of Italy, in the Rhine provinces. It seems that the whole of this group of monuments must be ascribed to that interesting school of sculpture which flourished in Belgium in the 2nd and 3rd cents. of our era, and whose productions are clearly distinguishable from those of Southern studios. Similarly, the less important bas-reliefs brought to light in the Danube provinces are certainly independent of Roman influence; they may be directly connected with certain models. The distinguishing feature of the most important works of these artists from the banks of the Rhine and the Danube is that the central group of the bull-slaying Mithra with his two companions is surrounded by a series of accessory scenes which represent the whole cosmogony of the mysteries and the mission of Mithra, from his birth out of a rock to his assumption up to heaven (ib. i. 153 ff.). Then there are added astronomical images or cosmic emblems (planets, signs of the zodiac, and words, etc.). If we subject all these scenes and symbols to an analysis in detail, we can show that the majority of them are modifications or adaptations of old Greek subjects. Where the Mithraeum at Magon destroying the monsters which have arisen against him is an Hellenic Zeus hurling his thunderbolt at the giants (ib. i. 157). The poverty of the new conceptions which Mithraic iconography introduces is startling contrast to the importance of the religious movement that inspired them. At the period when the Persian mysteries overspread the West, the art of sculpture was too decayed to be revived. Whereas, during the Hellenistic period, sculptors were able to conceive novel forms for the Egyptian divinities (Isis, Serapis, etc.), happily harmonizing with their characters, the majority of the Macedonian gods, in spite of their strongly-marked nature, were obliged to wear, whatever their origin, not the form and dress of the Olympian deities to which they were assimilated.

Art, accustomed to live by plagiarism, had become incapable of original invention. But, without analyzing each scene and personification in detail, we contemplate the total effort of the work, we receive an impression of something entirely novel. The attempt to represent in stone, not only all the deities of Mithra, but also the history of the world and of Mithra as creator and saviour, was a truly sublime idea. Even before this time, especially on the sarcophagi, we find a method employed which consists in representing
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the successive moments of an action by pictures superimposed on one another or drawn on parallel surfaces; but we cannot mention any pagan monument which can be compared in this respect with the great Mithraic bas-reliefs, especially those from Nebra, Hamburg, and, above all, Osterburken (ib. 245, 246, 251). To find a similar attempt we have to come down to the long series of subjects with which Christian artists in mosaic decoration adorned, not always entirely in their infancy. So far, the historical inscriptions are only being collected, and this undertaking, upon which M. van Berchem is still engaged, is a necessary condition of all further study in this field. It is much to be desired that, by way of supplementing this, some one would group together the literary sources which bear upon graphic art in Islam. The bibliography at the end will show that, although we possess several comprehensive writings in this department, we have very few such treatises upon Muhammadan works of art as are serviceable for scientific investigation. The present position of our researches is consequently unsatisfactory. Hassan had himself professed in the department of graphic art, while the three or four historians of art who deal with Islam at all, have only the most meagre acquaintance with the language and culture of the Muslim monuments, and we should not be surprised if the present article should do more than acquaint the reader with the outstanding facts of the subject in their relation to religion and ethics. The writer, indeed, feels more inclined to point out the common errors of his predecessors than to fill them up. His purpose is not so much to supply adequate information upon the subject proposed, as to provide the reader with a general prospectus of Muslim art.

2. Pre-Muhammadan days. The parent of these is the action which forms the inevitable adjunct of the Muslim's every prayer, viz., the turning towards Mecca. It does not fall to the historian of art to establish the origin of this custom of turning more than able to fill them up. His purpose is not so much to supply adequate information upon the subject proposed, as to provide the reader with a general prospectus of Muslim art.

3. Muhammad. — Had Muhammad not been forced to flee from his native city, it is probable that the motifs in the Mithraic legend were able to inspire Christian artists. Thus the figure of the sun raising Mithra out of the ocean served to express the ascension of Elijah in


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churches. As Muhammad, however, established his place of prayer in Medina, and was also buried there, this most unpretentious beginning gave the initiative to the development of mosques, not only of places of worship, but also for the celebration of festivals. Samhudi in his *History of the City of Medina* (ed. Wüstenfeld, in *Abhandl. d. Ges. d. Wissenschaft. zu Göttingen*, ix. [1860] 60), tells first of all how Muhammad obtained the site for his mosque, and proceeds to describe the site. He says that when the bricks were set up, palms were used as columns, and a wooden roof was fixed above. This mosque had three entrances—two at the back, which was built up when Muhammad began the practice of turning to Mecca instead of Jerusalem, the others being the Gate of Mercy and the prophet's private door. After the conquest of Khaybar the mosque was entirely re-built, being enlarged to twice its former size.

Some idea of the interior is given by the position of the column beside which Muhammad prayed: 'It was the central column of the mosque, the third forward from the minbar, the third from Muhammad's tomb, the third from the south side, the third from the former Qahal and Zabah (intakes) made by Walid ibn, who was supplied by the Emperor of Greece with Greek and Coptic artizans, as well as with mason shells and stone. Walls and columns were built with hewn stones. The decoration of the side, and cemented with gypsum; decorations of shell-work and marble were introduced, while the roof was constructed of palm and coated with gold-colour. When Walid inspected the completed mosque, he exclaimed, [dikka), "What a contrast between our style of building (i.e. in Damascus) and yours!" to which the reply was, 'We build in the style of the mosques, you in that of churches."

Beyond this single reference we have nothing from which to form an idea of the mosque of Muhammad as a whole, or of its imitations. We shall presently return to this.

Of the sacred accessories belonging to the interior of a mosque, such as the niche for prayer (minbar), the throne, the pulpit, etc., the only one of which we can trace to Muhammad himself is the minbar, or pulpit (Becker, in *Orientalische Studien Niedelske gewidmet*, 331 f.). In ancient Arabia the minbar was not supposed to be approached directly from the position of judge to that of ruler, this original very simple piece of furniture with its two steps became more and more of a throne. A fresco on the inner front wall of Qasim's Amra represents one of the first Khaldifs, or perhaps Muhammad himself, seated on a throne. As this, in view of the command against images, may well give rise to fruitful discussion, we give a reproduction of it (fig. 1, p. 897). Over the enthroned figure is a baldaquin with a Kufic inscription, which is unfortunately so much abraded that only the closing words are now legible: 'May God grant him his reward, and have compassion upon him.' The personage that pictures Davud in beard, and the saint's minbar about his head—must accordingly have been dead, and cannot have been, as one might naturally think, the Khalif then reigning. The figure beside the throne holds the lance which has become a symbol in Islam to the present day; a woman with the minbar is represented on the right, applauding. The design of the enthroned figure may be traced to the *Christus-Pontifikatur* in St. Vitus's Cathedral in Munich, and it is not out of the Gospels, upon which the left hand is placed. Beneath the great throne is seen the barge of the dead. At the time when this fresco was introduced, i.e. subsequent to 100 A.H., the minbar can scarcely have had the same appearance as that shown in the illustration. As a matter of fact, the pattern furnished by Muhammad for the mosque and the minbar alike was transplanted in a mere utility, and the artistic elaboration thereof belongs entirely to a later period; for Muhammad had even less interest than Jesus in the graphic arts.

His attitude towards figure-painting was one of tolerance, but he was not enamoured of painting before the house of 'Aisha until a curtain ornamented with figures was removed, and he threatened those who made images with the dire penalties of the world to come. It was therefore important that art in Islam should develop the same didactic tendency as it did in early Christianity, in which the representation of figures was expressly utilized as a means of instructing those who could not read.

4. The Umayyads.—It was under these rulers that foreign culture began to stream in upon Islam. Even the mosque did not escape the general transformation, and its original design of simple utility was lost behind. The incentive to the transformation from the days of the Prophet was the contact with Christianity. At the conquest of Damascus, the principal church of the city, that of St. John, was divided. Apparently it had then the same form as follows: a domed building, with contiguous basilicas to east and west, and a pillared court to the north facing the whole. At first the Muslims laid claim only to one of the basilicas; it was Walid ibn. (A.D. 705-715) who first transformed the entire edifice into a mosque. Of this 'church-design' of mosque, except in Damascus, only two examples are now known, viz., the great mosque of Diarbekr, dating from the 12th cent., and that of Ephesus, from the 14th. Its nucleus was a Christian *sanctuary* (Greek martyrium, Latin crypta). The minbar, or pulpit, was placed in the centre. The projecting *arcades* resembled those of Roman basilicas, while the main *arch* was supposed to correspond to the church-arch. The entrance was in the middle, and led to the church through a long hall of little width. The upper story was a covered chamber or *atrium*. In other cases these were added afterwards, while the lower story served as a **Director**, human or divine, that is, a place of instruction. In the *Sanctuary* of the Muhammadan mosque there is an intermediate form—some primitive Asiatic type, such as a court with hall adjoining. The mosque exhibits this type in purer form than the church; the colonnated halls, for instance, which enclose the court, grow more numerous and then extend in the direction of Mecca. Muhammad's mosque in Medina was most probably of this form; as it stands to-day it is quite in accordance with this supposition, though, of course, it has been several times reconstructed.

The Umayyads, in building such mosques, had probably to avail themselves of columns taken from ancient or Christian ruines. Muhammad himself had used pagan shrines, and had thus left no established precedent. The oldest mosques, or at least those which survive in their rudimentary form, such as the ruins of Baalbek and Bosra, the Amr mosque in Old Cairo, and the great mosques of Kairwan and Cordova, are virtual column-museums, something like the façades of St. Mark's in Venice. Such embellishments have only a negative bearing upon the characteristic quality of Muslim art. As an example of a mosque built with columns from ancient and Christian buildings, we give a view of the mosque at Kairwan (fig. 2, p. 898). Here we see a forest of columns in front; behind, to the right
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of this, extends the entrance wall, beside which large colonnettes are suspended between the columns, the mid-passage running thence to the qibla. The arches run parallel to the line of this passage; in this instance they are rounded, though in general they are pointed, in conformity with the national conventional style. The thickly vouched capitals are linked together by anchors, while a wooden roof is placed over the whole. Such was the prevalent type of the Muslim place of worship in early times.

From the 1st cent. A.H. come other two buildings. One of these, situated in Jerusalem, has long been known; the other has been recently discovered by an Austrian research-party. The first, the Qubbat as-Sakhr on the Temple hill, is not a mosque, but a memorial edifice. Above the rock with its caves rises a dome supported by four pillars, between every two of which stand three columns. Two circular passages with eight pillars, and two columns between each pair of these, lead out to the octagonal surrounding wall. Of the original fabric erected by 'Abd al-Malik in A.H. 72 (A.D. 691) very little remains, to the interest of which may be traced. Cross upon the capitals, and must therefore have been taken from some Christian building, while the exceedingly valuable mosaics of the passage are of Persian origin.

On the other hand, the second monument referred to, a secular structure known as Qasbar 'Amra, and situated in the desert adjoining Moab, is pure Syrian in character. Attached to a small bath is a hall roofed with three parallel tunnel-vaults, and showing on the south two apsidal niches, the niche between them having a straight front-wall directly opposite the entrance. The structure as a whole recalls the type of tunnel-vaulted churches introduced by the Nestorians. The paintings are most instructive, as has already been shown in the case of the fresco of the enthroned figure illustrated in fig. 1 (p. 897). They exhibit Umayyad art in the full current of the Hellenistic style; the frescoes of the bath-chambers might well be counted as ancient. The pictures in the hall are of far-reaching significance, furnishing the best exemplification of the tendency which, while opposed to all worship of images, was again adopted by the image-breakers in Constantinople, and which, after the example of the Assyrian relic, became associated rather with the portrayal of landscape, and of hunting and fishing scenes, in striking contrast with the chariot-scenes of the early Christian art of Syria and its offsides.

We must now call attention to the fact that in 'Amra, among scenes of hunting, fishing, and bathing, there have been introduced two pictures which, from the standpoint of religion and ethics, may well evoke much controversy in the future. Upon the front wall of the niche, opposite the entrance, appears the figure of the man seated on a throne. But it is the other picture which calls for explanation from the Muhammadan point of view, for its subject is the princes overthrown by Islam, viz., the Emperor of Byzantium, Chosroes of Persia, the Negus of Abyssinia, and Roderick of Spain. How are these pictures to be brought into accordance with the interdict against graphic representation, and in what sense are we to interpret them? The picture of the Khalif upon the throne undoubtedly gives the impression of its being a devotional piece, but a general rule for the erection of mosques can scarcely be explained in a similar way.

The Unayyads have also in recent times been spoken of as the builders of a number of large and handsome buildings in and near the neighbourhood of 'Amra, but more towards the inhabited country. These have been made known chiefly by the large Meshkhit façade which the Emperor of Germany received as a gift from the Sultan and placed in the Berlin Museum. In these castles the present writer discerns structures so unmistakably of a Persian character as to suggest conditions which would allow of a closer connexion with Hira and the North Mesopotamian provincials. The palaces of the Tabaristan are immense fortified royal seats, surrounded by groups of pools, and resembling those found in the Sassanian fabrics of Mesopotamia. Both are barbarous, and perhaps bear the same kind of decorations, amongst which the Persian wing-palmette amid vine-tendrils characteristically recurs.

5. The Abbasids.—The shifting of the centre of the Muslim world from Damascius to Baghdad had very important consequences for the development of graphic art, as the Syrian, i.e. the Hellenistic-Christian, factor now fell into the background, while the Oriental came to the front. In the latter, it is true, there is always a double strain: on the one hand the Assyro-Sasanian tradition, and on the other a drift in part still older, which may possibly have come in with the Parthians, and certain evidences of sporadic parties, or even of whole tribes of Turks from Central Asia to Persia and Baghdad. For the remote part of Western Asia this drift has all the significance of a barbarian invasion of a long established civilization, being exacerbated by Rome at the hands of the Germans. The Turks and the Germans were in fact the emissaries of an inchoate 'Hinterland' culture, which had been quite overshadowed by the hothouse growth of Egyptian, Persian, and Greek art, in which, when the representatives of the older refinement began to flag, came once more into the foreground. We must likewise bear in mind the gradually weakening influence of early Christian art, as also the growing potencies of the Chinese factor.

(a) Persian elements.—A wholly unique type of mosque is found in Mesopotamia. Here again, indeed, we have the arced court, with the open hall lying towards Mecca, but, in keeping with the nature of the country, the supports are formed not of columns but of brick pillars. In consequence of this, and because walls, pillars, and arches are now uniformly ornamented with space-work, the mosque assumes a most characteristic appearance, known to us until recently only from a mosque in Cairo erected in c. 870 A.D. by the Tulunids, who came from Bagdad to Egypt. It has lately been shown, however, that the mosque of Ibn Tulun was built upon the model of the mosque of Samarra, as had been stated by early Arabic writers. Moreover, in 'Abd al-Dilf, 15 km. to the north of Samarra, there still stands a mosque which agrees with that of Ibn Tulun even in the number of its supports. Of this example of the unique character of Mesopotamian mosques we give an illustration from the survey of General de Beylie, which shows the entrance-wall opposite the minbar (fig. 3, p. 898). Here we see pillars composed of brick, with hewn-out ornamental niches, and united by arches, the springers of which still remain. The side arches leave the view open towards the surrounding wall of the mosque, and through the central arch appears the spindle-like minaret.

Even this peculiar and fantastic minaret at Samarra has been copied in the mosque of Ibn Tulun at Cairo by the Mowahrids. Both Mowahrid and Quraysh are the case on the outside. Elsewhere the stair is for the most part on the inside, and the minaret, which is used for calling to prayer, is outwardly smooth, whether it be the work of the Fatimid or the Qa'im period of the Fatimids, buildings were constructed not only in the older style prevalent along the Mediterranean seaboard, i.e. with columns (el-
The ancient Hellenistic wall-surface. It appears to have been originally made of wood. In Cairo three ancient wooden niches with beautiful ornamentation are still to be found. The typical form was already in use in the Khalifate epoch of Baghdad; that period, at all events, exhibits the niche let into the wall, with bounding columns at the corners—a design which emerged in the East in Hellenistic times, and which had great vogue in the later period of ancient art, especially in Syria and Asia Minor. The graduated columnar porches of Western architecture likewise find their origin here.

The minbar has always been constructed of wood, essays in marble dating from the rarer instances. By 132 A.H., when all the provincial mosques received their minbars, it can hardly have retained its primitive form, and was certainly of a different shape from that represented in the 'Arabian Nights', where it was, rather the Christian _ombra_, an approximation to which had gradually been developed. Numerous steps led up to the platform, and parapet and steps were richly endowed with ornaments. The oldest surviving minbar, that of the great mosque at Kairouan, is of plane-tree, brought from Baghdad by Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab in 242 A.H. (fig. 4, p. 899).

In order to convey a direct impression of what the art of decoration practised in the Abbasid in Mesopotamia could achieve, we give an illustration of the façade of the al-Aqmar mosque in Cairo, as discovered in recent years and restored (fig. 5, p. 900). According to the inscriptions, it dates from A.D. 1125. Here we already see the arrangement which also prevailed among the Seljuks of Asia Minor—a central _risaliti_ which stands in front of the two wings, and derives its principal embellishment from a lofty gate. We do not describe the minbar, where it is, as at the mosque of the Fatimids at Carthage, which, is of plane-tree, brought from Baghdad by Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab in 242 A.H. (fig. 4, p. 899).

It is all the more striking as we have before us only a false façade, which has no inner apartment corresponding to it, but which is simply a high wall standing before an open court. Of still greater ornamentation is the wall-surface. This contains designs which in all probability were originally naturalized in the Orient as stucco-work, but which are here, in Egypt, transferred to the stone in common use. The portal-niche is connected with two smaller niches on a level with the ground-floor; all three display in their arches shell-like _tori_ of luxuriant outline. Here too appears, fully developed, one of the main elements of Muslim decoration, viz., the _stalactite_. We find stalactites upon the side portals, taking the place of mullus-panelling, and also as a surface-decoration above the little niches. We have seen how they applied in their proper and original function on the corners of the building, where in two rows of niches one above the other they form a beak. The design of the niche with inserted columns is often applied to the minbar when the building is grouped round it, and though the central _risaliti_ already show the bell-form which came with the Tulunids or the Fatimids from Persia to Egypt. Along the upper extremity of the façade, beneath the large niche, the group of rosettes and lozenges runs an inscription-frieze.

The present writer regards these stalactites as a characteristic deposit of Muslim ethics in the field of graphic art. In them constructive restraint, i.e. the best and obligatory design, is surrendered in favour of a freakishness capable of endless variation, which becomes all the more interesting by reason of the limitations laid down by the spatial form. The stalactite, rightly considered, is a construal of an ornamental origin. It served originally, as a single niche, the same purpose for which the Byzantines used the so-called pendentive, i.e. the construction of the vault, which remains open when a round cupola is placed upon a square substructure.

For this, later Hellenistic architecture had a definite, mathematically accurate, solution in the sector of the vault of the circumscribed circle; in Persia, on the other hand, the custom was to place a niche in the angle. Instead of the single niche, however, we occasionally find three, combined as already noticed in the case of the al-Aqmar mosque, or, more frequently, in the inverse position, one below and two above. Next a further row, of three, came to be added, thus making a group of six; then a row of four, making ten, and so on.

This embellishment of the cupula-wedge was transferred to portal niches, then to surfaces, and in this way was obtained an ornamentation in which each niche indicates a terminal line or a transition (cf. on this point the works of Bourgoin).

This delight in the spinning out of fortuitous combinations is also confined to mutual combinations of the style of ornament typical of Muslim art, viz., the _arabesque_. In this also the distinctive feature is that from a theme originally given—a natural object in the present case—certain elements are grouped by the imagination to imitate nature, and for this end new themes are introduced with which, as with conventional numbers, endless combinations may be made. As the present writer has shown in the Jahrb. d. pr. Archäologie, xxv. (1904), p. 327 f., the _arabesque_ takes its inception from the Hellenistic vine-branch. In the later period of ancient art this became the most popular pattern for straited or superficial decoration. The development towards the _arabesque_ begins when the artist divests the vine-leaf of its natural form by superimposing other leaves, or a triad of globules, upon the diverging point of the ribs, or when, further, he makes the leaf tri-lobed instead of five-lobed. But the great development of the _arabesque_ is the application to the vine-leaf of the lobate form which may really be described as the artificial flower of West-Asiatic art, i.e. the _palmette_. The vine-tendril mounted with the _palmette_ in this is _arabesque_. The development proceeds in virtue of the fact that the _palmette_ can be split up either into halves or into single lobes; while each of these lobes again may be expanded, and give rise to new ramifications. The façade of A.D. 1125, in its details, furnishes illustrations of the initial stage of this whole development: here the branch shows more of the Persian than of the Arabian form. On the other hand, fig. 6 (p. 900), representing a wooden tablet in the K. Friedrich Museum in Berlin supposed to date from A.D. 1125, exhibits all the stages side by side—the five-lobed vine-leaf with and without the grape-cluster, the _trilobium_, all kinds of combinations, and also the _palmette_ itself with ornamental branching. In this tablet the divided _palmette_ in the centre is surrounded by a ten-angled star which encloses itself into the marginal bands both above and beneath. This brings us to a third branch of specifically Muhammadan ornament, viz., _polygonal lace-work_. It is already to be seen on a closer scrutiny of the Cairo façade of A.D. 1125—appearing as a striped decoration in the lozenges and rosettes, niches, above to the left; but here they show rather the other double-stripe design which was common also in ancient and Christian art.
distinctively Muslim variety, as we think, shows in its origin the influence of the Turkic-Mongolian nomadic races, who eventually brought the Khallfate to an end (A.D. 1238).

Before dealing further with this subject we may draw attention to the influence exerted upon the development of Muslim art by religious and ethnic—i.e., an influence revealing itself in the fact that the ornamentation of sacred buildings embraces no representation of living objects. The wonted Mesopotamian type of decoration consists in rows of stars, and arches with stucco ornaments. We are cognizant of no instance whatever in which this architectural decoration contains the figure of man, animal, or bird. The mosque of Ibn Taimi in Cairo; the Church of Abbot Moses of Nisibis in the Syrian monastery of the Nithrian desert, which was stuccoed by Mesopotamian artists; Maqâm 'All itself, on the Euphrates; Samarra—in none of these have we a trace of a living creature figured as an ornament. In this period, therefore, the commandment against the use of figures in sacred buildings would seem to have been stringently enforced. The ornaments are composed of interlaced zigzag or floral patterns, which are connected with one another by spiral designs, and thrown out by indentations so as to form independent configurations. To these again are added designs which are traceable in the main to the sepulchral and symbolic use, and suggest the dark effects of depth. Symbolical figures, such as were favoured by Sasanian and Christian art—the crescent, the star, the wing, etc.—are entirely absent so far as religious art is concerned. If we should adequately appreciate the authority of such art, we must look to the precepts of religion in the sphere of graphic art, we must keep before us the delight which the Orient has always found in the mystical and symbolical use of animal forms, as in fact exemplified by the extreme frequency with which such figures are employed in the secular art of Islam itself.

(b) Turkish elements.—One of the most singular notions still current, and one that is explained only on the ground that our vision has been deranged by our inmemorial habit of seeing everything in the light of Greco-Roman institutions, is that the migratory races, whether Germans or Turks, were incapable of all art that is to forget that the Goths brought with them into Italy a highly-developed culture, acquired upon the Greek coast of the Black Sea; and the like holds good of the people who were the chief instrument in bringing the Crusades into Persia, and who had thus passed through, or temporarily settled in, the long-civilized region beyond the Caspian Sea. Think of the discoveries in Hungary, telling of the time when the Magyars took possession of the country. This equestrian people came from the territories lying between the Altai and the Ural without coming into contact with Transoxiana; nevertheless their taste in decoration was well developed. How much more are we entitled to look for aesthetic proficiency amongst the peoples who had not only lived at close quarters with the Sasanids or the Ghaznavids, but who, as, e.g., the Seljucks, had made themselves masters of the lands before they conquered Persia and Asia Minor. In Egypt the new conditions were ushered in under Saladin, and continued during the period of the Turkoman and Crimean Mamluks, until, in 1317, the Turks proper gained possession.

It is worthy of remark that with the advent of the Turkish tribes are conjoined two types of building of which there are no surviving examples from the age of the Hephthalites, the big cupola-domed mausoleum and a new type of mosque-school, the madrasa. As regards the mausoleum, there is no doubt that it had already been rooted—by Constantine or even before his day—with cupolas. But a gigantic fabric of brick, such as the tomb of the Sultan Sanjar in Merv, dating from 552 A.H. (A.D. 1157), is, of course, hardly to be compared with the finely articulated edifices of Christian times. But we never forget, however, that the tombs of the Umayyads were violated by the fanaticism of the Abbasids, or that the only tomb known to exist in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, that of Harûn-al-Rashid, bears a curious niche-pyramid, which hardly permits of comparison with the later buildings. It is true that pyramids are found also on the mausoleums erected in A.D. 1182 and 1186 by Seljuk Atabeks in Nakahevan, on the Perso-Armenian frontier, but these are supported by a dome-shaped vault, the walls of which are embellished with polygonal ornaments of mosaic work in stucco bricks. One of the far-famed sights of Cairo is the Necropolis, the so-called Tombs of the Khalifs and Mamluks (fig. 7, p. 901), which in their picturesque construction invite comparison with the massive forms of the pyramids on the opposite bank of the Nile. So arranged as to permit of being dwelt in by the family of the deceased at certain seasons of the year. An even more magnificent effect, however, than that of the Necropolis of Cairo is made by the sepulchral monuments at Timur at the Caspian seashore. The huge mausoleum of Timur (A.D. 1405), which the terror-inspiring Mongol leader had built in his lifetime, and which is now known as the Gur Emir, lends signal distinction to the whole district. As a work of art, however, it is surpassed by the sepulchral mosque of Khudaban-dakhan in Sultaniya (A.D. 1304-1316), which, like the mausoleum at Merv, presents on the outside an imposing arcade style of architecture. It can hardly be a mere matter of chance that these three most important sepulchral edifices should be found in the Caspian or Trans-Caspian area.

The second architectural form which first came into general use subsequently to the incursion of the Turkish tribes, viz. the madrasa, likewise evolved a capacity of being applied to great monumental structures. An example of this type may be seen in the illustration (fig. 8, p. 901) of the mosque of Sultan al-Muhammads, 1356-1359. It was the Ayyûbids who instituted such college houses in Egypt. The madrasa expresses the idea that, in order to correspond with the four sects connected with or resident at Cairo, viz. Madressat al-Hanîfiya, al-Shâfi'îya, al-Hanbaliya, and al-Malîkiya. This plan of associating four schools in one building was carried out in a very ingenious way, namely, by planting them respectively in the four angles of a cross, which was formed by four tunnel-vaulted arms converging upon the open central court. Were the halls of this cross all of equal length, and were a cupola placed over the small court, we might fail to discriminate between this form of building, in its general plan at least, and the cruciform church with a dome. As, however, the central square is open to the sky, and the four aisles are often of very different lengths, such an identification is out of the question. We incline to believe that the plan of the madrasa is in its essentials of very remote origin. It is resorted to in the construction of a gateway for the plan of Mahom, and was doubt often used in Sasanian palaces. It is accordingly a Muslim construction only in so far as it has been transferred to the institution of the four sects, and elaborated in accordance with their requirements. See ARCHITECTURE [Muh. in Syria and Egypt] (P. 757).
This remarkable construction impresses the native of the West as being more decidedly Oriental than even the mosque. We picture these huge tunnels, vaulted mostly in the pointed style, and strengthened by the schools built into the corners like immense supports, and yet without anything to sustain; it is the spirit of the sta-

tla from without the link with nature. Further,

taly at all events, there is something which must cause the utmost amazement, viz. the High arch of the mosque. The Mesopotamian

mosque of Sultan Jihan in Cairo, built in A.D. 1350-1359, c. 20 metres in height, has been cut out of a wall which rises 87.70 metres above the level of the

street, and is not accommodated to the main feature of the edifice as a whole, i.e. it does not correspond with the gible, but has a relation to the line of the street, being placed in a corner obliquely to the longitudinal wall, so that any one entering the vestibule can reach the central court only by way of various narrow passages. We might all the more expect to find an axial design in the main ornament, viz. that of the porch, as the immense dome of the builder of the mausoleum

towers aloft exactly in the axis behind the minbar. This ornamental design is peculiar to Egypt, and is not found, so far as the present writer knows, in other Muslim lands, while, especially in Asia Minor, the madrasa is always arranged according to an axial plan.

Meanwhile we must say something regarding other innovations, which make their appearance subsequently to the ascendancy of the Central Asiatic element in the Muslim world. The astonishing growth in the popular use of polygonal ornamentation already touched upon may possibly be attributed to the preference for geometrical de-

coration which is characteristic of nomads. Even upon the minbar of Kairwan, constructed probably in Baghdad in 922 A.H. (fig. 4, p. 999), the double-stripè lace-work in straight or curned lines so largely predominates that we can scarcely reconcile its vogue with our wonted conceptions of Sasanian and early Muslim art, in which it is rather the pal-

nate that prevails. But, by the time the Oriental element re-emerged from the obscurity in which it had been embedded for centuries, Hellen-


dicentered art must already have returned, more de-
ciated and perhaps made more ornamented in the lace-work. This reversion to the primitive, then, finds ample scope for development among the nomads from Central Asia, whose taste was still in thrall to the lace-work, as to the material generally, and to capture.

Since, in the art ancillary to the culmus, lace-work takes the place of animal ornament, it demands some notice at this point. As an illustrative example, we reproduce a detail of the minbar (A.D. 1105-1109) of the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jeru-

salem (fig. 9, p. 902). Here we have a piece of work in wood and ivory, by an artisan from Aleppo, so complicated in its construction as to be hardly intelligible to Europeans. We perceive arabesques of ivory in the middle of both the vertical mold-

ings. On either side are polygonal decorations, composed of purlfed moldings in wood and fillings of ivory. From the corners we have so much of the line that we may be able to infer the class of polygon upon which any particular play of lines is designed — whether it is the hexagon, the one mainly resorted to, or some other figure. From the corner we may draw the lines, how-


ever, merely doubles us the key; the essentially varied ways in which the purled fillets intertwine and intersect, leaving, in ordered repetition, free spaces, which in turn are filled up with relief arabesques or coloured intalid work, can scarcely

be resolved. All this is an expression of the same
exultation in elaborating designs obtained mathe-

matically or fortuitously; not to be seen in the case of the stalactite. The fly-leaves of the Qur'an exhibit first-rate examples of such artifices. There, indeed, they are in their right place, as in them and in the calligraphic amplification of the writing a compensation had to be found for the absence of the human form.

(c) Chinese elements. — We are not accustomed to regard China as the source of a contribution to Muslim art. Chinese representations, however, have already found admission in Syria, as they certainly did, more powerfully, in Persia, and finally, in all probability, through the influence of the on-coming Turks. From early notices of silk as a Chinese product, and of silk materials in Egypt and in medieval Europe, it is easy to show that in the later ancient and the Christian period there was commercial intercourse between Syria and China. In Persia during the AbásiS dynasty the influence of China begins to be felt even in architecture, and unmistakable evidences of this influence are seen in the Talismán Gate of Baghdad, completed in 818 A.H., as well as in two reliefs of winged figures in a sort of a subræch. These works become intelligible only in the light of facts which were afterwards made plain by the Oriental carpet. Thus both the examples just cited as bearing upon the field of architecture find their immediate origin in the Chinese carpet now in the possession of the Emperor of Austria and known as the 'Vienna Hunting Cart.' The illustration of this (fig. 10, p. 902) shows, in the borders, winged genii, and, in the angles of the inner field, the Chinese dragon struggling with the phoenix. The manner in which the plant-


designs and the Chinese cloud-design are wrought out leave us in no dubity regarding their origin. Yet the carpet was manufactured in Persia, as is evinced, to say nothing of the workmanship, by the hunting scenes in the inner field, where Persians with turbans and heron-feathers are shown on horseback engaged in the chase. Chinese traits are visible also in the drawing of the figures. This brings us to the most interesting fact of all in the development of the Perso-Muslim art, viz. the resuscitation of figure-representation as a result of Chinese influence. Reference has already been made to the influence of Syrian and Greek art on the Persian, from which figures are entirely absent. This does not entitle us, of course, to assume their absence from other classes of literature. There exist, however, a few miniature manuscripts which are decorated in the style usual in Armenian and Coptic writings. But the great majority of Persian illuminated manuscripts, and precisely those which are most valuable in an artistic sense, display alike in landscape and in figure the identical type of repre-

sentation which, judging from the earliest Japanese and Chinese works of art of the class that imitates nature, we recognize as belonging specifically to the Far East. Moreover, as recent researches make it credible that the cavalier and lavo poetry of the earlier medieval period in Europe caught fresh stimulus from the Perso-Muslim world with which it came into touch on Spanish ground, it cannot but amaze us to think that the Perso-Muslim, illustrated with designs developed in China, the very spirit known to us directly in our own literary history. In one province of Muslim art, therefore, viz. the secular, a sphere is found for a creative impulse which was to be seen in the case of the stalactite, and thus forming a vivid contrast to the sacred art which was fettered to the interdict against 'graven images.'

The case is somewhat different in regard to the portrayal of animals and animal fights, hunting
and drinking scenes, planets, Alexander upon the dragon-chariot, and the like, as seen upon the so-called Mossal-bronzes, from the middle of the 12th cent. and onwards. It is possible that the technique seen in those vessels derived its inspiration from Central Asia, while Chinese designs likewise occur occasionally; but in the main the impulse towards the representation of figures must be traced to Persian Christians. On this hypothesis alone can we explain the adoption of the葱ion and the Ionic order of columns, and, in particular, the introduction of scenes from the life of Christ, which were designed for the apartments of Muslim princes. Consequently, the figures portrayed must be interpreted, not in the ethical spirit of Hellenic-Christian squill as they were purely decorative. The primitive Oriental interpretation of the animal fight, as symbolic of the conflict between good and evil, is simply lost.

8. Later developments.—The great mass of the Muslim memorial art emanates from the period after the Tarkish tribes gained the absolute lordship of the civilized regions originally permeated by the Syro-Persian spirit. Art was now devoted more especially to the faithful, as in the mosque; the figures of worship alone were built ‘for eternity,’ i.e. of durable material. In the Seljuk kingdom of Iconium (Konia) in Asia Minor this material was principally stone. The mosques and madrasas of Konia and its environs have many façades of the same, or of an incomparably richer, style than the façade of the al-Aqmar mosque given in fig. 5 (p. 900). The madrasa approximates more to the type of the arcaded court. In Persia the predominant building material was brick. The result was that every variety of the art of facing was resorted to, the walls being veneered with stucco or many-coloured bricks, or covered with faience mosaics. The native skill of such things was not Mesopotamia or Iran alone, but, as in the case of so many other features of Muslim art, Transoxiana. There, in Samarcand and Bokhara, the most marvellous erections of the Mongols are found standing to this day.

An “Arab” is a peculiar word, as in Muslim art was taken by the Osmanis, from the time that they obtained possession of Constantinople. It was the Church of St. Sophia that roused them to rivalry, since the question of the second time with mosques of Christian design, at Damascus, furnished us with the earliest examples. The Osmanis, in fact, bring to completion what had been aspired to by the great architects of Asia Minor in the inception of antique art at Constantinople, viz. the construction of edifices on a scale of amplitude hitherto unknown. We feel unable to decide whether it was intensity of religious emotion that gave the incentive to the stupendous domes at Stamboul, as well as the dome enclosures that yield a total impression of such magnificence as is unparalleled in the Renaissance and Baroeco structures of the West. We may assert without misgiving that the mosques associated with the Church of St. Sophia exhibit that ideal form which, since Bramante’s time, has been sought in the all-round effect of stately interiors. Thus Islam at length achieved what Christianity originally far outstripped it. It gave the creative touch to the development of the art of architecture which had evolved its designs from a Hellenistic foundation. A second triumph was won for Islam by the too little known memorials of art in India. Here again Muslim art was accommodated, as to the indigenous forms—a process rendered all the more easy by the groundwork and elevation of the mosque, and even the fantastic play of ornamentation, had already been fully evolved in pre-Muhammadan India, though, naturally, in a style different from that of Western Asia. The magnificence of the plan of arrangement in the Indian mosque construction is almost without parallel. It is also in India that we find palaces of vast configuration dating from Muhammadan times, and thus furnishing the necessary supplement to the secular and, in particular, the mosque, which are not adequately represented in the Mediterranean region.

The Alhambra.—To Europeans the Alhambra represents the sum and substance of Muslim art, and, in point of fact, it is really such, so far as the province of secular art is concerned. There is one thing, however, which we must not forget—a fact of decisive import for the ethical value of the whole structure, viz. that the Alhambra must be regarded, not as an independent work of architecture, but as a component part of the natural environment, which is always taken into account in the secular art of Islam, and which, in the case before us, is a park encircling the whole rising ground without the main construction, and the whole of the wide expanse sometimes given to such enclosures from the Conca d’oro beside Palermo, where the palace-gounds embrace the chateaux of Zisa, Cusa, Favara, and Monreale; note, however, that the gardens were not added to the palaces, but the wide expanse was sometimes given to such enclosures from the Conca d’oro beside Palermo, where the palace-gounds embrace the chateaux of Zisa, Cusa, Favara, and Monreale; note, however, that the gardens were not added to the palaces, but the whole expanse sometimes given to such enclosures from the Conca d’oro beside Palermo, where the palace-gounds embrace the chateaux of Zisa, Cusa, Favara, and Monreale.

Then the glittering wealth of ornament, with their lustrous colours and their puzzling variety of form! The principal designs, the stalactite, the arabesque, and the polygon, make their appearance here once more, though employed with a more uniformornateness than in the earlier style of art. The kind of workmanship, however, to which all this exuberance of beauty has been applied, explains why it is the Alhambra alone that has survived: the materials which permitted the splendid style of architecture have nothing at all to sustain them; they consist simply of wood and plaster, like an ornamental sign-board. The structures of which lie behind this embellishment are of a very simple kind, and characteristic of the race which produced them.

The inscriptions of the Alhambra reveal a surprisingly intimate relation between spectator and ornament. Just as the Turks had the faculty of giving individuality to each one of a long series of fountains, so the Moors must have had a fine sense of the language of ornamentation. The inscriptions pertaining to the various portions of the great fabric, as well as to the various ornaments, furnish suggestive introductions to these. Thus, for example, upon a niche at the entrance to the Hall of the Ambassadors appear the words which Schack has translated thus:—

"Mich hat des Künstlers Hand gestickt, wie ein Gewand von Seide,
Und nur das Dämen besetzt mit bitzenden Geschmacke: 
So wie der Thron der jungen Braut strahlt ich in hellem Glänzen.
Doch bringes höhren Glück als es, es weicht und wechselt immer."

Such facts of observation prompt the inquiry whether the ethical significance of Muhammedan decorative art is not of a higher order than we commonly suppose. It is our hope that the scientific research which is only now beginning earnestly to apply the field of Muslim art in general,
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may in course of time yield fuller information on the subject than we have been able to give here.


In the 'Art of Sciala Pascha, Die Besatn von Islam (Darmstadt, 1896); Saladin, Le monstre de Sitd'Okkan a Kaloufon (Paris, 1899); Herz Bey, La mosquée du Sultan Hasnan (Cairo, 1890); Sarre, Perseische Baukunst (Leipzig); the Hungarian work upon Gur Emir in Samarcand; A. P. Calvert, The Alhambra (London, 1877); and the recognized authorities on Persian literature.

ii. DECORATION AND ORNAMENT: Strzygowski, 'Mehatta' in Fabri, d'arts, Kunstschmalzungen (1904); the various works of H. Maillart, Matemornans, and others which are found well arranged in Migeon's Manuel. Instranezoff and Smirnov have made a real advance in Persian art, and transferred the royal capital to Persopolis. The figure is carved in low relief upon a large monolith slab, and is conspicuous both by reason of the curious crown, with Egyptian affinities, that surrounds the monarch's head, and because of the four magnificent wings that rise and drop from the king's shoulders—a feature borrowed from Assyrian-Babylonian art. The image of Darius sculptured above his own inscription at the time of Schahpur, may be dated some time before B.C. 500, and the group with which it is carved likewise represents figures of the king's two chief retainers, together with portraits of Gonates, or the pseudo-Smerdis, and the other dignitaries of the Persian court. The chief fact of Darius floats an image of the god Auranmda (Ormazd) presenting him with the circle of sovereignty, or the guardian spirit of the king, as the modern Parsi prefer to interpret the image. The god is represented as a human figure, wearing a cylindrical head-dress, with horns, surmounted by the disc of the sun, and as swinging in a huge circle from which proceed rays of light (King and Thompson, The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Behistun, London, 1907, pp. xxii-xxiii). The whole device shows the influence of Babylon and Assyria. Of similar character are the carvings around the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, and upon the palace walls at Persepolis and Susa. In several of these the king is represented in the attitude of adoring Auranmda, or with his throne supported by subject nations; but the most spirited of the bas-reliefs are those which portray Darius in combat with real or mythical monsters—borrowed, in like manner, from Assyrian-Babylonian art. The same is true of the statues of Xerxes, Artaxerxes I., II., III., and Darius II., III. (so far as we can identify them); but the finest of all the specimens of the sculptor's art under the Achemenians is the frieze of the stylobate of Xerxes' audience-hall at Persepolis, representing the vassal nations bearing tribute to the Great King. Of imposing grandeur, likewise, are the gigantic winged bulls with human faces, in Assyrian style, guarding the Portal of Xerxes through which his audience-hall was approached (see art. ARCHITECTURE [Persian]). The influence that was exercised in general upon Persian art by Assyria and Babylon during the Achemenian period may be seen at a glance by looking over the illustrations in the standard works on Persepolis and Susa mentioned at the end of this article.

Art (Persian)—Persian art has developed more on the utilitarian side in conjunction with the manufacture of rugs, draperies, embroideries, pottery, brass-work, and decorative tiles, than along the more purely aesthetic lines of sculpture and painting. Sculpture, in fact, had no chance to develop further in Persia after the Median conquest, for the teachings of the Prophet, even as modified by the Shi'ite views, to which the Iranians adhere, are adverse to representing objects that have animal, vegetable, or human life. Qudsi, however, forbids the making of graven images (cf., however, preceding art, esp. p. 875 f.). In respect to sculpture, therefore, the Arab invasion marks a sharp line of division between the old regime and the new; but even Qudsi's edict has since been rendered practically useless by the rising art of Persian painting. The development of Persian sculpture may be traced with a fair degree of certainty for nearly twenty-five centuries.

The chief eras in the national history of the country, which it is found convenient to follow in a study of its art, have already been characterized in the article ARCHITECTURE (Persian) as: Early Iranian and Median period (before B.C. 550), Achemenian (B.C. 550-350), Seljuk and Parthian (B.C. 330-A.D. 224), Sassanian (A.D. 224-631), and Muslim (A.D. 631 to the present day).

As sculpture practically died out with the Muslim conquest, it may be appropriate to treat its history first, and then take up metal-work, the fickle or ceramic arts, art in textile fabrics, decorative designs, and pictorial representation.

1. SCULPTURE AND CARVING.—(a) We know nothing definite in regard to sculpture or the state of the art during the Early Iranian period, that is to say, prior to the 7th century B.C. Even if we consider that the Avesta in a manner represents that era of antiquity, we nevertheless can find in it no specific allusions to sculpture, unless we are to count the theory, which has been advanced by some scholars, that images of the divine beings Vohu Manah (the Zoroastrian archangel of Good Thought) and Ardi Sura Anahita, or Anaitis (goddess of the heavenly waters), may possibly be referred to in Vendidad, xix, 20-25, descriptive of cleansing, and Yasht, v. 120-129, describing the appearance of the divinity. Such an interpretation of the text, however (especially in the former of the two passages), is more than doubtful, even if we concede that images of these deities were known in Strabo's time (Geog. xv. 114). It is indeed possible that some of the bronze figurines and small terra-cotta images that are now and then found in primitive burial-places, or unearthed in such excavations as those by Dieulafoy and de Morgan at Susa (J. de Morgan, Memoires—Recherches archéologiques, i., viii., Paris, 1900, 1907) can be referred to the early Iranian age, but no truly artistic sculpture of any size has yet been found.

(b) A similar uncertainty prevails with regard to kindred objects attributed to the Median or Parthian periods at Hamadan. This statue is executed in the round, like the bull at Babylon and the tauro-celtic statues at Babylon (Dieulafoy, L'Art antique de la Perse, Paris, 1884-85, vol. iii. p. 13). Its age is a matter of debate. According to the Iranian historian Migo Masud (cf. 915 A.D.) ascribed its origin to Alexander the Great, while Yaqut (c. 1220 A.D.) placed it much earlier; and a number of modern scholars are inclined to assign the statue to the Median period (Jackson, Persia Past and Present, New York, 1906, pp. 151-152).

(c) The chief of all identified sculptures of the Achemenian period is the bas-relief figure of Cyrus the Great at Murat, on the ancient road to the Median period (Jackson, Persia Past and Present, New York, 1906, pp. 151-152).

The image of Darius sculptured above his own inscription at the time of Schahpur, may be dated some time before B.C. 500, and the group with which it is carved likewise represents figures of the king's two chief retainers, together with portraits of Gonates, or the pseudo-Smerdis, and the other dignitaries of the Persian court. The chief fact of Darius floats an image of the god Auranmda (Ormazd) presenting him with the circle of sovereignty, or the guardian spirit of the king, as the modern Parsi prefer to interpret the image. The god is represented as a human figure, wearing a cylindrical head-dress, with horns, surmounted by the disc of the sun, and as swinging in a huge circle from which proceed rays of light (King and Thompson, The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Behistun, London, 1907, pp. xxii-xxiii). The whole device shows the influence of Babylon and Assyria. Of similar character are the carvings around the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, and upon the palace walls at Persepolis and Susa. In several of these the king is represented in the attitude of adoring Auranmda, or with his throne supported by subject nations; but the most spirited of the bas-reliefs are those which portray Darius in combat with real or mythical monsters—borrowed, in like manner, from Assyrian-Babylonian art. The same is true of the statues of Xerxes, Artaxerxes I., II., III., and Darius II., III. (so far as we can identify them); but the finest of all the specimens of the sculptor's art under the Achemenians is the frieze of the stylobate of Xerxes' audience-hall at Persepolis, representing the vassal nations bearing tribute to the Great King. Of imposing grandeur, likewise, are the gigantic winged bulls with human faces, in Assyrian style, guarding the Portal of Xerxes through which his audience-hall was approached (see art. ARCHITECTURE [Persian]). The influence that was exercised in general upon Persian art by Assyria and Babylon during the Achemenian period may be seen at a glance by looking over the illustrations in the standard works on Persepolis and Susa mentioned at the end of this article.

(d) In the interregnum, or Seljuk period, that followed after Alexander's invasion (B.C. 330-250) and during the Parthian period, little progress was made in sculpture, save that Ardashir I. supplanted the Assyro-Babylonian influence, as is evident from the Graeco-turkish tendency seen in the bas-reliefs heads on the plastered of the palace-temple at Hatra, and in certain characteristics of the carved backs of stone lions and of that temple be ascribed to the Parthian age—a
ART (Persian)

matter that is doubtful. The principal piece of Parthian sculpture, however, belongs to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. (worth less than a halfpenny), found on the summit of the peak of king Gotzar (A.D. 48-51) at the base of the Behistun Rock. Its mutilated condition, due to the fact that at some time in the first half of the 19th century it was forcibly placed in a stone niche, renders it difficult to judge of the workmanship, but the style and execution appear to show distinct traces of Roman art. (e) Under the Sassanian dynasty (A.D. 224-661), Fath Ali Shah (1798-1835) was able to find inspiration in Roman art through the hands of Byzantine craftsmen, and gave no mean promise of higher development; but this was abruptly cut short by the iconoclastic Arabs who swept over the land with their Muslim hosts. In style, Sassanian art is bold, though rather heavy, like that of its predecessors, and is marked by a superabundance of decorative motifs, especially in the form of cramped streamers floating from the shoulders of some of the figures, or hanging from chaplets held in the hand. The examples of Sassanian sculpture are comparatively numerous, and may best be seen in the series of seven massive bas-reliefs carved between 1972 and 1877 by Sayyid Ali Rasul at Susa on the west bank of the river Tigris, and now in the British Museum, or again at Naksh-i-Rustam near Persepolis, or in the relief on the ceiling of a tomb at Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah. They represent scenes from the life of Khosru Parviz, or Chosroes II. (A.D. 590-628), and are ascribed by popular tradition to the hand of the great sculptor Shapur, whose love for Shrin, the king's beautiful favourite, brought ruin upon the gifted artist. At Taq-i-Bustan and in two of the Persepolitan Sassanian sculptures, it is thought that the figure of the god Ormuzd, or possibly of the female divinity Anaitis, is represented. (f) From the middle of the 7th cent., when the Sassanian power fell before Islam, Persia produced no more sculpture, although there was an attempt at a revival of it in the beginning of the 19th cent., when Fath Ali Shah (1798-1835) caused himself to be immortalized in stone at Rai (near Teheran) and elsewhere. His sculptures show certain of the virtues of Sassanian times, but are combined with thoroughly modern traits. One of the two panels at Rai portrays the king in the act of spearing a lion, and is spirited in execution. Unfortunately, it was carved over the space occupied by an old Sassanian sculpture, which was destroyed to make room for it.

2. Seals, gems, and coins. — Closely connected with the glyptic art in its larger application is the more minute skill shown in the cutting of seals and gems or the sinking of dies for coins. The use of seals and cylinders from the earliest times is well known, and is sufficiently illustrated by the archaic finds made at Susa by de Morgan (op. cit. viii. 1-29); but if we are insuffciently supplied with evidence for the Early Iranian and Median eras, there are enough Achmenian seals and carved gems to show the height to which artistic execution in small carvings was carried in ancient days. The art has not been lost, for we can trace its development all the way through the Parthian and Sassanian ages, and no Persian to-day is without his signature handsomely engraved on a piece of gold or silver. The same art of skill was needed in the cutting of dies for coins, and are illustrated in the Achmenian period by the daries from the mint of Darius. The coins that were current under the Parthian rulers indicate to what a high degree this fine art, which was little affected by foreign influence, had developed in Sassanian times, and from that time onward the various changes
of a beautiful green glazed ware, and decorated with a somewhat still small human figure, repeated a number of times. The Sasanian fondness for elaborate decoration, as evidenced in the intricate designs and flower patterns on capitals of columns and in the ornamentations at Taqi-Bustan, was shown also in their ceramic work; for it is still possible to find fragments of those of the Sasanian fire-temple, or Atash-Kadah, near Isfahan, pieces of jars and bricks with decorative markings that show an artistic sense; and the potter's art, well known to all through Omar Khayyam, is always used by the Persians.

During the earlier centuries after the Muhammadan occupation, Persia's art in faience (for, strictly speaking, there is no true Persian porcelain) is believed to have received considerable impetus through importations brought from China and through Chinese artificers settling in Iran. But, whatever may have been the extent of that influence—and the influence was not without reciprocity—Persian faience never lost its marked national characteristics in shape, colour, and design. In regard to glass, we know that the glass-worker's trade is referred to in the Avesta (Vend. VIII. 85; yima-paucra), and specimens of glass, dating from the 4th century, have been dug up at Persepolis, and others, at least as early as 6th century, in Chaldea. It is noted that the artistic uses of glass were well known under the Sasanians; while the employment of tiny facets of mirror glass in the interior decorations of sumptuous houses has long been a favourite means of ornamentation in Persia. Glass bottles, vases, jars, and urns, generally of a bluish colour, are found in almost every age down to the present, although the glass that is used in Persia to-day is almost wholly imported from Europe.

5. Textile fabrics—rugs, draperies, and embroideries. —The art by which Persia is best known in modern times is the manufacture of beautiful textile fabrics—rugs, carpets, draperies, and embroideries. We may presume that the art of rug-making was fully developed in Achæmenian times, since Themistocles, according to Plutarch (Thmenist. xxi. 3.), when first presented before Xerxes or Artaxerxes, illustrated his meaning by a number of times the famous Persian carpet; and there is little reason to doubt that rugs were used both on the floors and for ornamental hangings in the royal palaces at Persepolis and Susa. The employment, moreover, of archaic designs, handed down by tradition in the rug-maker's conservative art (for example, conventionalized forms of the tree of life), points back to the greatest antiquity. The carpet industry is to-day widely spread throughout Persia, and among the places that are thought to produce the best rugs, both in quality and style, are the districts of Khorasan, Kashan, and Kerman. Aniline dyes from Europe and Occidental patterns and designs are unfortunately finding their way in to corrupt the purity of this Oriental art, but a strong endeavour is being made to preserve its native integrity and ancient prestige—a prestige recognized in all the numerous works published on the art, and especially on the subject of Oriental rugs. Among Persia's textile arts is the weaving by hand of soft white and brown felts (Mod. Pers. madd) for mats, cloaks, and saddle-cloths. The art is as old as the time of the prophet Moses (Exod. 26; iv. 6), and it is still carried on in many parts of the country, more especially at Hamadan, Isfahan, and Yazd. Mention should also be made of the richly embroidered Persian shawls, delicate fabrics with elaborate designs in needlework, heavily embossed brocades, ornamental draperies and hangings, and silks of various colours and fineness of texture. Among the oldest specimens of such fabrics are the examples of Sasanian textiles in the Archæological Museum in Cologne, Germany, and in the temple of Horâng, near Koto, Japan (cf. Münsterberg, "Japanische Kunstgeschichte", Bruns-wiek, 1914, p. 329). The preparation and development of the textile arts as well as other arts of Persia were ascribed by Firâuq (A.D. 1000) to the legendary king Jamshîd, who lived in the golden age of Iran (see Firâuq, ed. Voûlers and Bauduau, Leyden, 1877, i. 23. 24 [tr. Mohi, Paris, 1876, i. 34-36; tr. Warner, London, 1906, i. 32-33]).

6. Painting, decorating, designing, and the art of penmanship. —Although painting cannot be called one of Persia's special arts, the wonderful effects in colour and decorative design that were obtained by the Achæmenian artists, as shown by the tile-work discovered in ancient Susa, prove conclusively how highly developed in early times were their aesthetic sense and their productive skill. Allusion has already been made several times to the artistic manner in which they still know how to employ colour and ornamental patterns even in connexion with objects of ordinary everyday use. How far the painter's art had advanced in Sasanian times among the Manicheans (for Mani was a painter as well as the founder of a great religious sect) has recently been illustrated by the remarkable finds made in Turkestan by the expedition sent out from Berlin by the German Emperor William II. As a rule, the Persians do their best work when painting portraits and flowers, while their landscape work and perspective composition are but mediocre. Their best pictures, in fact, are those on a small scale, like the miniature portraits on paper mâché writing-cases and lacquered boxes, or on the enamelled porcelains tops of tobacco pipes; or, again, in decorative designs of roses on book-covers, for the making of which they are especially noted.

One art, however, is carried to perfection in Persia; it is calligraphy, or the art of beautiful handwriting. Originally this accomplishment as an art may owe much to Muhammadanism, but nowhere else are to be found such beautiful specimens of chirography, whether minute or extensive, as in Persia. The Persians are well skilled in using their alphabet for decorative purposes, as may be seen from the graceful arabesques twined about the domes and minarets of the mosques, or interlaced into monograms of wonderful intricacy. To write a good hand is an essential part of culture among the Persians, and a number of well-known authors were masters of calligraphy. Not only so, but skilled scribes have devoted infinite time to copying in luxurious style the compositions of famous Persian poets, and their manuscripts are in themselves works of art.

7. Influence of Persian art. —The influence of Assyria and Babylonia, of Greece and the Roman Empire, upon Persian art and architecture during the early and mediaeval periods has already been referred to more than once. The fact has also been pointed out that Persia made these borrowings and improvements thoroughly her own. In medieval and later times Persia was influenced by (and influenced) China in ceramic art, and in the non-Muhammadan representation of living beings in paintings and the like (cf. above, p. 179).v. If the Arabs were, as Moslem writers received more in art from her than they gave, and it is probable that the arts which the Moors developed in Spain and elsewhere were largely derived from the Persians. The Mongol invaders had little if anything artistic to offer Persia, but
ART (Phoenician).—To express the deity with the emblems of his majesty, as conceived by the worshippers, is the highest aim of religious art, and it was with this view that the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, all of whom have produced specimens of their skill worthy of the highest admiration. The Phoenicians, on the other hand, worshiping Baal, Adon, and Basal, did not possess any delineation sufficiently distinctive in their nature to lend themselves to representation in sculpture and painting; Eli, Adon, and Melek were in the same category. Baal and Semiramis are much more general in nature. The Babylonian Tammuz, a sun-god, who became with the Greeks a simple hunter in Syria, and Ashethoreth, the Istar of the Babylonians, spouse of Tammuz, and goddess of the moon, and Balan, a moon-god, had their representations, and had their influence, though they were not the chief divinities of the Phoenicians. When, therefore, they wished to represent the divinity, the emblem which they chose was in the form of a cone, of which numerous examples exist, not only in Phoenicia, but also in the countries which fell under its influence. The two Phoenicians of Malta, Abdorsis and Orsamar, did not attempt a beautiful statue of their great national god Melqart, but they borrowed the emblem of the sun, a circle on the top finished with arms (bent at the elbow and directed upwards), and a circle at the top of the cone representing a head; the raised right hand, palm outwards; the candelabrum surmounted by a triangle at the top; and the top surmounted by the broken ring emblematic of the crescent moon when a mere broken circle of light; the plinth with the three truncated cones (apparently simulating ornaments of the wall cornices, flanking one with a pyramid on the top, already described). Such are the simple representations of the divinity which the Phoenicians, apparently when uninfluenced by the nations around, produced. It is possibly an augmentation of the feeling of powerlessness in representing the deity which made their relatives and near neighbours, the Jews, go a step further, and seek to discard every image which might seem to recall idol-worship. Even a symbol derived from a living creature was a thing to be avoided.

As a type of a male divinity more or less Phoenician in character may be mentioned Baal Hammon, who, in a terra-cotta figure belonging to the Barre collection, is represented seated, wearing a robe of his age, with arm's horns on either side of his head, his hands resting on the heads of the rams which form the supports of the arms of his throne. A terra-cotta figure seated on a throne seems to show Tanit, his consort, the Astarte of Carthage, holding a dove in her left hand. This is very roughly formed, and was apparently one of the little statuettes made in great numbers for exportation. A strange creation on the part of the Phoenicians was the pigmy-god—a little man with exceedingly short body and legs and a very large head, holding in his left hand a shield of curious shape. These are said to be the dwarfs which became the pignies of the Greeks.

ART (Phoenician)
The inventive powers of the Phoenicians therefore tended towards the grotesque rather than the dignified and serious, and never were at their best as copyists. The upper part of the stele of Yehaw-melek, notwithstanding its weathered state, is a noteworthy specimen of their skill. It shows Yehaw-melek, clothed in a Persian costume, standing firmly upon a lion, but with that nation's God, offering a dish probably containing the precious things which he presented to her. The 'Lady of Gebal,' however, is in Egyptian form and dress, seated and holding a lotus-staff. In her attributes she closely resembles those of the Ist century B.C., and the style of the carving (relief within a sunken outline) shows Egyptian influence. At the top of the stele a mortice-hole indicates where the Egyptian disc with uroes-serpents was placed (probably carved in metal), and from this point curved wings sweep down on each side, like a canopy over the god and the king. A very fine specimen of Phoenician bronze-work reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez † seems to show the same goddess, the style differing somewhat from that of true Egyptian work. There is the disc, with the horns of the moon strangely shaped, surmounting her head, and the uroes rises upon her forehead. Perrot points out that, just as the style of the whole coin was dictated to the Phoenicians to represent their Kabbires and pigmies, so they borrowed Isis-Hathor to represent Astarte.

The piggy-god already referred to seems to be simply an exaggerated type of the Egyptian Bes, which the Phoenicians had also adopted. § A very fine piece of glazed earthenware is that figured by Perrot and Chipiez in their monumental work (de) on some of the figures. The object, called it the 'Phenico-Hittite Stele of Amrit,' on account of the group's likeness to certain rock-sculptures at Pterium, where a goddess is shown traversing the mountains whilst standing on the back of a lion. In this case it is a god wearing the crown of Upper Egypt with the ostrich feathers, and a close-fitting tunic in the Egyptian style, with a knotted girdle. In his left hand he holds by its hind legs a lion-cub, and in his right he raises a curved weapon like the so-called 'boomerang,' which the Assyrian hero of the sculptures of Khorsabad, who grasps in his arm a lion, likewise carries. His legs are thick and muscular, as in the Assyrian sculptures, and one foot is placed upon the head, and the other upon the curved tail, of the lion upon which he stands. The animal in question is represented walking over rocky ground, also indicated much in the Assyrian manner. Immediately above the deity's head is the crescent moon with the sun within; and forming an arch above his head, conforming to the shape of the stele, are the drooping plumes of the Egyptian weapon. The thickness of the legs, and the shortness of the arms, the human form is well-proportioned, and the lion also is fairly good. It is therefore a good piece of work, and, whilst illustrating the style of the Phoenicians, is at the same time a symbol of the real Syrian idea on an Assyro-Babylonian foundation, and a Hittite design in an Egyptian dress. * There is nothing Greek in it—perhaps it was before contact with that nation. In early style of the Phoenician inscription which it bears seems to imply. A according to Philippe Berger, the deity mentioned in the dedication is probably Shobrel—*a reading which Clermont-Ganneau admits as possible, although he himself is rather inclined to read Shadrapi (Satrape).

There is naturally some doubt as to how far the Phoenicians, when they came into contact with the Greeks, imitated their art. That there are objects in the Greek style which are due to Phoenicians is undoubted, but they may have been merely ordered from Greek sculptors. This is well illustrated by the coin figured by Donaldson in Architectura Numismatica (No. 20), † where, in a Greek temple with a strangely un-Greek fan-shaped pediment, a winged Victory in purely Greek style, mounted on a pedestal, crowns with laurel a princely conqueror, equally Greek, holding a crozier. In fact, the whole coin is probably dedicated by the Phoenicians to their own goddess, wearing herself as a bride, and holding in her left hand a basket of pomegranates. In the pediment above is the panther of Dionysus. Though dedicated by Melikthion the Sudite, not only the art, but also the subject, is Greek. In Cyprus the story of Hercules was probably a favourite subject, as certain objects illustrating his tenth labour, the carrying away of the flocks of Geryon, show. In the bas-relief ‡ Hercules is represented with considerable artistic skill, but the statues are inferior, though some are not without merit.

The statuette representing the worship of the power of reproduction are, as usual in the East, not in the best style of art. The mother goddess, as Perrot calls her, whether holding an infant or not, § is represented as thick and heavy; and the women pressing their breasts **—reproductions, of votaries of Astarte—are far from being equal to similar objects of Babylonia. Certain figures thought to be Phoenician prototypes of the Venus de Medici are regarded as later than the Greek period, and therefore due to Greek influence. They show a female pressing one breast and hiding with the other hand the part which, in real Phoenician work, the artist intended to show openly. The best specimen † † is from Livadia, near Larnea, and wears an Egyptian head-dress. In the purely Semitic figures, there is a direct and naively brutal allusion, as Perrot says, to the mysteries of fecundation and generation, but the thought which the Greek artist wished to awaken was quite different; it was Venus ashamed—the representative of woman.

Religious ceremonies are rare. One—that representing Yehaw-melek before the 'Lady of Gebal'—has already been referred to. Another—a urea fragment—seems to be simply a mural decoration. ¶

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* A similar design (a deity standing on the back of a lion) appears on a silver coin of Tarus (de Lyre, Numismatique des assyriens, pl. viii. 10); Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 235.
† Reproduced in Perrot-Chipiez, ib. fig. 67.
‡ Gazette archéologique, t. vii. pl. xvii.; Phénicie, fig. 356.
§ Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 337.
¶ Catalogue methodique et raisonné, publié par M. de Clercq, tom. ii. pl. xxxvi.; Perrot-Chipiez, ib. fig. 355.
|| Acta Archæologica Israelitica, p. 229, described above.
\|* Jb. fig. 231.
\|† Jb. fig. 230.
\|‡ Jb. fig. 235 and 291.
\|\|* Jb. figs. 377 and 143.
\|\|† Jb. figs. 371, 370, 380. A better specimen, however, is that in the British Museum, from Tyre (Perrot-Chipiez, fig. 291).
\|\|\|* Jb. fig. 382.   
\|\|\|\|* Jb. fig. 381.
It was found in the neighbourhood of Tyre, not far from Adull, and represents a personage, seated on a throne, holding in the left hand an object which cannot now be determined. Before him is a can- delabrum or stand surmounted by a pan in which a flame is seen, whilst beside the throne or seat is a head more cynically head-dress, evidently part of a sphinx as supporter. The border-ornament recalls some of the designs of Assyria. This piece is extremely good, and shows what the true Phoe- nicians were capable of. Of an entirely different style is the statue of the Sacrificer, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.* This shows a beard-less man, with plump cheeks (perhaps a eunuch, as the Babylonian priests seem sometimes to have been), carrying a ram for sacrifice upon his shoul- ders, the feet, which come down in front, being held tightly and determinedly with both his hands. The style is that of the artists of Cyprus.

Greatly affected by the religion of the nations around, the Phoenicians absorbed from them ideas which they carried beyond the limits of their own domain. Strangely susceptible, they in like manner were strongly influenced by the religious art of the nations with whom they came into contact when they migrated, they carried to other lands and modified. A series of different styles was the result, and the task of studying and understanding these is a long and difficult one. Nevertheless, it is a branch of archeology of considerable importance, though it must be admitted that the material from the various spheres of Phoenician influence is generally insufficient for a complete picture to be gained. The destruction of their temples and divine emblems and statues in Western Asia adds to the difficulty of the study; but the remains, such as they are, have a value quite their own, and reflect the religious feelings of a strong people who accomplished im- portant work in their time.

G. Finches.

ART (Shinto).—The genius of Shinto, like that of Islam, is adverse to the development of the arts of painting and sculpture. With few excep- tions, no idols or paintings of the gods are to be seen in Shinto shrines. The deity is represented by a mirror, sword, stone, or other object, which is shut up in a box, and is never seen by the worshipper. In many cases the priest himself does not even know what box contains. In pre-historic times there was a practice of setting up a row of terra-cotta figures of men and animals round the tombs of Mikados, in substitution for an older custom of burying the servants of the deceased and other victims up to the neck. and leaving them to die and be devoured by dogs and crows. Several of these figures have been preserved in the Imperial Museum at Tokyo, and there is one in the Gowland Collection of the British Museum. They are of an extremely rude and primitive workmanship. This practice, however, does not appear to have given rise to a school of glyptic art, and in any case it is not directly associated with Shinto, which abhorred all connection with death. In more modern times there is a custom of expressing gratitude to the Kami for answered prayer by making ex votos offerings to the shrine of pictures representing miraculous escapes from shipwrecks, seen on of the more important shrines have galleries for the reception of such mementos. They have no great importance in the history of Japanese art. Such galleries are called enshun or ‘picture-horse boxes,’ and represent personages seated on a horse—in substitution for the real living horse, which is a favourite Shinto offering. The ‘seven gods of good fortune’ are a common subject for the screen made for the front hall, and are dealing with quite a modern development. Near all of these deities, though called Kami, are of Buddhist origin, and in their architecture foreign influence is easily traceable. At the present day Shinto myth is not infrequently resorted to for subjects by the Japanese artist, more especially by the book- illustrator; and wood engravings, of no great artistic value, representing the gods are sold to the pilgrims to Shinto shrines as mementos.


W. G. ASTON.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE (Teutonic).—The antiquities from Northern Europe give evi- dence of a high artistic development from the Stone Age downwards, but few finds of earlier date than the Iron Age can with any certainty be con- nected with the religious life of their owners. Of the heathen period there are no architectural re- mains except the graves, and the structural forms of these do not appear to have had any definite relation to the religious beliefs of the different periods to which they belong. Sacred buildings of any kind came into use among the Teutonic races, and the scanty knowledge we possess of their temples is derived entirely from literary sources, and refers only to the last few centuries of heathendom.

1. In the Stone Age the antiquities as a whole show a remarkably high development of art. The elaborate finish of the finest examples in both pottery and weapons may imply that they were not intended for ordinary purposes, but were re- served for religious ceremonies.

Many of the axes found are obviously not made for use. Some are too thin, others too small, others have shaft holes only large enough to admit a cord, and miniature axes of amber are also common. All these are doubtless used in the worship of some sort, in all probability dedicated to the god of thunder.

2. The Bronze Age in the North is also distin- guished by the artistic skill of its productions, but foreign influences may now be recognized. At first the types resemble those found in the Aegean area, and the spirals and zigzag lines so common in Mycenean art are a frequent form of ornamentation. The most important period is the ‘disc and horse of the sun’ from Nordseeland, Denmark, usually dated about B.C. 1000.

It consists of a round bronze plate mounted on wheels and drawn by a horse shaped wheel, and is, no doubt, intended to symbolize the sun’s passage across the heavens. The faces of the disc is overlaid with spirals and decreasingly spirals, and the figure of the horse strongly recalls the animals of the Dipylon style of Greece.

At a later period of the Bronze Age there are evidences of Etruscan influences in the art, and many objects have been found that are clearly imported from Etruria. Among those of native workmanship are a number of beautiful gold vessels which seem too precious for private purposes, and were probably dedicated to religious uses. Such are the eleven gold vessels with long handles that were found at Romminge, carefully placed inside a large bronze vase, and the two gold bowls with similar long handles terminating in horses’ heads, found with a couple of smaller gold bowls in Seeland. Other objects certainly connected with the worship of the gods are the little bronze cars on four wheels, apparently made to carry large sacrifice vessels, from Sweden, Denmark, and North Germany.

Religious symbols were frequently used in the ornamentation of the Bronze Age. The wheel was, the symbol of the sun, occurs first in the Stone Age, and is found on many of the earlier objects of bronze. It is later replaced by the

* Ferrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 402.
swastika," and the triskele also appears, both of which symbols are common to all the Aryan races, and are universally agreed to have a religious signification. These same sacred signs are seen on the rock carvings from Behistun and elsewhere, which belong to this period. The purpose of these carvings is not clear; they consist of geometrical figures, shields, weapons, and other objects, animals, and persons, and it seems probable that at least some of these represent the gods and their attributes.

3. In the first centuries after the introduction of iron the grave finds are scanty, and there is a scarcity of gold objects. This is partly due, no doubt, to the fact that the tribes of the North were at this time subjected to a strong Celtic influence, and as it was the universal custom among the Celts to bury little else with the dead than their mere personal equipment. This Celtic influence introduced foreign elements into the style of the art, and was soon almost entirely supplanted by the spread of the classical culture due to the Roman conquests in Central Europe. Many of the finest antiquities from the graves and the bog deposits belonging to the first four centuries of the Christian era are unmistakably of Roman workmanship.

The most important of the native works of this earlier Iron Age appear to be connected with religion. Of these the earliest are the two four-wheeled chariots, long believed to be of Lindow, and in a bog near Delbjerg in Jutland. They are made of ashwood, and the sides, shaft, and frame are richly adorned with bronze-work. The swastika is among the ornaments used. These cars are supposed to have been employed in religious ceremonies, and possibly to have been sacred carriages for images of the gods, such as are mentioned later in the sagas. Fragments of a similar one, however, which had evidently been burnt, were found inside a large iron grave in a grave at Fynen, so that, in this case at least, the car seems to have been given not to the gods, but to the dead man for his use in a future life. Cars have been found under similar circumstances in Celtic graves in France and the Rhine country, so that the peculiar disposal of the Fynen car may be due to imitation of a foreign custom.

Somewhat later in date, and showing a mixture of the Celtic and Teutonic art, is the magnificent silver bowl from Gundestrup in Jutland. This was, no doubt, a sacred vessel, like the gold bowls of the Bronze Age already referred to, and we may compare in this connexion the statement of Strabo (p. 263), that the Cimbri sent their 'helm-bowls' to Augustus. Other bowls of similar shape to the Gundestrup bowl have been found, but although it was in all probability made in the North, it is quite un-Northern in both style and subject. The subjects are drawn partly from classical art (there is, for example, an obvious imitation of Hercules and the Nemean Lion), and partly from Celtic sources, as the representation of the Gaulish god Cernunos, with his stag-horns, ring, and serpent.

4. To the close of the Roman period, i.e., to the 4th cent. A.D., belong what are perhaps the finest of all the Northern antiquities—the magnificent gold horns from Gallicia in Jutland. It is supposed that they were used as trumpets in religious services, and parallel instances can be quoted from many peoples of antiquity. Both the horns and the small iron plates from Ladby have been so elaborately adorned that they seem to depict scenes of Scandinavian mythology. Thus of carved figures; one has runes around the top, but these give only the maker's name. Both were found in a grave at Rivne, near Oresund. The significance of the figures upon them is not certain; various explanations have been given, and it seems probable that they have a mythological meaning, and refer to legends of the gods.

5. The later centuries of heathendom in the North may be divided into two periods: (a) a time very rich in gold ornaments of every kind, owing to the vast quantities of gold obtained from Byzantium; (b) the period when the Vikings belong to the splendid profusion of silver ornaments to be seen in the museums of Copenhagen and Stockholm.

(a) In the first of these periods, i.e., from the 4th to the 5th cent., A.D., the only objects that appear to have any close connexion with religion are the gold bracteates. These were worn as pendants and necklaces, and were originally copies of Roman coins of the 4th cent., although the types soon became greatly altered, and the later bracteates appear to have a religious signification. The sacred symbols of the swastika and triskele appear on many of them, and when placed beside a human head may imply that a god or goddess is represented. The most common device is a head above a four-footed animal, and in some cases the latter seems to have a pointed beard and to be intended for a goat, an animal sacred to Thor. On others Odin is possibly represented, and by an inscription, which was elaborately developed, already existed. This peculiar style of decoration, so characteristic of the later Northern art, seems not to have arisen from a desire to represent the animals sacred to the gods, but to be derived from creatures not familiar to the North, namely, the lions and griffins of classical art.

(b) When we reach the second, or Viking, period of the later Iron Age, we have evidence from literature, as well as from antiquities, of religion in art. Of the antiquities, the most important are the runic stones that were set up over the graves. On some of these are figures which appear to depict the gods; for example, a stone from Tjängvide shows a figure riding on a horse with eight legs, probably intended for Odin on Sleipnir; and on the Sunala stone there are three figures in a special panel, which have been interpreted as the three chief gods, Thor, Odin, and Frey. On many of these stones Thor is invoked in the runes, and his hammer is carved to consecrate and protect the grave. Little silver pendants in the form of hammers have been found, and were doubtless worn as amulets, but these do not appear until the 10th cent., and were probably due to the influence of the cross-wearing Christians.

Under the new belief of the Viking age may be reckoned the figure of a bear, which was frequently placed on the crest of the helmet for protection in battle. This custom is referred to by Tacitus (Germania, 45), and there are several allusions to it in Beowulf (c.g. 263, 1113). It is said to have been worn by some of the Norsemen, and is depicted with the golden boars of Frey and Freya mentioned in the sagas.

Two warriors wearing helmets surmounted by figures of bears are represented on one of the few small iron plates from Ladby. These plates were used to adorn helmets; it is evident from the similar bronze plates on the helmets from Vendel. The examples from Oland, as well as the majority of those from Vendel, are the best-known representations of the portrait scenes of Scandinavian mythology. Thus
one of the Vendel plates shows a cavalier armed with shield and spear, preceded and followed by a bird, and attacking a serpent; this is interpreted as Odin with his ravens Huginn and Muninn, and may be compared with the gold bracteate described above.

Regarding actual idols our only information is derived from literary sources. From the sagas we gather that the figures of gods set up in the temples were life-size, made of wood, and richly adorned with gold and silver. Thus in Olaf Tryggvason's saga, when Gunnar fought with the image of Frey and drove out the fiend inhabiting the idol, 'nothing remained but the mere stock of a tree,' and Gunnar, dressing himself in Frey's apparel, was accepted by the people as the god. Again, in the saga of Olaf the Saint a figure of Thor is described as 'a huge man's image gleaming with gold and silver ... he bore the likeness of Thor, and had a hammer in his hand ... he was hollow within, and had a great stand on which he stood when he came out.'

Other images are described as wearing bracelets, necklaces, and similar ornaments. The different gods seem usually to have been invested with their own peculiar attributes—Thor with his hammer or with sceptre as chief god, and Odin armed with sword and spear.

We also hear of smaller figures of the gods, such as the image of Frey which Ingimund carried in his pocket, and the ivory image of Thor which Halfred was accused of secretly carrying in his purse.

6. Turning to the heathen architecture, what knowledge we possess of the temples is gleaned from the literature of the North. 'Until the last few centuries of heathendom, the Teutonic races appear to have worshipped in the open air, Tacitus (Op. cit. 9) saying: 'The Germans deem it inconsistent with the majesty of their gods to confine them within walls.' The temples that we hear of in the sagas apparently consisted of two parts; an oblong hall, the langhus, with an apse-shaped building, the ofhus, at one end. It is possible that these two parts were originally separate, and that the round form of the ofhus is due to its having taken the place of the sacred tree that was, in earlier times, the centre of worship. In this case the langhus would represent the dwelling of the chief (who officiated as priest) beside the tree. This langhus appears to have been copied directly from the simplest form of dwelling-house, and was used for the sacrificial feasts, but possessed no great sanctity. The ofhus was the sanctuary proper, and contained the images of the gods, among whom Thor always occupied the chief place. Here also were the altar with the oath ring, the blood kettle, and the perpetual fire. The temples were almost always constructed of wood, but the exterior as well as the interior was doubtless often ornamented. Adam of Bremen describes the chief temple of Sweden, that at Upsala, as a magnificent gilded structure. When Christianity finally drove out the old superstitions from the North, the temples were in most cases pulled down and destroyed; but the sanctity of the sites remained, and many Christian churches still mark the spots where the heathen gods were originally worshipped.

LITERATURE.—In addition to frequent references throughout the sagas, special mention may be made of S. Müller, Nordische Alterthumskunde, 2 vols., Strassburg, 1877-78; and Ureish. Europas, Strassburg, 1895; O. Montelius, Die Kultur Schwedens in vorchristlicher Zeit, Berlin, 1885; J. Worpsw, Prænum Antiquitates of Danmark, London, 1867; G. Vigs-son and F. Y. Powell, Corpus Poeticae Boreale, Oxford, 1888. C. J. GASKELL.
ILLUSTRATIONS
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART IN MANUSCRIPTS (CHRISTIAN)

FIG. 4. COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. ITALIAN, CIR. 1125 A.D.
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART IN MANUSCRIPTS (CHRISTIAN)

Fig. 5. From a "Passion of St. Jerome" and Prayers Wherewith at Names in 181 for Pope Sixtus IV.

Fig. 6. From the Antiphonary of the Cistercian Nuns of Beaune, from Cîteaux, A.D. 1250.
FIG. 7. FROM A VULGATE BIBLE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (L.I.L.) WRITTEN IN ENGLAND IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 13TH CENTURY.

FIG. 8. FROM AN APOCALYPSE AT THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, WRITTEN IN ENGLAND FOR EDWARD I. TOWARDS THE END OF THE 13TH CENTURY.
FIG. 10. FROM THE ORMESBY PSALTER AT THE BRITISH LIBRARY (MS. DOUCE 397).
EAST ANGLIAN. CIRCA 1300 A.D.
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART (EGYPTIAN)

**FIG. 1. SACRIFICE.**

**FIG. 2. OFFERING.**

**FIG. 3. LAYING ON OF HANDS.**

**FIG. 4. PURIFICATION.**

**FIG. 5. SACRIFICE OF A GOD UPON ITS STAND.**
FIG. 1. FRESCO ON THE INNER FRONT WALL OF QUSAIR 'AMRA.
FIG. 2. KAIRWAN. INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE.

FIG. 3. ARU'DILIP (MESOPOTAMIA). ARCHES AND MINARET OF AN OLD MOSQUE.
FIG. 4. KAIRWAN. MINBAR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE.
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART (MUHAMMADAN)

FIG. 5. CAIRO. FAÇADE OF THE AL-AQMAR MOSQUE.

FIG. 6. BERLIN: KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM. WOODEN TABLET, 1125 A.D.
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART (MUHAMMADAN)

FIG. 7. CAIRO. TOMBS OF THE MAMLUKS.

FIG. 8. CAIRO. MOSQUE OF SULTAN HASAN. 1334-1339 A.D.
FIG. II. GRANADA. ALHAMBRA. COURT OF THE LIONS.

THE END OF VOL. I.